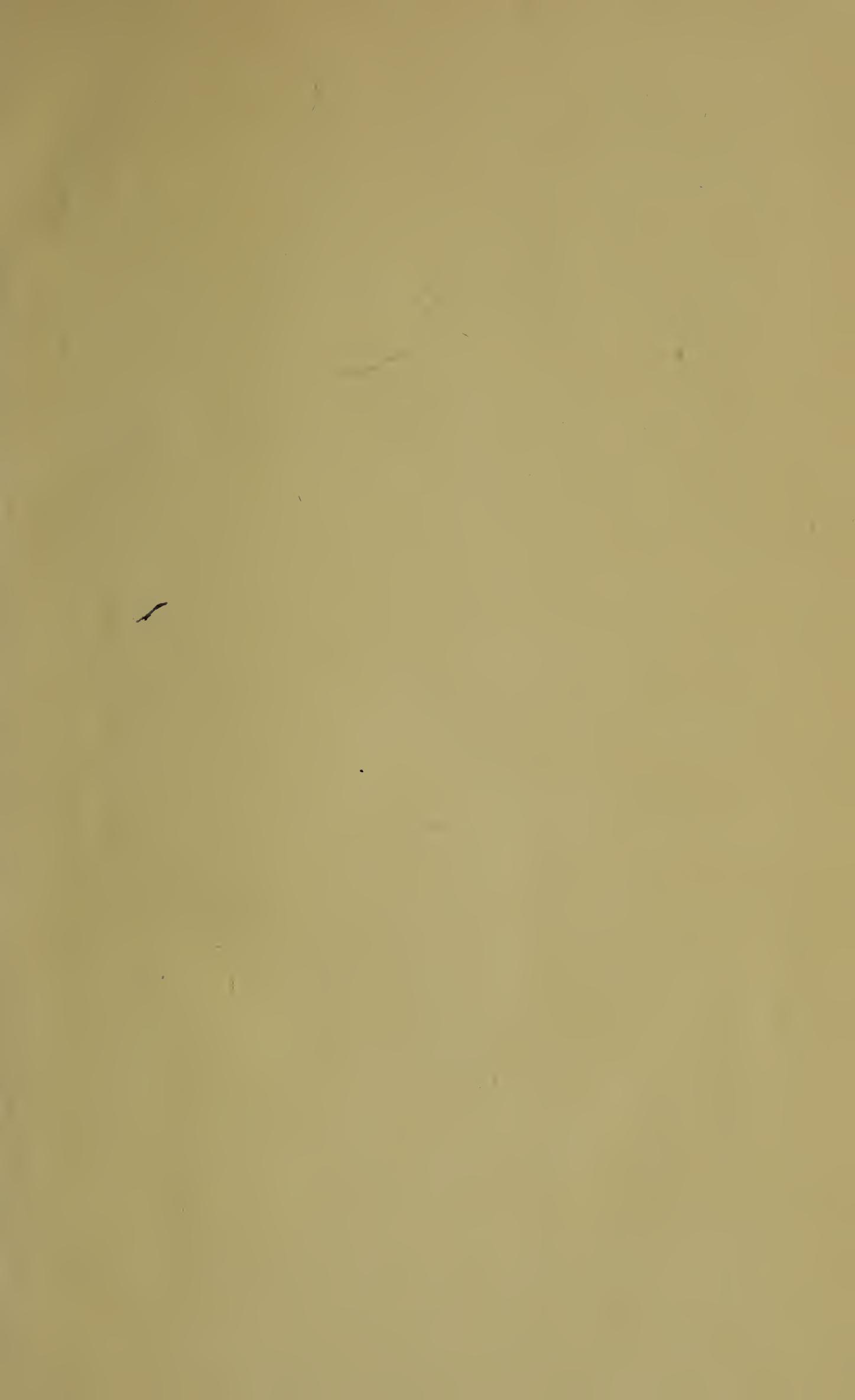


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THE NEW
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1800.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE,
in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of King CHARLES II.—
Part IV.



L O N D O N:

Printed by S. HAMILTON, Falcon-Court, Fleet-Street;
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M D C C C I.



P R E F A C E.

IN submitting to our Readers another Volume of the New Annual Register, at the present crisis, we cannot but feel an honest triumph at that alteration in the public sentiment which has sanctioned, in spite of calumny and venal abuse, whatever was most obnoxious in our former volumes to a certain party, and has tacitly assigned us that rank which we are conscious we ought to hold in the estimation of our fellow subjects, and which we were bold enough to predict we should one day hold in the opinion of posterity.

Attached, even to bigotry perhaps, to the constitution of our country, abhorring and explicitly condemning every act of atrocity which has disgraced a neighbouring nation, our only crime has been presuming to question the wisdom and policy of the war with the French republic, in its origin and its conduct. That war is now happily terminated; and we are ready to give every praise which they deserve, to a ministry by whom the negotiation has been conducted with so much apparent ability:—But we must entreat the judicious and candid reader to reflect, whether it might not have been happier for us, if the war had been wholly avoided;—if the representations of M. Chauvelin had been at first coolly considered; if the
overture,

overture so humbly made to lord Grenville by the minister Le Brun had been attended to; if we had taken advantage of the humiliation of the French after the taking of Valenciennes; or even of the proposal of the First Consul on his accession to power. Let any honest man but peruse our animadversions on the conduct of ministers in these instances, and then pronounce, whether we have spoken as the friends or the enemies of our country. Have our sentiments been justified by events? Have our predictions been fulfilled? Let the gains and advantages of the late war be calmly estimated; and let our readers decide not by declamation, but facts.

After this defence of ourselves against unmerited calumny, (proceeding indeed from sources too contemptible to be named,) we beg leave to assure our readers, that the Annual Register will continue to be conducted with the same impartiality. From us a virtuous, able, and constitutional ministry will have nothing to fear.—As we are only the reporters of facts, it is their own conduct, and the evidence of facts, which alone will condemn any set of statesmen; but to bad ministers it is ruin only to have their transactions impartially recorded.

The other departments of the work have been executed in the usual manner, and we trust the public will find no cause to be dissatisfied.

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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING,
AND TASTE,
IN GREAT BRITAIN,
During the Reign of KING CHARLES II.
PART IV.

POLITE literature may be said to have flourished during this reign, and it may be considered as the commencement of an æra which has not improperly been termed the Augustan age of British literature; yet it must be confessed that the public taste was at this period scarcely refined; and it may be observed, even in this its infant state, to have suffered no small degree of corruption.

It was in this reign that there appeared a race of writers who have been termed the metaphysical poets. They were men of learning; and to show their learning was their whole endeavour: but, unluckily resolving to show it in rhyme, instead of writing poetry they only wrote verses; and often such verses as stood the trial of the finger better than the ear; for the modulation was so imperfect, that they were only found to be verses by counting the syllables. If the father of criticism has rightly denominated poetry *an imitative art*, these writers will, without great wrong, lose their right to the name of poets; for they cannot be said to have

b 4 imitated

imitated any thing ; they neither copied nature nor life—neither painted the forms of matter, nor represented the operations of intellect. Those, however, who deny them to poets, must allow them to be wits. If wit (or rather genius) indeed be well described by Pope, as being

“ What oft is thought, but ne’er so well express’d,”

they certainly never attained, nor ever sought it ; for they endeavoured to be singular in their thoughts, and were careless of their diction. If, by a more noble and more adequate conception, that be considered as wit which is at once natural and new, that which though not obvious, is, upon its first production, acknowledged to be just ; if it be that, which he that never found it wonders how he missed, to wit of this kind the metaphysical poets rarely aspired ; their thoughts are often new, but seldom natural ; they are not obvious, but neither are they just ; and the reader, far from wondering that he missed them, wonders more frequently by what perverseness of industry they were ever found. But wit, abstracted from its effects on the hearer, has been more correctly and philosophically considered as a kind of *discordia concors*—a combination of dissimilar images, or discovery of occult resemblances in things apparently unlike. Of wit, thus defined, they have more than enough ; the most heterogeneous ideas are yoked by violence together ; nature and art are ransacked for illustrations, comparisons, and allusions ; their learning instructs, and their subtilty surprises ; but improvement is dearly bought, and admiration ill exchanged for pleasure. It will readily be inferred that they were not successful in representing or moving the affections : as they were wholly occupied in something unexpected and surprising, they had no regard to that uniformity of sentiment which enables us to conceive and excite the pains and pleasures of other minds. They never inquired what they themselves should have said or done on other occasions ; their only aim was to say what had never been said before. They wrote rather as beholders than partakers of human nature, as beings looking upon good and evil impassive, and at leisure ;

leisure ; as Epicurean deities, making remarks on the actions of men, and the vicissitudes of life, without interest, and without emotion. Their courtship was void of fondness, and their lamentation of sorrow. Nor was the sublime more within their reach than the pathetic, for they did not attempt that comprehension and expanse of thought which at once fills the whole mind, and of which the first effect is sudden astonishment, and the second rational admiration. Sublimity is produced by aggregation, and littleness by dispersion. Great thoughts are always general, and consist in positions not limited by exceptions, and in descriptions not descending to minuteness. It is with great propriety that subtilty (which in its original import means exility of particles) is taken in its metaphorical meaning for nicety of distinction. Those writers who lay on the watch for novelty could have little hope of greatness, for great things cannot have escaped former observation. Their attempts were always analytic ; they broke every image into fragments ; and could no more represent, by their slender conceits and laboured particularities, the prospects of nature, than he who dissects a sun-beam with a prism can exhibit the wide effulgence of a summer noon.

What they wanted however of the sublime they supplied with hyperbole : their amplification had no limits ; they left not only reason but fancy behind, and produced combinations of confused magnificence, which not only could not be credited, but could not be imagined. Yet great labour, directed by great abilities, is never wholly lost : if they frequently threw away their wit upon false conceits, they sometimes struck out unexpected truth ; if their thoughts were far-fetched, they were sometimes worth the carriage : to write on their plan it was necessary to read and think ; no man could be born a metaphysical poet, nor assume to the dignity of a writer by descriptions copied from descriptions, by traditional imagery and hereditary similes.

This kind of composition, borrowed from Marino and his followers, had been recommended by the example of Donne, a man of very extensive and various knowledge; and by Jonson, whose manner resembled that of Donne more in the ruggedness of his lines than the cast of his sentiments. When their reputation was high, they had undoubtedly more imitators than time has left behind. Their immediate successors, of whom any remembrance can be said to remain, were Suckling, Waller, Denham, Cowley, and Milton. Denham and Waller sought another way to fame, by improving the harmony of our numbers. Milton tried the metaphysical style only in his lines on Hobson the Carrier. Cowley adopted it, and excelled his predecessors; having as much sentiment, and more music. Suckling neither improved versification, nor abounded in conceits. The fashionable style remained chiefly with Cowley: Suckling could not reach, and Milton disdained it.

Abraham Cowley, the last, and undoubtedly the best of this class, was born in 1618. His father dying when he was young, he was left to the care of his mother, who is represented as struggling earnestly to procure him a literary education; and who, as she lived to the age of eighty, had her solicitude rewarded by seeing her son both eminent and grateful. He was admitted into Westminster school, and soon distinguished there, affording such early proofs, not only of acquired knowledge but comprehension of things, as to more tardy minds seems scarcely credible. A volume of poems was printed in his thirteenth year, containing the History of Pyramus and Thisbe, written when ten years old, and Constantine and Philitus, written two years after.

He was removed to Cambridge in 1636, where he continued his studies with great intenseness, for he is said to have written the greater part of his *Davideis* whilst so young a student; a work, of which the materials could not have been collected without the study of many years,

years, but by a mind of the greatest vigor and activity, a mind capacious by nature and replenished by study. In 1643, being master of arts, he was, by the prevalence of the parliament, ejected from Cambridge, and sheltered himself at St. John's College Oxford; where he published a satire called the Puritan and Papist, and so distinguished himself by the warmth of his loyalty, and the elegance of his conversation, that he gained the kindness and confidence of those who attended the king.

About the time when Oxford was surrendered to the parliament he followed the queen to Paris, where he became secretary to lord Jermin, and was employed in such correspondence as the royal cause required, particularly in cyphering and decyphering the letters that passed between the king and queen; an employment of the highest confidence and honour.

Some years afterwards he was sent back into England privately, to give notice of the posture of things in the nation. Soon after his return he was seized upon by some messengers of the usurping powers, who were sent in pursuit of another man, and put into confinement; from which he was not released without the security of a thousand pounds. At the Restoration, after all the diligence of his long service, and with consciousness not only of the merit of fidelity, but the dignity of great abilities, he naturally expected ample preferments; but this was a time of such general hope, that great numbers were inevitably disappointed, and Cowley amongst the rest, who missed obtaining the mastership of the Savoy, which had been promised him by Charles the Ist and Charles the IId. His desire of solitude, which (says Spratt) was the only thing in his disposition which ever ought to have been changed, now returned vehemently upon him. Weary of the vexations of an active condition, fatiated with the arts of a court—which sort of life, though his virtue made it innocent to him, yet nothing could make it quiet—these were the reasons that moved him to follow the violent inclination

inclination of his own mind, which, in the greatest throng of his former business, had still called upon him, and represented to him the true delights of solitary studies, of temperate pleasures, and a moderate revenue. He retired into Surry; but no sooner found an opportunity of beginning to live indeed, and to enjoy himself in security, in the country, which he had always fancied above all pleasure, than his contentment was first broken by sickness, and then by death, in the 49th year of his age, at the Porch-House, Chertsey, 1667. It is not strange, that the retreat of a man of such abilities, who went away unrewarded with preferment, should have been ascribed to disgust, notwithstanding the representation of his biographer: Wood attributes it solely to this cause. Yet there remains ample testimony, in the juvenile works of Cowley, of that innate love of retirement, which, in all ages, has adhered closely to those minds most enlarged by knowledge and elevated by genius. That disappointments have a tendency to increase it cannot be denied; but he himself has left this account of his early taste in one of his prose essays. "As far as my memory can return back into my past life, before I was capable of guessing what the world, or glories, or business were, the natural affections of my soul gave a secret bent of aversion from them: That I was then in the same mind as I am now, may appear by an ode printed when I was thirteen years old. With these affections, and my heart wholly set upon letters, I went to the university; but was soon torn from thence by that violent public storm, which would suffer nothing to stand as it did, but rooted up every plant, from the princely cedar to me the hyssop: yet I had as good fortune as could have befallen me in such a tempest; for I was cast into the family of one of the best princesses in the world, in a crowd of good company, in business of honourable trust, and a daily sight of greatness: yet all this was so far from altering my opinion, that it only added the confirmation of reason to it; and I could not abstain from my school-boy's wish, long ago printed.

" Well,

“ Well,—then I now do plainly see,
This busie world and I shall ne’er agree.

“ Nor did I purpose to myself any other advantage from the Restoration than obtaining some convenient retreat: nor, by the failure of some supplies which I expected, did I quit my design. But God laughs at man, who says to his soul, *take thine ease*. I met not only with many incumbrances, but with as much sickness as would have spoiled the happiness of an emperor as well as mine: yet I do neither repent nor alter my course.”—Surely no man was ever better qualified to estimate and to enjoy the calm delights of quiet and retirement than Cowley. He was born a poet; he is represented to have been of the most amiable nature, as possessing great integrity, and preserving it in the most difficult stations; and he was eminently endowed with the requisites which he describes as indispensably necessary for men who seek seclusion; “ having knowledge enough of the world to see the vanity of it, and enough virtue to despise all vanity.” He had a taste for agriculture; had cultivated the study of botany; and, to use his own words, “ *only went out of the world as it was man’s, into the same world as it was Nature’s, and as it was God’s.*”

Cowley, like other poets who have paid their court to temporary prejudices, has been at one time too much praised, and too much neglected at another.

His Miscellanies contain a collection of short compositions, with great variety of style and sentiment, from burlesque levity to awful grandeur. Such an assemblage of diversified beauties no other writer has afforded.

His Ode on Wit is without a rival: of all the passages in which poets have exemplified their own precepts, none will be found of greater excellence than that in which he condemns the exuberance of wit.

The Chronicle is a composition unrivalled; such gaiety
of

of fancy, such a succession of images, and such a dance of words, it is vain to expect from any other author. The moralist, the politician, and the critic, mingle their influence in this airy frolic of genius.

Of his Anacreontiques, or paraphrastic translations of little songs, dedicated to festivity, of which the morality is voluptuous, he has given rather a pleasing than a faithful representation, having retained their sprightliness, but lost their simplicity.

The next class of poems is called *The Mistress*; they have all the same beauties and faults, and, nearly in the same proportion, they are written with exuberance of wit and copiousness of learning; he is never pathetic, and rarely sublime, but always ingenious or scientific, either acute or profound. One of the severe theologians of that time censured him as having published a book of profane and lascivious verses. From the charge of profaneness the constant tenor of his life, which was eminently virtuous, and the tendency of his opinions, which discover no irreverence for religion, must defend him. From Donne he learned that familiarity with religious images, and that light allusion to sacred things, by which readers, far short of sanctity, are offended, and which would not be borne in the present age, when devotion, not more fervent, is more delicate; but that the accusation of lasciviousness is unjust, the perusal of his works will sufficiently evince.

In his Pindaric Odes he has given, though not the same numbers, the same diction to the gentle Anacreon and the tempestuous Pindar. Whatever was his subject, he is carried, by a kind of destiny, to the light and the familiar; or to conceits which require still more ignoble epithets. Yet there are instances wherein he rises to dignity truly Pindaric; and, if some deficiencies of language be forgiven, his strains are such as were those of the Theban bard to his contemporaries.

The

The prose of Cowley has never yet obtained its due commendation: no author kept his verse and prose at a greater distance from each other: his thoughts are natural, his style has a smooth equanimity; all is easy without feebleness, and familiar without grossness. He was, in his own time, considered as of unrivalled excellence; and, it may be affirmed, without any encomiastic fervour, that his pages are embellished with all the ornaments which books could supply; that his imagination equals his learning; and, had he not been corrupted by the taste of the age, posterity would have agreed with Milton concerning him, who is said to have declared “that the three greatest English poets were Spencer, Shakspeare, and Cowley.”

Butler, a man whose name can only perish with his language, passed his life in the mist of obscurity: the date of his birth is doubtful; the mode and place of his education are unknown; the events of his life are variously related; and all that can be told with certainty is, “that he was poor.”

The poem of Hudibras is one of those compositions of which a nation may justly boast; as the images which it exhibits are domestic, the sentiments unborrowed and unexpected, and the strain of diction original and peculiar. We must not, however, suffer the pride which we assume, as the countrymen of Butler, to make any encroachment on justice, nor appropriate those honours which others have a right to share. This poem is not wholly English: the original idea is to be found in the history of Don Quixotte; a book to which a mind of the greatest powers may be indebted without disgrace. If inexhaustible wit could give perpetual pleasure, no eye would ever leave half-read the work of Butler. It is scarcely possible to peruse a page without finding some association of ideas which was never found before: by the first paragraph the reader is amused, by the next he is delighted, and by a few more strained to astonishment; but astonishment is a toilsome pleasure; he is soon weary of wondering, and
longs

longs to be diverted. Perhaps every reader regrets the paucity of events, and complains that, in the poem of *Hudibras*, as in the history of *Thucydides*, there is more said than done: it is indeed much easier to form dialogues than to continue adventures. Whether it be that we comprehend but few of the possibilities of life, or that life itself affords little variety, every author who has attempted knows how much labour it will cost to form such a combination of circumstances as shall have at once the grace of novelty and of credibility, and delight fancy without violence to reason.

Imagination is useless without knowledge: nature gives, in vain, the power of combination, unless study and observation supply materials to be combined. Butler's treasures of knowledge appear proportioned to his expence: whatever topic employs his mind, he shows himself qualified to expand and illustrate it with all the accessories that books can furnish: he is found not only to have travelled the beaten road, but the bye-paths of literature; not only to have taken general surveys, but to have examined particulars with minute inspection. If the French boast the learning of *Rabelais*, we need not be afraid of confronting them with Butler. But the most valuable parts of his performance are those which neither retired study, nor native wit, could supply: he that merely makes a book from books, may be useful, but can scarcely be great: Butler had not suffered life to glide beside him unseen or unobserved. He had watched, with great diligence, the operations of human nature, and traced the effects of opinion, humour, interest, and passion. From such remarks proceeded that great number of sententious distichs which have passed into conversation, and are added as proverbial axioms to the general stock of practical knowledge.

But human works are not easily found without a perishable part: of the ancient poets, every reader feels the mythology tedious and oppressive. Of *Hudibras*, the manners being founded on opinions, are temporary and local,

local, and therefore become every day less intelligible and less entertaining. Such remarks as depend upon standing relations and general manners are co-extended with the race of men; but those modifications of life, and peculiarities of practice, which are the progeny of error and perverseness, or of some incidental influence, must perish with their parents. The measure is quick, sprightly, and colloquial, suitable to the vulgarity of the words and the levity of the sentiments; but such numbers and such diction can gain regard only when they are used by a writer whose vigour of fancy and copiousness of knowledge entitle him to contempt of ornaments; and who, in confidence of the novelty and justness of his conceptions, can afford to throw metaphors and epithets away.

Butler died in 1680; and, sixty years after his death, a monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey; which occasioned the following epigram:

“ When Butler, needy wretch, was yet alive,
 No gen’rous patron would a dinner give.
 See him, when starv’d to death, and turn’d to dust,
 Presented with a monumental bust!
 The poet’s fate is here in emblem shown;
 He ask’d for bread, and he receiv’d a stone.”

Wentworth Dillon, earl of Roscommon, was born in Ireland during the lieutenancy of Strafford, who was his god-father. His father had been converted by Usher to the Protestant religion; and when the popish rebellion broke out, Strafford, thinking the family in great danger from the fury of the Irish, sent for his god-son, and placed him in Yorkshire, where he was instructed in the Latin language, which he acquired so perfectly as to write it with purity and elegance, though he was said not to be able to retain the rules of grammar.

When the storm broke out upon Strafford his house
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was no longer a shelter, and Dillon was sent to Caen, where the Protestants had then an university, and continued his studies under Bochart. The state of England and Ireland was long after this time such, that any one who was absent from either country had very little temptation to return; and therefore Roscommon, when he left Caen, travelled into Italy, amusing himself with its antiquities, and particularly with medals, in which he obtained uncommon skill. At the Restoration he came to England, was made master of the horse to the duchess of York, and married the daughter of the earl of Courtenay. He now employed himself in literary projects, and formed the plan of a society, in imitation of the Italian academies, for refining our language and fixing its standard, in which Dryden assisted him. But all plans of new literary institutions were quickly suppressed by the contentious turbulence of king James's reign; and Roscommon, foreseeing some violent concussion of the state was at hand, purposed to retire to Rome. His departure was delayed by the gout; and he was so impatient, either of hindrance or of pain, that he submitted himself to a French empiric, who is said to have repelled the disease into his bowels. At the moment in which he expired, he uttered, with an energy of voice expressive of the most fervent devotion, two lines of his own version of the *Dies Iræ*.

“ My God, my Father, and my Friend,
Do not forsake me in my end.”

He died in 1684, and was buried with great pomp in Westminster Abbey.

Of Roscommon, as a poet, Fenton has given this character:—“ In his writings we view the image of a mind naturally solid and serious, richly furnished and adorned with all the ornaments of learning, unaffectedly disposed in the most regular and elegant order. His imagination might have been more fruitful and sprightly, if his judgment had been less severe; but that severity, delivered in
a mas-

a masculine, clear, succinct style, contributed to his eminence in the didactic manner; so that no one can affirm, with justice, that he was equalled by any of our nation, without confessing at the same time that he was inferior to none. In some other kinds of writing his genius seems to have wanted fire."

But a higher testimony in his favour is left us; that of Dryden, who acknowledges himself to have been dissatisfied with his own powers, till he had tried whether he was capable of following the rules laid down by lord Roscommon in his excellent Essay on Translated Verse; of the truth and usefulness of which his reason was convinced, and he had endeavoured to observe all his instructions. On which Johnson remarks, "that Roscommon deserved his praises, had they been bestowed with discernment; not on the rules themselves, but on the art with which they are introduced, and the decorations with which they are adorned in this essay." Yet surely the judgment, the skill in criticism, for which Roscommon is so justly famed, is proved by the rules he has given, rather than the mode in which they are conveyed.

His next great work is the Translation of the Art of Poetry. Amongst his smaller compositions, the Eclogue of Virgil, and the *Dies Iræ*, are admirably translated. His political verses are sprightly, and when published first must have been very popular.

Of his writings in general the judgment of the public seems to be right: he is elegant, but not great; he never labours after exquisite beauties, and seldom falls into gross faults; his versification is smooth, but rarely vigorous; and his rhymes are remarkably exact. He improved taste, but did not enlarge knowledge, and may be numbered amongst the benefactors to English literature.

He is perhaps the only correct writer in verse before Addison: nor is this his highest praise; he was the only moral poet in the reign of Charles the II^d.

John Wilmot, earl of Rochester, was born in 1648, in Oxfordshire; and, after a grammatical education, entered as a nobleman in Wadham College; where, at the age of fourteen, he so far distinguished himself by talents and learning, that he was made master of arts, and soon after travelled into France and Italy. On his return, which was in his eighteenth year, he devoted himself to the court; and was so much in favour with king Charles, that he appointed him one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and comptroller of Woodstock Park. In the court his principles were corrupted, and his manners depraved: he lost all sense of religious restraint; and, not finding it convenient to admit the authority of laws, which he was resolved not to obey, sheltered his vices under infidelity. With an avowed contempt of all order and decency, a total disregard to every moral tie, and a resolute denial of every religious obligation, he blazed out his youth and health in voluptuousness and sensuality; and at the age of thirty-one had exhausted the fund of life, and reduced himself to a state of weakness and decay, which terminated two years after in his death.

During his illness he was visited by bishop Burnet; to whom he laid open the tenor of his opinions, and the course of his life; and from whom he received such conviction of the reasonableness of moral duty, and the truth of Christianity, as produced a total change in his manners and sentiments. His end was exemplarily penitent.

Lord Rochester was eminent for his wit; and it is much to be lamented, that, with abilities which might have adorned the age, his muse was prostituted to licentiousness, and few of his compositions remain deserving notice. Amongst these may be ranked the Imitation
of

of Horace's Satire, Verses to Lord Mulgrave, Lampoon on Sir Carr Scroop, the Satire against Man, and Verses upon Nothing. Considered as a poet, he has sprightliness and vigour; tokens may every where be traced of a mind which labour might have carried to excellence. His Imitation of Horace on Lucilius is peculiarly elegant and happy. In the reign of Charles II. began that adaptation, which has since been frequent, of ancient poetry to present times; and it will not be easy to find an instance where the parallelism is better preserved than in this. The versification is sometimes careless, but the whole is admirable.

His songs have no particular character; they are commonly smooth and easy, but have little nature, and little sentiment.

One of his most vigorous pieces is his Lampoon on Sir Carr Scroop, who provoked him by some reflexions in a poem called the *Praise of Satire*; though it must be confessed Rochester needed little provocation to exercise his wit in libels, of which he declared to bishop Burnet (who was remonstrating to him on the evil of defamation) that *lies* were generally ornaments, which could not be spared without spoiling the beauty of the composition.

The strongest effort of his muse is his poem Upon Nothing; wherein the fertility of his genius and the powers of his mind are eminently displayed. But he is not the first who chose this barren topic to exhibit them. Passerat, a poet in France of the sixteenth century, has written a poem in Latin on the same subject; but, on examining their merits, the preference will be given to Rochester.

Villiers, duke of Buckingham, was the author of several pieces in verse and prose, and also of some dramatic works; the most celebrated of which is the Rehearsal, of

which Dryden is the object of the satire, under the name of Bays. This play was received with wonderful applause, and still retains possession of the theatre. It has been considered by a consummate critic (lord Shaftesbury) as the first standard of ridicule, and a most perfect piece of the kind. "The most successful criticism (says his lordship) is that which approaches nearest the earliest Greek comedy. The highly-rated burlesque poem Hudibras, on the subject of religious controversies, and that justly-admired piece of comic wit, the Rehearsal, has furnished our best writers in religion and politics, as well as in learning and *belles lettres*, with the most effectual means of exposing folly, pedantry, false reasoning, and ill writing."

Dryden, in revenge for what he calls this "unmerciful exposing," satirised the duke under the name of Zimri, in his poem of Absalom and Ahitophel; and the portrait is admirable, being allowed, says Wood, by all who ever knew the duke, to have been drawn from the life.

"Some of their chiefs were princes of the land;
 In the first rank of these did Zimri stand;
 A man so various, that he seemed to be
 Not one, but all mankind's epitome.
 Stiff in opinion, always in the wrong;
 Was every thing by turns, and nothing long;
 But in the course of one revolving moon,
 A chymist, fidler, statesman, and buffoon.
 Then all for women, painting, rhyming, drinking,
 Besides ten thousand freaks which died in thinking!
 Railing and praising were his usual themes,
 And both, to prove his judgment, in extremes.
 In squandering wealth was his peculiar art;
 Nothing went unrewarded but desert;
 He laughed himself from courts, then sought relief
 By forming parties—but could ne'er be chief.
 Thus wicked but in will, of means bereft,
 He left not faction, but by that was left!"

ABSALOM AND AHITOPHEL.

But

But as it would be unjust to take his character only from a satirist whom he had offended, we will subjoin it as drawn by Burnet.—“The duke of Buckingham was bred about the king, and, being himself sunk into all the vices of the age, endeavoured to corrupt him; in which he was too successful, finding him enough inclined to receive ill impressions; and, to complete the matter, under pretence of instructing him in mathematics, Hobbes was brought, and he laid before him his schemes, both with relation to religion and politics; so that the main blame of Charles’s loose principles and bad morals were owing to the duke.

“He had no sort of literature, no steadiness or conduct; he could keep no secret, nor execute any design without spoiling it; he could never fix his mind, or govern his estate, though then the greatest in England. He had no principles of religion, virtue, or friendship. He had great wit, and such an ascendancy over the king for many years, that he was preferred by the royal favour to the first posts and offices of the kingdom; but he spoke of him to all persons with contempt, which at length drew a lasting disgrace upon himself, and ruined both body and mind, fortune and reputation. He became contemptible, poor, sickly, sunk in his parts as well as in all other respects, so that his conversation was as much avoided as it had ever been courted.”—Yet his address must have been extraordinary; for after having attended prince Charles to Scotland, been present at the battle of Worcester, where, being left to himself, he escaped beyond sea, he stole over to England, made his court to lady Mary the daughter of lord Fairfax, and, by marrying her, obtained most of his estate. Great must have been the powers of that man who equally could please the puritanic Fairfax and the dissolute Charles! To the one he could only be acceptable by an appearance of the deepest sanctity, and to the other by open profaneness and glaring immorality. The noble employment of

Buckingham at court was to mimic and ridicule; for which it must be acknowledged he possessed first rate talents; and succeeded no less in imitating Charles than Clarendon. But whatever distinction he obtained by flattering the humours or administering to the passions of the king, he afterwards lost by entering into seditious correspondences, and fomenting disturbances in the nation. He died April 1687, leaving a memorable example of the end of the wicked, which Pope has described in his third epistle.

“ In the worst inn’s * worst room, with mat half hung,
The floors of plaster, and the walls of dung,
On once a flock bed, but repair’d with straw,
With tape-tied curtains, never meant to draw,
The George and garter dangling from that bed
Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,
Great Villiers lies. Alas! how chang’d from him,
That life of pleasure, and that soul of whim!
Gallant and gay, in Clivedon’s proud alcove,
The bower of wanton Shrewsbury and love.
Or just as gay at council, in a ring
Of mimick’d statesmen and their merry king.
No wit to flatter, left of all his store;
No fool to laugh at, which he valued more:
There, victor of his health, of fortune, friends,
And fame, this lord of useless thousands ends!

Charles Sackville, earl of Dorset, was born in 1637. Having been educated under a private tutor, he travelled into Italy, and returned just before the Restoration. He soon became a favourite of Charles, and entered into those extravagant frolics and licentious pleasures common to the young men of rank in that time, who aspired to be wits.

“ The fire of his youth (says Prior, in his character of him)

* It was reported that the duke died in a remote inn in Yorkshire; but this is not fully ascertained. That he died poor and miserable admits no doubt.

led him to some excesses; but they were always set right the next day, with great humanity and ample retribution. So much sweetness accompanied what he said, and so much generosity what he did, that people were always prepossessed in his favour."

Indeed he appears to have had much better principles than his companions: he was exact in the payment of his debts, a strict observer of his word, inviolable in his friendships, and unbounded in his charities. "This extraordinary youth (continues the poet) was accompanied with so true a judgment in all parts of fine learning, that whatever subject was before him, he discoursed upon it as if the peculiar bent of his study had been applied that way. The most eminent masters appealed to his determination. Waller consulted him in his verse, and Spratt in his prose. Dryden, in the character of Eugenius, abides by his decision as to the laws of dramatic poetry. Butler owed it to him that the court tasted Hudibras; and the duke of Buckingham deferred to publish his Rehearsal till he was sure (as he expressed it) that Dorset would not rehearse upon him again.

"As the judgment he made of the writing of others could not be refuted, so the manner in which he wrote himself will hardly be equalled. His abundant wit, the brightness of his parts, distinguished him in an age of great politeness, and at a court crowded with men of talents. Every one of his pieces is an ingot of gold, intrinsically and solidly valuable; such as, wrought thinner, would shine through a whole book of any other author. His thought is always new, and the expression of it so peculiarly happy, that it is as natural as inimitable. His love verses have delicacy and strength; they convey the wit of Petronius in the softness of Tibullus; his satire indeed is severely pointed, and in it he appears what lord Rochester says he was,

“ The best good man with the worst-natured muse.

Yet

“ Yet even here the character may be applied to him which Perseus gives of the first writer of the kind that ever lived—

“ Omne vaser vitium ridenti Flaccus amici,
Tangit, et admissus circum præcordia ludit.”

Thus far Prior.—A more severe critic of our own times mentions him as a man whose elegance and judgment were universally confessed, and whose bounty to the learned and the witty was generally known. And if such a man attempted poetry, we cannot wonder that his works were praised. Dryden, whom he distinguished by his beneficence, (and who lavished his blandishments on those who are known not to have deserved them,) in undertaking to produce authors of our own country superior to those of antiquity, says, “ *I would instance your lordship in satire, and Shakspeare in tragedy.*”

Would it be imagined, that of this rival to antiquity, all the satires were little personal invectives, and his longest composition a song of eleven stanzas?

The blame, however, of this exaggerated praise falls on the encomiast, not upon the author; whose performances are, what they profess to be, the effusions of a man of wit—gay, vigorous, and airy. His verses to Howard show great fertility of mind, and his *Dorinda* has been imitated by Pope.

Edmund Waller was born in Herefordshire, 1605. His father was Robert Waller, esq. and his mother daughter of John Hampden, and sister to the celebrated patriot of that name. His father died whilst an infant, and left him a yearly income of 3500*l.* He was educated at Eton, and removed afterwards to Cambridge. Waller's political and poetical life began nearly together. He was sent to parliament in his eighteenth year, and at the same time wrote the poem which appears first in his works, *On the Prince's Escape at St. Andero*; a piece

a piece which justifies the observation made by one of his editors, "that he attained, by a felicity like instinct, a style which will never be obsolete: and were we to judge only by the wording, we could not know what was wrote at twenty, and what at fourscore." By the perusal of Fairfax's translation of Tasso, (to which he confesses himself indebted for the smoothness of his numbers,) and by his own nicety of observation, he had then formed such a system of metrical harmony as he never afterwards much needed, or endeavoured to improve. Denham corrected his numbers by experience, and gained ground upon the ruggedness of the age; but what was acquired by Denham was inherited by Waller.

Waller was not one of those idolaters of fame who cultivate their minds at the expence of their fortunes: rich as he was by birth, he took care early to grow richer by marrying Mrs. Banks, a great heiress in the city. At her death, which was soon, he fixed his heart ambitiously on the lady Dorothea Sidney, daughter of the earl of Leicester, whom he courted by all the poetry in which Sacharissa is celebrated. This high-born dame afforded wit no opportunity of boasting its influence; unsubdued by his verse, she rejected his addresses with disdain. When he had lost all hopes, he looked round for an easier conquest, and gained a lady of the family of Bresse, of whom nothing is recorded but that she brought him many children. His uncommon qualifications recommended him to the most illustrious scholars and statesmen; and during the long interval of parliament he is represented as living amongst those with whom it was most honourable to converse, and enjoying an exuberant fortune with that independence and liberty of speech which wealth ought always to produce. He was considered however as the kinsman of Hampden, and therefore supposed by the courtiers not to favour them.

When the parliament was called in 1640, it appeared that Waller's political character had not been much mistaken:

taken: the king's demand of a supply produced one of those noisy speeches which disaffection and discontent regularly dictate; a speech filled with hyperbolical complaints of imaginary grievances. He then proceeded to rail at the clergy, being sure, at that time, of a favourable audience. His topic is such as will always serve its purpose—an accusation of preaching only for preferment; and he exhorts the commons to provide for their protection *against pulpit law*.

The speech is vehement; but the great position, that grievances ought to be redressed before supplies are granted, is agreeable enough to law and reason: nor was Waller such an enemy to the king as not to wish his distresses lightened.

In the long parliament, Waller was considered as a man sufficiently trusty and acrimonious, by the discontented party, to be employed in managing the prosecution of judge Crawley, for his opinion in favour of ship-money; and he did not disappoint their expectations. He was not, however, a bigot to his party, nor did he adopt all their opinions. When the great question, *Whether episcopacy ought to be abolished?* was debated, he spoke against the innovation so coolly, so reasonably, and so firmly, that it is not without great injury to his name that his speech was omitted in his works; and it is much to be lamented, that he who could plead in so able a manner in a right cause had not acted throughout with spirit and uniformity.

The engagement, known by the name of Waller's plot, was soon afterwards discovered. Waller had a brother-in-law, Tomkins, who was clerk of the queen's council; and at the same time had great influence in the city. Waller and he, conversing with great confidence, told their own secrets, and those of their friends; and, surveying the wide extent of their acquaintance, imagined they had found, in the majority of all ranks, great disapproba-
tion

tion of the violence of the commons, and unwillingness to continue the war. They knew that many favoured the king, whose fear concealed their loyalty; and many desired peace, though they durst not oppose the clamour; and they supposed, that if these could be informed of their own strength, and enabled to act together, they might overpower the fury of sedition, refuse the taxes levied for the rebel army, and, by uniting in a petition for peace, restore the king, and save the country.

Lord Conway joined in their design, which chiefly was, to bring the loyal inhabitants to the knowledge of each other. It is the opinion of Clarendon, that no violence or sanguinary resistance was intended—only to abate the confidence of the rebels by public declarations, and to weaken their power by an opposition to new supplies. About this time another plot was formed by sir Nicholas Crispe, a man whose loyalty has transmitted his name to posterity:—flattering himself that some opportunity would encourage the king's friends to break out in open resistance to the commons, and then would only want a lawful standard, and authorised commanders, he extorted from the king a commission of array, directed to such as he thought proper to nominate. This commission, which could only be intended to lie ready till the occasion should require it, was an act preparatory to hostility; and Crispe would undoubtedly have put an end to the session of parliament, had his strength been equal to his zeal. Out of the design of Crispe, and that of Waller, which was an act purely civil, the commons compounded a horrid and dreadful plot: guards were sent to apprehend Tomkins and Waller, the last of whom was so confounded with fear, that he confessed whatever he had heard, seen, said, or thought; all that he knew of himself, and all that he suspected of others, without concealing any person, of any degree or quality whatsoever; or any discourse which he had upon any occasion entertained with them. He accused the earl of Portland and lord Conway as co-operating in the trans-

transaction; and testified that the earl of Northumberland had declared himself favourable to any attempt which might check the violence of the parliament, and reconcile them to the king. Tomkins partook of his cowardice, for he gave notice of Crispe's commission of array; and Pym was sent to tell the citizens of their happy escape. Their design was, to seize the lord-mayor and all the committee of militia, and deliver the parliament and city into the hands of the cavaliers. Waller immersed himself still deeper in ignominy. The earl of Portland and lord Conway denied the charge; and there was no evidence against them but the confession of Waller, who endeavoured to persuade Portland to a declaration like his own; but it had little effect upon his stronger mind; and the lords ordered them to be confronted together, when the one repeated his charge, and the other his denial; and no testimony but Waller's appearing, Portland and Conway were admitted, after a long imprisonment, to bail. The earl of Northumberland was too great for prosecution; and Tomkins was hanged near his own door. Waller, though confessedly the most guilty, with incredible dissimulation, (says Clarendon) affected such remorse, that his trial was put off out of Christian compassion, till he might recover his understanding. What use he made of this interval, with what liberality and success he distributed flattery and money, and how he confessed and lamented when he was brought before the house, may be read in the History of the Rebellion, b. vii. The speech to which Clarendon ascribes the preservation of his *dear-bought life* is inserted in his works. After a year's imprisonment, in which time resentment grew less acrimonious, by paying a fine of 10,000*l.* he was permitted to *recollect himself in another country.*

Of his behaviour, in this part of life, it is not necessary to direct an opinion. "Let us not," says his ingenious biographer, "condemn him with untempered severity, because
because

because he was not a prodigy which the world hath seldom seen; because his character included not the poet, the orator, and the hero." He chose France for the place of his exile, and lived with great splendor and hospitality at Paris; amusing himself with poetry, in which he speaks of rebels (of whom he had so obsequiously begged his life) with the vehemence of a loyalist.

Of Cromwell, now protector, he solicited permission to return to England; and obtained it through the interest of his sister, married to colonel Scroop. Cromwell received him as his kinsman, and he repaid his favour by the famous panegyric which has always been considered as the first of his poetical productions. His choice of encomiastic topics is very judicious; for he regards Cromwell, in his exaltation, without inquiring how he attained it; consequently there is no mention of the rebel or the regicide; nothing is brought to view but "the defender of England's glory, and the enlarger of her dominion." The poem on his death seems to have been dictated by real veneration for his memory.

Soon afterwards the Restoration supplied him with another subject; and he exerted his imagination, his elegance, and his melody, with equal alacrity for Charles II. It is not possible to read, without indignation and contempt, poems of the same author, ascribing the highest degree of power and piety to Charles I.; then transferring the *same power and piety* to Oliver Cromwell; now inviting Oliver to take the crown, and then congratulating Charles II. on recovering his right. Neither could value his testimony as the effect of conviction, or receive his praises as the effusions of reverence; they could consider them but as the labour of invention, and the tribute of dependence.

Poets indeed prefer fiction; but the legitimate end of fiction is the consequence of truth; and he that has flattery ready for all whom the vicissitudes of the world happen

happen to exalt, must be scorned as a prostituted mind, which may retain the glitter of wit, but has lost the dignity of virtue.

The account of Waller's parliamentary eloquence is attested by Burnet, who calls him "the delight of the house;" but adds, "he was only concerned to say, that which should make him be applauded; he never laid the business of the house to heart, being a vain and empty, though a witty man." Clarendon, to whom he was familiarly known, records, "that he appeared in these assemblies with great advantage, having a graceful way of speaking; and, by thinking much on several arguments, he seemed to speak upon the sudden, when the occasion had only administered the opportunity, which gave a high lustre to what he said, which yet was rather of delight than weight."—There needs no more be said to extol the excellence and power of his wit, and pleasantness of his conversation, than that it was of magnitude enough to cover a world of very great faults; that is, so to cover them, that they were not taken notice of to his reproach, viz. a narrowness in his nature to the lowest degree; an abjectness and want of courage to support him in any virtuous undertaking; an insinuation and servile flattery to the height: that it preserved and won his life from those who were most resolved to take it, and on an occasion in which he ought to have been ambitious to have lost it; and then preserved him again from the contempt which was due to him in so preserving it, and vindicating it at such a price, that it had power to reconcile him to those whom he had most offended; and continued to his age, with that rare felicity, that his company was acceptable where his spirit was odious; and he was pitied even where he was most detested.

At the accession of king James he was chosen a member of parliament, being then fourscore, and treated by his majesty with kindness and familiarity.

Having

Having now attained an age beyond which the laws of nature seldom suffer life to be extended, otherwise than by a future state, he seemed to have turned his mind on preparations for the decisive hour, and consecrated his poetry to devotion. It is pleasing to discover that his piety was without weakness, and that the lines which he composed when

“He for age could neither see nor write”
are not inferior to the effusions of his youth.

As his disease increased upon him, he composed himself for his departure; and calling upon Dr. Birch to give him the holy sacrament, he desired his children to take it with him, and made an earnest declaration in favour of Christianity. He died in 1687, and was buried at Beaconsfield.

The general character of his poetry is elegance and gaiety; he is never pathetic, and very rarely sublime. He seems neither to have had a mind much elevated by nature, nor amplified by learning; his thoughts are such as a liberal conversation, and large acquaintance with life, would easily supply; they had, however, then that grace of novelty which they are now supposed to want, by those who, having found them in later books, do not inquire who produced them first.

Of his airy and light productions, the chief source is gallantry; that attentive reverence of female excellence which has descended to us from the Gothic ages. As his poems are commonly occasional, and his addressees personal, he was not so liberally furnished with grand as with soft images; for beauty is more easily found than magnanimity. The delicacy which he cultivated restrains him to a certain nicety and caution, even when he writes on the slightest matter. He has nothing burlesque, and seldom any thing ludicrous. He seems always to do his best, though his subjects are not worth his care. Little things are made too important, and the em-

pire of beauty is represented as exerting its influence further than can be allowed by the multiplicity of human passions, and the variety of human wants.

He seldom brings an amorous sentence from the depths of science; his thoughts are easily understood; and he has a just claim to popularity, because he writes to common degrees of knowledge.

Amongst his little poems, are some which their excellence ought to secure from oblivion: As that to Amoret, comparing the different modes of regard with which he looks on her and Sacharissa, and the Verses on Love, beginning

“ Anger in hasty words or blows.”

Of *the full resounding line* he has given few examples; critical decision has allotted the praise of strength to Denham, and sweetness to Waller. His harmony of versification has some abatement: he uses the expletive *do* very frequently; and, though he lived to see it almost universally rejected, was not more careful to avoid it in his last compositions than his first. Reputation had given him confidence; and finding the world satisfied with his productions, he satisfied himself. His rhymes are sometimes weak words: *so*, makes the rhyme twice in ten lines, and occurs often through the book.

Of his nobler and more weighty performances, the greater part is panegyric; for of praise he was very lavish; his verses upon Cromwell have obtained their just share of commendation. Such a series of lines had then rarely appeared in the English language. Some are grand, others graceful; all are musical.

His sacred poems do not please like some of his other works; but, before the fatal fifty-five, when his political conduct so much dishonoured his literary powers, had he written on the same subjects, his success would hardly have been better.

But

But of the praise of Waller, though much may be taken away, much will remain: he added something to our elegance of diction, and something to our propriety of thought. His opinion concerning the duty of a poet is contained in his declaration, that “he would blot from his works any line that did not contain some motive to virtue.” And to him may be applied what Tasso said of himself and Guarini, after having perused the *Pastor Fido*—“If he had not read *Aminta*, he had not excelled it.”

Of Thomas Otway, one of the first names in the English drama, little is known. He was the son of a clergyman, and born in Suffex, 1651. From Winchester school, where he was educated, he was entered a commoner of Christ-Church, 1669; but left the university without a degree; whether for want of money, or impatience of academical restraint, is not known.

At London he commenced player, but was unable to gain any reputation on the stage. But unsuccessful in this line, he felt in himself powers which qualified him for a dramatic author; and, in his twenty-fifth year, he produced *Alcibiades*. He afterwards published *Titus and Berenice*, from Rapin; the *Cheats of Scapin*, from Moliere; and *Friendship in Fashion*, a comedy, which, whatever might be its first reception, was, upon its revival at Drury-lane, hissed off the stage for its immorality.

Want of morals or decency did not, in those days, exclude any man from the society of the opulent and the great, if he brought with him any powers of entertainment; and Otway is said to have been a favourite in the circle of the wits. But as he who desires no virtue in his companion has no virtue himself, those with whom Otway associated had no intention of serving him further than by paying the reckoning: their kindness was without benevolence, and their familiarity without friendship. “The great, at that time, allowed no favour to men of genius, but to share their riots, from which they dismissed
d 2. them

them again to their own narrow circumstances: thus they languished in indigence without the support of eminence."

The earl of Plymouth, however, procured for Otway a cornet's commission in some troops sent into Flanders; but he did not prosper in his military character, for he soon left his commission behind him, whatever was the reason, and came back to London in extreme want. His play of *Don Carlos* appears to have had uncommon success, and from which he is represented to have received great benefit. The *Orphan* was exhibited in 1680. This yet keeps possession of the stage, and has pleased for a century, through all the vicissitudes of dramatic fashion: it is a domestic tragedy, drawn from middle life: its whole power is upon the affections; for it is not written with much comprehension of thought, or elegance of expression; but, if the heart be interested, many other beauties may be wanting, and not missed. The next year produced the *Fall of Caius Marius*, much of which is borrowed from the *Romeo and Juliet* of Shakspeare.

His last and greatest work is *Venice Preserved*; still a favourite of the public, notwithstanding the want of morality in the design, and the despicable scenes of low comedy with which he has diversified his tragic action. By comparing this with his *Orphan*, it will appear that his images were become stronger, and his language more energetic. The striking passages are universally known; and the public judges rightly of its faults and excellences, that it is the composition of a man not attentive to decency, nor zealous for virtue, but one who conceived forcibly, and drew originally, by consulting nature in his own breast.

He also wrote poems which are in the late collection, and translated from the French the *History of the Triumvirate*.

All these were produced before he was thirty-four years old. He died in a manner painful to relate. Having been compelled by his necessities to contract debts, and hunted by bailiffs, he retired to a public-house on Tower-Hill: he went out (says his biographer) almost naked, in the rage of hunger, and finding a gentleman in a coffee-house, asked him for a shilling; the gentleman gave him a guinea; and Otway going away, bought a roll, and was choaked with the first mouthful.

The principal power of Otway was in moving the passions: he appears to have been a zealous royalist, and received what, in those times, was the common reward of loyalty—he lived and died neglected.

Mrs. Catharine Phillips, known by the name of the “Matchless Orinda,” was much and deservedly esteemed for her poetical talents, and was unrivalled by the female wits of her time. Her poems are more admired for propriety and beauty of thought than harmony of versification, in which she was generally deficient.

She translated the Pompey and Horace of Corneille. Her Letters to Sir Charles Cotterell are amongst the best of her works.

The comedies of Wycherly were in great reputation, and were conformable to his personal character, which consisted of little virtue, much wit, and more libertinism. These, in the reign of Charles, were the first qualifications of a fine gentleman, and the strongest recommendation to the favour of the court. At the same time Killigrew, sir George Etheridge, and other play-wrights, published works well adapted to the licentiousness of the court, and the prevailing manners of the age.

The marquis of Newcastle, in consequence of his rank rather than his merit, was celebrated amongst the poets. His writings, consisting of plays and poems, are now little regarded;

regarded; but his book on horsemanship is yet held in esteem.

Payne Fisher, poet laureat to Cromwell, was a copious and not inelegant writer of Latin verse: he flourished before and after the Restoration. This character by Strada is exactly applicable to him:

“Nullius hodie mortalium, aut nascitur, aut moritur, aut præliatur, aut rusticatur, aut abiit peregre, aut rediit, aut est, aut non est, (nam etiam mortuis iste canit,) cui non extemplo credat Epicedia, Genethliaca, Proterptica nænias nugas.” (See a catalogue of his works, Athenæ Oxoniensis.)

Thomas May was a distinguished poet and historian, and Johnson has pronounced his Latin performances to be superior to those of Cowley or Milton*.

* Hume, Macauley, Wood's Athen. Ox. Johnson's Lives, Biograph. Brit. Grainger, Biog. Dict. &c. &c.



PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1800.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of any Month are put down in that Month.

1800.	Bank Stock.	3p.ct. red.	3p.ct. conf.	4p.ct. conf.	5p.ct. Navy.	5p.ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exchequer Bills.	Omnium	Irish 5p.ct.	Imp. 3p.ct.	Eng. Lot. Tickets.	Irish P. 1st Lot.	Irish P. 2d Lot.
Jan.	{ 157 153 $\frac{3}{4}$	62 $\frac{5}{8}$ 60 $\frac{3}{4}$	63 $\frac{5}{8}$ 60 $\frac{1}{2}$	78 $\frac{1}{4}$ 76 $\frac{1}{4}$	91 $\frac{3}{8}$ 90 $\frac{1}{2}$	92 $\frac{5}{8}$ 90	17 $\frac{7}{8}$ 17 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	201 195	11 pr. 1		61 $\frac{7}{8}$ 61	60 $\frac{5}{8}$ 4 pr. par.	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	pr.	90 84 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{3}{8}$ 58 $\frac{3}{4}$	16 8 0 15 17 0	86 86	84 84
Feb.	{ 161 154 $\frac{1}{4}$	63 $\frac{5}{8}$ 60	62 $\frac{7}{8}$ 60 $\frac{1}{2}$	80 $\frac{1}{4}$ 77 $\frac{3}{4}$	94 $\frac{1}{4}$ 90 $\frac{3}{4}$	95 91 $\frac{5}{8}$	18 $\frac{1}{4}$ 17 $\frac{7}{8}$	6 $\frac{1}{8}$ 5 $\frac{7}{8}$	203 195	11 pr. 1			60 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5 pr. 4	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 $\frac{1}{4}$		92 $\frac{1}{4}$ 87 $\frac{3}{4}$	61 $\frac{1}{4}$ 59 $\frac{1}{4}$	16 12 0 14 10 0	86 86	84 84
Mar.	{ 163 $\frac{3}{4}$ 161 $\frac{1}{4}$	64 63 $\frac{7}{8}$	63 $\frac{1}{2}$ 62 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 $\frac{1}{4}$ 80 $\frac{7}{8}$	96 $\frac{5}{8}$ 94 $\frac{1}{8}$	95 $\frac{1}{2}$ 95	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{8}$	210 $\frac{1}{2}$ 202 $\frac{1}{4}$	12 10			63 62 $\frac{1}{4}$ 7 pr.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 $\frac{3}{4}$		92 $\frac{1}{2}$ 91 $\frac{1}{2}$	62 $\frac{3}{8}$ 61 $\frac{1}{2}$	32 0 0 15 5 0	86 86	Irish Tickets.
Apr.	{ 165 161 $\frac{1}{4}$	63 $\frac{7}{8}$ 62 $\frac{7}{8}$	64 $\frac{3}{8}$ 63 $\frac{1}{2}$	83 $\frac{1}{4}$ 80 $\frac{3}{8}$	98 $\frac{1}{2}$ 96 $\frac{3}{4}$	95 $\frac{1}{4}$	18 $\frac{7}{8}$	5 $\frac{5}{8}$	212 208 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 11	69 $\frac{1}{4}$ 68	64 $\frac{3}{8}$ 62 $\frac{3}{4}$	63 $\frac{3}{4}$ 63 $\frac{1}{4}$ 8	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ 2 $\frac{1}{4}$		92 $\frac{5}{8}$ 91 $\frac{3}{4}$	63 $\frac{1}{8}$ 62	140 0 0	88 88	8 6 0 8 6 0
May	{ 162 $\frac{1}{4}$ 160 $\frac{1}{4}$	63 $\frac{1}{4}$ 62 $\frac{3}{4}$	65 $\frac{1}{2}$ 63 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 80 $\frac{1}{2}$	98 $\frac{5}{8}$ 97 $\frac{5}{8}$	96 95 $\frac{5}{8}$	18 $\frac{3}{4}$ 18 $\frac{5}{8}$	5 $\frac{5}{8}$	210 $\frac{1}{2}$ 208	21 20	68	62 $\frac{7}{8}$	63 $\frac{7}{8}$ 63 $\frac{5}{8}$ 7	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 $\frac{3}{4}$		92 $\frac{1}{2}$ 92 $\frac{1}{4}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$ 61 $\frac{3}{8}$		89 $\frac{1}{2}$ 88	8 8 0 8 6 0
June	{ 162 160 $\frac{1}{4}$	63 $\frac{5}{8}$ 62 $\frac{5}{8}$	64 $\frac{7}{8}$ 63 $\frac{7}{8}$	81 $\frac{7}{8}$ 80 $\frac{5}{8}$	99 98 $\frac{1}{2}$	96 $\frac{3}{4}$ 95 $\frac{1}{8}$	18 $\frac{3}{4}$ 18 $\frac{5}{8}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ 5 $\frac{5}{8}$	211 $\frac{1}{4}$ 209	19 9	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	62 $\frac{3}{8}$	6 1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1		92 $\frac{7}{8}$ 91	62 $\frac{7}{8}$ 61 $\frac{1}{8}$	16 10 0 16 10 0	90 89 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 8 0 8 10 0
July	{ 166 $\frac{1}{2}$ 161 $\frac{1}{2}$	65 $\frac{7}{8}$ 63 $\frac{3}{8}$	65 $\frac{1}{2}$ 64 $\frac{7}{8}$	84 $\frac{3}{8}$ 81 $\frac{7}{8}$	98 97 $\frac{3}{4}$	99 $\frac{1}{4}$ 95 $\frac{7}{8}$	19 $\frac{1}{4}$ 18 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ 5 $\frac{3}{8}$	212 205 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 10	67		63 $\frac{3}{4}$ 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5	5 2		96 92	64 $\frac{3}{4}$ 61 $\frac{7}{8}$	16 10 0 16 10 0	90 85	10 10 0 8 8 0
Aug.	{ 172 166	65 $\frac{1}{2}$ 64 $\frac{1}{4}$	65 61	85 $\frac{5}{8}$ 83 $\frac{7}{8}$	99 $\frac{5}{8}$ 97 $\frac{3}{8}$	100 98 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$ 19 $\frac{3}{8}$	5 $\frac{7}{8}$ 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	206 201 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 18	69 $\frac{1}{2}$ 68 $\frac{3}{4}$	65 64 $\frac{5}{8}$	64 $\frac{1}{4}$ 63 $\frac{3}{4}$ 7	5 3 $\frac{1}{4}$		97 $\frac{1}{2}$ 95 $\frac{1}{4}$	65 $\frac{7}{8}$ 63 $\frac{1}{4}$	16 10 0 16 10 0	90 85	10 10 0 8 8 0
Sept.	{ 175 169	66 $\frac{1}{4}$ 66	67 $\frac{1}{4}$ 64 $\frac{1}{2}$	85 $\frac{5}{8}$ 84 $\frac{7}{8}$	99 $\frac{7}{8}$ 97 $\frac{7}{8}$	100 $\frac{3}{4}$ 99 $\frac{3}{8}$	19 $\frac{3}{4}$ 19 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{7}{8}$ 5 $\frac{3}{8}$	208 $\frac{1}{2}$ 204 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 19	71 $\frac{1}{8}$ 70 $\frac{3}{4}$		65 $\frac{1}{2}$ 64 $\frac{7}{8}$ 4	6 4 $\frac{1}{4}$		98 $\frac{1}{4}$ 97 $\frac{1}{2}$	65 $\frac{1}{8}$ 63 $\frac{3}{8}$	16 14 0 16 12 0	86 85	8 8 0
Oct.	{ 174 $\frac{1}{2}$ 165	66 62 $\frac{1}{4}$	65 $\frac{7}{8}$ 63 $\frac{3}{4}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$ 80	99 $\frac{1}{4}$ 98 $\frac{1}{8}$	100 $\frac{7}{8}$ 96 $\frac{1}{4}$	19 $\frac{3}{4}$ 18 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ 5 $\frac{1}{8}$	208 $\frac{3}{4}$ 203 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 18	68 $\frac{1}{4}$ 67 $\frac{7}{8}$	62 $\frac{3}{8}$ 62 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 1 dif.	4 2 $\frac{1}{4}$		98 $\frac{1}{4}$ 92 $\frac{3}{4}$	65 $\frac{1}{4}$ 63 $\frac{3}{8}$	16 15 0 16 14 0	86 $\frac{1}{2}$ 86	8 8 0
Nov.	{ 167 164 $\frac{3}{4}$	63 $\frac{3}{4}$ 62 $\frac{7}{8}$	64 $\frac{7}{8}$ 63 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 80 $\frac{5}{8}$	100 98 $\frac{1}{4}$	97 $\frac{7}{8}$ 96 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{7}{8}$ 18 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{8}$ 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	207 205 $\frac{1}{4}$		69 $\frac{3}{4}$ 68 $\frac{3}{4}$	63 $\frac{1}{4}$ 63	3 pr. 1	4 2 $\frac{1}{4}$		95 92	62 $\frac{1}{8}$	16 18 0 16 15 0	86 $\frac{1}{2}$ 86	9 5 0 8 8 0
Dec.	{ 164 158	62 $\frac{3}{4}$ 60 $\frac{5}{8}$	63 $\frac{3}{8}$ 62 $\frac{1}{2}$	79 $\frac{3}{4}$ 77 $\frac{3}{4}$	98 $\frac{1}{2}$	95 $\frac{3}{8}$ 92 $\frac{1}{4}$	18 $\frac{1}{4}$ 18	5 $\frac{3}{8}$ 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	205 $\frac{1}{4}$ 201 $\frac{1}{4}$		67	61 $\frac{1}{4}$ 60 $\frac{7}{8}$	2 1 dif.	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ 1 $\frac{1}{4}$		93 $\frac{1}{2}$ 91	60 $\frac{5}{8}$ 59 $\frac{3}{4}$	17 3 0 16 18 0	86 $\frac{1}{2}$ 85	9 10 0 9 5 0

BRITISH AND FOREIGN
HISTORY

For the Year 1800.

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For the Year 1800.

CHAPTER I.

*Meeting of Parliament. Speech from the Throne. Debate on the Address—
In the House of Lords—In the House of Commons. Militia Reduction Bill.
Debates on that Subject—In the House of Commons—In the House of
Lords.*

IN our last volume we brought down the historical events of the year in general to the very conclusion of it. The only subject of importance which we could not notice consistently with the plan of our publication was the meeting of parliament, which was called together so early as the 24th of September, 1799. The speech from the throne opened with recommending to the house to consider of the propriety of his majesty's availing himself to a farther extent of the voluntary services of the militia, at a moment when our active force abroad might be of the most beneficial consequences.

It set forth, "That, since the last session, our prospects, under Providence, had been improved beyond the most sanguine expectation: the deliverance of Italy might now be considered as secured by a campaign equal in splendor and suc-

cess to the most brilliant recorded in history.

"The kingdom of Naples had been rescued from the French yoke, and restored to the dominion of its lawful sovereign.

"The French expedition to Egypt had been productive of calamity and disgrace, whilst its ultimate views against our Eastern possessions had been utterly confounded; the desperate attempts which our enemies had made to extricate themselves had been defeated by the courage of the Turkish forces, directed by the skill, and animated by the heroism, of a British officer; and the overthrow of that restless and perfidious power had placed the British interests in a state of permanent security.

"There was every reason to expect that our present efforts for the deliverance of the United Provinces would prove successful; we had

rescued already the principal port and naval arsenal of the Dutch republic from the enemy; and might hope that the skill of our generals, and the intrepidity of our troops, would soon, with the assistance of our allies, surmount every obstacle; and that the fleet destined, under the usurped dominion of France, to invade these islands, would, under its ancient standard, restore the religion, liberty, and independence of provinces so long in alliance with this country.

“To our good and faithful ally the emperor of Russia, whose wisdom and magnanimity directed the force of his extensive empire to so many quarters of Europe, we were in a great measure indebted for the favourable change in the general posture of affairs. In pursuance of the recommendation of the British parliament, his majesty had communicated their sentiments to both houses of parliament in Ireland, respecting a union with that kingdom, which would add so much to the security and happiness of his Irish subjects, and consolidate the strength and prosperity of the empire.”

The marquis of Buckingham moved the address in the house of lords. He considered the speech from the throne as a high compliment to that invaluable constitutional force, the militia of this kingdom, with which he estimated it a great honour to have been so many years closely connected: he knew their high spirit, active efforts, and eager zeal, to dare every difficulty and danger in the service of their country; and at the same time he knew their jealousy with respect to any thing which could appear a violation of the principles on which they were instituted, and therefore flattered himself that the utmost impartiality

would be exercised, and that those who had been first in their voluntary offers of service abroad would be first preferred. He adverted to the ancient formation of the militia, and the express terms on which they had been called forth; observing, that nothing less than the necessity of this extraordinary war could warrant the least departure from the original system; nor would he stand up on the present occasion, if he entertained an idea that any attack would be made on the solemn compact on which the militia was instituted.

When he contemplated the events of the present year, beheld the success which had attended our arms in almost every quarter of the globe, he could not help considering these as advantages very far short of those which Providence had yet in store for us. In consequence of our situation, in consequence of the liberation of a large army which had been kept up in the country, and a large fleet stationed in the Northern Seas, many of the provisions which parliament had adopted for the defence of the coasts were no longer necessary: it would therefore be wise to entrust the defence of the country to the original militia, who were fully competent to that object, and to that invaluable body of men, the volunteer corps. Besides reducing the present establishment to its original standard, it would be expedient to add to our troops in Holland; and if it were politic to disembody so much of the militia force as was not necessary for internal defence, it would also be politic to take those men into the regular forces who should make a voluntary tender of their services, that they might be employed abroad with honour to themselves and benefit to their country.

The

The marquis next expatiated on the impiety, cruelty, and injustice, of the French nation, together with the fate which had attended every action undertaken on such principles. The man who was called the conqueror and the hero was defeated and frustrated in all his attempts, from the battle of Aboukir to the siege of Acre. After sitting down before an inconsiderable and ill-fortified town, which he regularly besieged, he was seen to retreat loaded with disgrace, and completely defeated by a handful of British sailors, who, on that occasion, were converted into soldiers; and by the few Turks whom the presence of our small naval force and the exertions of our gallant officer inspired with courage, which otherwise would never have been displayed.

After pointing out that Bonaparte had aggregated violations of the *jus gentium*; and joined extreme injustice to perfidious breach of hospitality, he complimented Sir Sydney Smith on his spirit and his success, with a small force opposed to the vain-glorious conqueror of Italy, at the head of an army habituated to victory.

He then called the attention of their lordships to the fate of Tippoo Saib, the bitterest and most perfidious foe of Great Britain in Asia, whose pride had been humbled to the dust, and whose capital had been taken by our army. He praised the humanity of the officers and of the troops who directed their attention to the defenceless part of Tippoo Saib's household, after achieving such a brilliant victory. He spoke of the wisdom and magnanimity of lord Mornington, with the conviction of truth and the ardour of friendship. The astonishing efforts of the emperor of Russia

came next under his consideration; it was to the energy, and, above all, to the *fidelity* of that illustrious prince that Europe might be indebted for her deliverance.

His lordship concluded with expressing his satisfaction on the union with Ireland—a measure so wise and beneficial, that most ranks of people, more particularly the peasantry, and all the lower orders, considered it as the only means of raising them from that state of ignorance and poverty in which they were sunk.

Lord Amherst rose:—He said no person was better qualified to speak of the important service which the militia had rendered to the empire than the marquis, who had been amongst the first to give animation to their zeal, and borne so large a share in their services; nor should he presume to add weight to such arguments. But he would endeavour to obviate such objections as, in the common intercourse of society, it was impossible not to hear stated: and first, with respect to the general state of the defence of this country, and the alleged inconsistency of offensive operation with the limited scale of military exertion, and that of our annual expenditure. Undoubtedly our first object was to hold out as long as the power and enmity of France continued what it was. Undoubtedly the only certain method of securing this ability was, to fix our exertions to such a point, that, if we should be left to fight the battles of the world, and our own, without assistance, we might be able to stand the contest for any period. But though it was indispensable that we should not exhaust our means, yet, when circumstances opened a prospect of more vigorous exertion on the part of our allies, when the people

whom France had over-run evinced a spirit of opposition to their oppressors, when in the interior of France herself was discovered evident symptoms of debility and distraction, it would have been a narrow and impolitic adherence to any system which would have forbidden our improving so favourable a moment; it would have been an ill-judged œconomy to have grudged a temporary exertion for the chance of accomplishing our end so much the sooner. The impolicy of Great Britain engaging in a continental war had been stated; if by this assertion were meant, undertaking foreign conquests for the sake of acquiring territory and dominion on the continent, nothing could be more true; but if it meant that this country could never have its interests so implicated with those of other powers as to feel itself essentially concerned in the preservation of the balance of Europe, all history proved the reverse. But it had been further objected, that whatever might be our interests in the wars of the continent, our physical situation prevented us from ever taking a part in them. Physical circumstances must, to a certain degree, limit the exertions of every country; but who could draw the line where the power of exertion ends? Who, for instance, if he had been called upon to estimate the efforts and sacrifices of the present war, when it began, would not have started at the idea of one half of what actually has been done and borne cheerfully? When the funding system was shaking, suppose we had listened to the prophecies which foretold it must inevitably fall? and yet who would forego the now ascertained advantage of a system of finance, which nothing but the pressure of the times would

have led us to try, or the spirit of the nation enabled to succeed? When the threat of invasion impended, what would have been the consequence if we had acquiesced in the statement, (true as it was) that we were without an army, and had not the means of internal defence? Yet, at this moment, there was not one spot around our coast where an enemy could make an impression, where he would not be met by an army equalled for its spirit by few, and excelled by none of the powers of the continent. Who, amongst the political œconomists of this, or any age, would have believed that the valour of this petty island would have been able to withstand the mighty nation which had subdued and trampled into submission, or awed into fear, the greater part of Europe? Who, of the grave calculators of physical strength, would have thought it possible that we could have made any attempt against their choicest troops, most skilful generals, and the whole force of their marine, which would not have been fruitless? And what was the whole history of the enterprise of the French, from the memorable battle of Aboukir to the almost incredible events of the siege of Acre, but a series of proofs of the strength of this country? But ought we to be led aside by the desire of military glory, from the sober and safe system of our own national security?—Here his lordship expatiated on empires saved, kingdoms restored, hostile fleets and armies swept away from the face of the globe by the single arm of Great Britain; not from the impulse of military glory, but the laudable ambition of upholding our own independence with the liberties and independence of all Europe.—There was another prejudice against

against continental operations ; they were said to link us too closely with continental powers. Not to trust too far to foreign powers, where they had an obvious interest in deceiving, was certainly a matter of no doubtful policy ; but if ever there was a case of continental operation, *in which suspicion would be misplaced*, it was the present, where the contest was for Great Britain itself, and the liberation of our ally from the yoke of our inveterate enemy.

For an object, therefore, so essentially interesting to this country, we could have no scruple in exerting our best endeavours to give every additional strength to the arms of the nation, and it could be no objection to resort to voluntary zeal for the augmentation of the force in question ; because the same voluntary zeal had preserved Ireland to herself and to this kingdom, and would, if permitted to operate, restore Holland to her alliance and to her rank amongst the nations of the world.

Lord Romney heartily seconded the address, but laid in his claim to object hereafter to the bill relative to the militia.

He considered the militia as an institution interwoven with the constitution, but regarded the *supplementary* militia as the creature of the present war. He was sorry to witness, in passing a bill a few years since, the word 'perpetual' allowed to be inserted to fill up a clause. He did not approve of any military force being voted perpetual, at the same time he cordially concurred in every other part of the address.

The question was carried *nemine dissente*.

In the house of commons, after the reading of his majesty's speech, Mr. Shaw Lefevre moved an address,

in the usual form of an echo to it : He made an eulogium on the noble spirit of the emperor, and the gallant conduct of general Suwarrow ; exulted in the defeat of Tippoo Sultan ; our grand successes against the Batavian republic ; and, above all, in our entire dominion over the Texel. Under all these circumstances, it was necessary to increase our forces in Holland. We had already felt the good effects of the measure adopted last year : it had enabled the king to avail himself of the services of the militia in a manner which could not have been done without that bill. Another bill, excellent in its kind, had been passed last session, for reducing the number and increasing the regular force. At the present time, when the necessity of employing it defensively was no longer urgent, and employing it offensively might be of so much use, it appeared to him quite superfluous to retain more than the original number for the internal safety of the country, which number was about 30,000. Our gallant militia had been too long confined within the pale of self defence ; and as they had manifested not only a readiness, but an ardor to serve their country in any part of the globe, it would be as wise as beneficial to convert all above that number into active regular force, to support the cause in which we were engaged. Colonel Elford seconded the motion : he said it had been tried in Ireland, and the advantages had been indescribably great : the discipline and bravery, as well as other military qualities of the militia, were admirable : they had some advantages over the regular troops in the impression which they made upon the enemy ; for they came not, like the regulars, to perform a duty in which they might not feel an interest—no, their

very appearance proved them volunteers, and the enemy was assured that these at least were hearty in the cause which they advanced to defend, and to them chiefly was owing the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland.

He took a view of the present situation of this country; its favourable aspect resulted from the wisdom of administration. He advised all who doubted of our happiness as a nation, to survey the condition of every other nation. We were now engaged in the most honourable contest; to regain the liberty of a large number of our fellow beings, and to promote the tranquillity of a large portion of the world; and he trusted that divine Providence, which had for some time past favoured our efforts, would lead us through all our difficulties to a happy termination of them.

He adverted, lastly, to our negotiations for peace, baffled as they had been by the perfidy of our enemies; we therefore were obliged to employ force to accomplish what conciliation could not effect—that of uniting all orders of people in this country against the common adversary of social order.

Mr. Jolliffe, after congratulations on our successes, made some remarks on compelling the militia to serve abroad: he thought it an ungrateful return to those gentlemen who had devoted their time to the service of their country, who had expended large sums in forming their regiments, not only to be an ornament, but an honour to it, that they should be converted into commanders of mere recruiting parties, and drillers of new men to be enlisted into the line. Were the new militia regiments allowed to volunteer in corps, or were they ordered abroad as the line are, there

was scarcely an officer who would not gladly accompany them wherever he might be deemed useful: but who in future would raise regiments, if, as soon as the men were raised, they were to be abolished, their men taken from them, and the officers dismissed? When the bill was brought forward, he should trouble them with his opinion more at large.

The address was then agreed to.

Though the opposition on this occasion appeared but faint and trivial, yet the following day (September 25,) an attempt was made, which, had it succeeded, could scarcely fail to have embarrassed the minister.

Mr. W. Plumer rose to express his idea of the propriety of enforcing a call of the house; and in contemplating the magnitude and importance of the measure which was to be brought forward in the course of a week, he could not but have expected, he said, that the chancellor of the exchequer, or some other gentleman near him, would have moved it. He was aware that the motion was unpopular, but he could not (consistent with the duty which he owed his country) avoid making it: not that he disapproved of a bill which was to reduce the militia to its original number; but if its object were (as he feared) to procure a fresh recruit of men for the service of Holland, it would be highly to the credit, and ultimately to the satisfaction of ministers, to have the house called; it was a measure of the greatest importance and most delicate consideration. A continental war was a species of contest by no means favourable to the wishes of the people; and when it was in agitation precipitately to send large bodies of troops abroad, it was the interest of the minister to obtain

obtain the sanction of as many country gentlemen as possible. If it were objected, that the adoption of such a motion would create a delay injurious to the design, he could only answer, that the subject was, in itself, of such vast importance, that it ought to be delayed till the sense of the whole legislative representation was taken upon it.

Mr. Jones seconded the motion: he considered the call of the house as absolutely necessary: the reasons for it appeared to his mind so forcible, that he was persuaded no one could with propriety reject them; and however disagreeable it might be to bring gentlemen from their country affairs and diversions, on such an occasion it was indispensably necessary.

Mr. Buxton affirmed, that the question concerning the militia had been minutely and amply discussed the last session: the benefits that had arisen from its adoption were universally acknowledged to be great, nay, signal beyond expectation. If then there was no call of the house when the measure had novelty to attract examination and provoke censure, he could not see its necessity at present, when its merits had so clearly been ascertained by experience. He felt no small degree of satisfaction in observing the numerous attendance on the preceding day; it proved the solicitude of the country respecting the transactions of public affairs, and the promotion of public interest. Yet allowances ought to be made for the avocations and duties which, at this season, detained gentlemen at their country residences: he therefore must repeat, as there was nothing novel in the measure which occasioned this early convocation of parliament, neither was there any necessity which prescribed the enforcing a call of the house.

As a continental war had been mentioned, he would just remark that *this* ought not to be considered as such: its object was not to protect or secure any continental ally in the recovery of continental territory, but it was a war necessary to our own existence. The safety of this country required the restitution of Holland to its ancient government, therefore it ought to be regarded as undertaken in our own defence.

Mr. Pitt was surprised at a motion calculated to produce so much inconvenience to individuals, and to retard the public business, which required dispatch. Less argument in support of any motion he had never heard: if the principle were established, that whenever his majesty exercised his royal prerogative by calling the parliament together within a shorter period than usual, the urgency of the business for which he so convened it was to be used as an argument in support of a call of the house; the consequence would be, that those measures which were to be carried into effect at a fortnight's notice would be delayed another fortnight, and the purpose totally counteracted. The very act of exercising this prerogative, by convoking the parliament at a time inconvenient for many of the members to attend, was, in itself, that species of summons likely to bring a fuller attendance than any call of the house, by implying the importance of the measure to be discussed. For these reasons he opposed the motion.

Mr. Tierney said, he supported it with the highest satisfaction: it had been his intention to have brought it forward himself, but, upon consideration, he thought he should more effectually serve the cause by waiting to see whether some person of more experience

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than himself would not submit such a motion to the house. He was glad to see it taken up by the most proper of all persons, an old independent country gentleman. One mischief of adopting such a measure had been urged against it: it was, that the object intended to be produced by calling the parliament together in so short a period as fourteen days might be done away without further procrastination. He agreed with his friend as to the real object of the measure; and, like him, his objection was not to the question, whether a disposable force should be drawn from the militia and engrafted into the army, so much as to the probable application of that force. For his own part, he did not know that an expedition against Holland was a bad thing for this country; and there was a time when he would willingly have contributed all in his power to have forwarded it; but now, when we had obtained possession of the Dutch fleet, we ought to be satisfied.

Having succeeded in crippling Holland, and rendering her attack on us impracticable, we were going on with an armed force against that country, without knowing what object we had ultimately in view: the last words of the last session of parliament were, that the object was the overthrow of the present government in France. He could not see how any successes which we might have in Holland could tend to forward this. Were the directory in France asked, in what manner they would wish England to wage war against them, they would answer, that England could not better serve them, than by wasting her strength in the dykes of Holland, and leaving France at liberty to resist her other enemies.—An honourable gentleman had observed that

there was a full attendance of members yesterday: compared with the houses which had distinguished, or rather disgraced the last session, it might be called so; but it had not at all contributed to the credit of the house of commons. To him, who knew the precise number of the members, it could not be considered as a criterion of the sense of that house: the numbers did not amount to 200—they were assuredly not half of the people's representatives. If Mr. Pitt meant to say, that the measure to be brought forward required only the discussion of a thin attendance, he could account for his opposition to this motion. The necessity of a call of the house was the more obvious, as those who did attend were chiefly the members who resided near town. On such a subject the parliament should meet collectively. If there existed a man so callous as to have read the Gazette of the last evening, and still thought that parliament was called upon to send more men to Holland, he pitied such a man!—for himself, he should not consider that he discharged his duty if he did not support the present motion, not with a view to impede or retard public business, but to procure the sanction of the country respecting the precarious and perilous measures which ministers seemed so obstinately bent on pursuing.

The house divided: for the question, 4—against it, 93.

Conformably with that part of his majesty's speech which alluded to the militia, a bill was early introduced into parliament for enabling his majesty to accept of volunteers from the different regiments of militia. In the house of commons, therefore, Mr. secretary Dundas, on the 26th of September, moved for permission to bring in a bill for the reduction of the militia forces of this kingdom, and to ex-
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able his majesty to accept the services of an additional number of volunteers. The necessity of employing British forces out of the country had been hinted at in the last session, and he had not attempted to conceal that it was on the coast of Holland they were to be engaged. The particular places, indeed, had not been stated; there were good reasons why they were not: but the map of Europe furnished us room to act from the Texel to the Mediterranean. It was not the purport of the bill in any respect to diminish the strength of that bulwark, as it had been originally erected by the wisdom of parliament, and fostered by the affectionate care of the people, but it was merely to reduce it to that standard. The supplementary militia was brought forward when the country was threatened with invasion—when invasion was the avowed object of the enemy, and when there was a small force in this country for its defence: it was therefore necessary to make a large addition to the old militia, which had produced the best effect; and for some time the necessity of a large establishment of military force for home defence had been gradually wearing away, partly by the enemy's distress, partly by the success of his majesty's arms, and partly by the loyalty of the people. Under these circumstances, and the prospect which had already opened, our zeal and ardour might be called further forward, and the measure now proposed to give it scope he did not doubt would be readily adopted.

Mr. Tierney rose—not, he said, to oppose any beneficial measure, but to call the attention of the house to consider deeply of the present. The militia was originally intended for home defence: the nature of their service was changed when

they went out of the country for any purpose, be that purpose what it might: He did not mean to insinuate that they had not done themselves great credit, and this kingdom service, in Ireland, but they had totally altered the system on which they were established, and, by this sort of practice, might become a standing army in the hands of the crown. Viewing things constitutionally, therefore, he could not but remark the militia was now rather an object of jealousy than of confidence, and he could wish to have it voted annually, like all other military force.

He felt himself peculiarly embarrassed on the subject: he did not pronounce the measure to be a bad one, but he objected to the application which government intended to make of it. Administration ought to take it upon themselves, and not call for the sanction of parliament. It was now time for this country to think seriously of the waste of English blood. The house of commons ought to pause before an army destined for internal defence should be converted to act offensively for the purposes of ambition. The legislature ought to consider, that not only men could not be raised at all under the old system of recruiting, but that, when raised by this new method, the mode of payment by the old funding system was at an end. He submitted this point to the house, not to raise despair, but awaken consideration to the circumstances of the country, before they agreed to go on with projects of distant expeditions.

Holland had now no fleet to act hostilely against us: their colonies were in our possession, and their trade to all intents and purposes annihilated: nothing remained to them but their soil, their canals,
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and the number of their people. France could derive no advantage in its character of an enemy to us by retaining Holland; nor England gain any thing by taking it out of their hands, except a grave for Englishmen.

Besides, we had sufficient reason to conclude, that the Dutch had no inclination to co-operate with our efforts. When our army had been a month in the country, powerful to protect and defend those who should rally round its standard, few joined our cause, and an obstinate resistance had been opposed to our progress. We had seen 1500 English troops fall in our last attempt, and a much greater proportion of our allies. After severe encounters we only occupied the positions held at the commencement of our enterprise, and should a British parliament sanction measures that must involve such loss of blood and treasures?

The burden that would be entailed upon us at the end of the 7th year of the war deserved calculation also. After we had been so prodigal of our exertions, after the security of our own country was placed upon the most solid basis, was it wise to risk all the advantages we possessed by plunging into a continental war to be prosecuted by our own forces? The number of troops already on the continent was beyond what we ever were accustomed to employ, and now it was proposed to send an additional body of 26,000 men, which, added to the 22,000 in Holland, amounted to an army of 48,000 British troops! We should thus heap new and enormous expences on ourselves. Had we not taken our full proportion of the task of delivering Europe and resisting France?

We had 45,000 Russians in our

pay, to be employed on the continent. Ought parliament, at a fortnight's notice, without any well-founded hope of beneficial enterprise, or ultimate success, to sanction the establishment of an army of 100,000 men? Were the object of the war precisely ascertained, it would be more easy to appreciate the measures to be adopted: the emperor of Russia, indeed, avowed the restoration of the French monarchy to be his object; and in the speech from the throne last session, his majesty stated, that he acted most cordially with this magnanimous ally; but the emperor of Germany had refused to pledge himself to any such design—his views were evidently directed to his own aggrandisement—every battle which he fought, every drop of blood which he expended, was to secure some territorial acquisition. Now the object must be considered in relation to the means to be pursued, and the chance of success: Was England and Russia likely to accomplish the overthrow of the French republic? Was it promoted by the victories which had crowned the campaign? What return of order, of religion, of legitimate government, had we seen rising from any of our exploits? He saw with pleasure, indeed, the power of France circumscribed, and with pleasure he should see her confined within her ancient limits; but it would be necessary to calculate whether we might not suffer more by the attempt than by the evil which existed. Was Switzerland yet restored to its former government?—On the contrary, had it not been held as a conquest, and from France to Austria it had merely shifted hands? Had the king of Sardinia ascended his recovered throne and regained his territories? What matters it to him who loses a crown, whether

whether it be purloined by emperors or directories?

With respect to the bill itself, Mr. Tierney said he had little objection. He was not averse to see the supplementary militia reduced, and the expence which it occasioned saved. He wished not to see the exertions of government crippled, but never would give his support for enabling them to carry on a crusade against France. Connecting therefore the application of the disposable force with the measure proposed, he felt it his duty to give it his negative.

The secretary at war said, that the nature of the bill was misinterpreted; no man by giving it his vote pledged himself to approve its application; for this, ministers would be responsible, as well as for every other part of the disposal of military force. The system of pure defensive war, which the honourable gentleman so strenuously recommended, was the most unfortunate which could be espoused: the only effectual means of defence, both for individuals and nations, was to attack the enemy: by mere defence we were exposed to the danger of being hurt without any chance of injuring the adversary. Offensive operations alone could terminate the contest. But why not leave Europe to itself? had we not done enough? as if it was a point of mere calculation and contribution, to be regulated by narrow principles and illiberal views! It was wretched oeconomy also; for if we circumscribed our sphere of operations we contracted our own means of defence. But we had the command of the seas. What was this to the general cause of Europe? Could we be safe whilst such a republic continued to exist? What could the naval force of this

country effect to the annoyance of the enemy if restricted as proposed? What could the gallant Sidney Smith have achieved had he remained on board his ships? What might have been the consequences of Bonaparte's expedition had he been unopposed? or what the situation of the Ottoman empire?

No deep politician, on taking an extensive view of things, could assert, that, because this was an island, we ought to separate the cause of Europe from our own; our fate was involved in that of surrounding nations; our interests and our prosperity were connected with their state; in extending a liberal regard to them, in contributing to their defence, we best promoted our own; by maintaining their freedom, we employed the surest means of advancing our own greatness, guarding our own security, and confirming our own independence. If France were permitted to retain the dominion she lately possessed, all the means of defence of which we could boast would be inadequate for our safety. He did not wish to be understood as holding out the restoration of the French monarchy as the absolute object: however desirable, it might be impracticable; he was well convinced of the impossibility of establishing any form of government against the manners, habits, and sentiments of a people. The question was, whether France desired it? and he did not hesitate to give it as his opinion that it was the wish of the majority; for it was easy to comprehend that they might be governed by the minority, and only waited for an occasion to evince their sentiments.

Mr. Sheridan regretted that his friend Mr. Tierney had no objection to put the militia on the footing

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ing of the army. He thought it essential that ministers should proceed on sure grounds respecting the dispositions of the Dutch; the enterprise could not succeed, and ought not to have been attempted, without the most decided proofs of their co-operation. The manner in which their fleet had been surrendered was by a mutiny in the crews: and as their example had not been followed by the people, it was reasonable to suppose they did not favour our design.

The expedition had been long in contemplation; and when it was determined, there might be some hope of the assistance of Prussia. If it should at last appear that Prussia persisted in neutrality, and the Dutch were ill inclined to our cause, all chance of success was removed. He trusted; therefore, that ministers would not persevere in the fruitless attempt of conquering Holland by force if this should be the case. At any rate he hoped that the house (who were not parties in the plan, nor actuated by the same sensations of pride) would not support administration in such destructive obstinacy.

The chancellor of the exchequer assured the house, that the king of Prussia had not the smallest influence in determining the expedition; it was adopted by ministers under auspices to justify the most sanguine hopes: if, contrary to all he believed, the attempt to rescue Holland from the tyranny of France should miscarry, government would have abundant matter, not only of consolation, but triumph. It could boast of an object fully adequate to justify the design and compensate for the sacrifices. Was it not of importance to have transferred so great a portion of the naval force of Holland from our enemies? If

we could not secure a friend, was it nothing to disarm an adversary? to have stript the republic of an instrument by which they might have assailed the safety of our shores, and to have gained a new bulwark to our national security? These were claims to the gratitude of the country which could not be shaken. These were proofs of success which left no room for regret, which manifested the benefits derived from the former application of the militia forces, and warranted an extension of the principle.

The honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) had said he was not inclined to despond himself, or to excite despondency in others; if he had been so, if he had been desirous of damping the generous ardour for the common cause, of blighting all our prospects of national triumph, and of final security, his topics could not have been more happily selected.

As to the new system of finance, it was a mode of raising supplies by which national credit was supported to a pitch unprecedented at the very commencement of former wars, by which our resources were prolonged, our trade increased, and our prosperity consolidated.

When Mr. Dundas moved the reading of the bill the second time, it was strongly supported by Mr. Jones, who did not wish for any delay on this subject; and though he lamented the necessity with some other gentlemen, he could not oppose any measure likely to deliver the Dutch from the detestable slavery of France—a name only to be written in blood.

Mr. Addington observed that we had obtained the fleet under the most solemn engagements to preserve it for its lawful sovereign, and we embarked in this expedition under

under the well-founded hope that the people of Holland would return to their loyalty. We took the fleet to restore it to their legitimate prince; we promised our exertions to re-instate him in his possessions; and could we now, with either dignity or justice, recede? If administration, after the late capture, should stop short, it would be a species of political swindling, of which he believed his majesty's ministers were incapable.

Mr. Tierney remarked, that this language was something alarming; if at all events we were to persist in the restoration of Holland, and be called swindlers if we did not, our case was pitiable: he should like to understand the terms on which we had taken that fleet, and whether it was a condition in its surrender that we were to restore the ancient government of Holland?

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that if there were any state reasons attending the surrender, it was obvious that in that house no answer could be given to the question; but the truth was, no agreement of any sort had ever been made, nor did we mean at all events to procure the emancipation of Holland. To have taken the fleet with the promise of delivering it up to its sovereign, and to use no endeavours after we had attained our own ends, in the restoration of his provinces, would well deserve the name of political swindling; not that he would have it supposed administration intended to run all risks to effect its object: No; without the co-operation of the Dutch people it would be impracticable. But this there was reason to expect; for, in a short time after the approach of our arms, the inhabitants of one town received our men with joy, as their deliverers.

On the third reading of the bill, Mr. Tierney urged the propriety of ministers taking upon themselves the whole responsibility of the act, for which he proposed an amendment, which was, to leave out of the preamble every thing relative to Holland. He objected to taking any notice, in any act of parliament, of any measure which his majesty, under the advice of ministers, was carrying on. This was one, indeed, which could not come under the inspection of the house, because it belonged exclusively to the king's prerogative. It stated, that his majesty was endeavouring to restore the lawful government of Holland; but what this lawful government was the sovereign alone could decide.

Mr. secretary Dundas answered, we had guarantied to Holland that government by treaty; and he knew of no doubts which could be entertained by parliament, whether a government which we were bound by treaty to support was, or was not, lawful.

The amendment was negatived.

Mr. Martin doubted of the policy of the measures which the bill enabled ministers to pursue; the expence of men and money was not likely to be compensated by any advantages. Still less did he think the present prospect of these advantages was adequate to the risk. He concluded with observing, that the representatives of the people were artfully drawn in by ministers into great and expensive undertakings, and afterwards told that they had advanced too far to recede with prudence or safety.

The bill then passed the house, and was sent up to the lords. In that house, lord Grenville, on the 4th of October, moved the second reading of the bill: the principle, he

he said, had, upon a former occasion, been amply discussed and recognised by parliament: it was to enable his majesty to accept the voluntary service of those persons in the militia who might still wish to serve in the regiments of the line. The measure (as it appeared from recent experience) had been productive of the most beneficial effects, and was likely to promote the most happy consequences.

Earl Fitzwilliam rose:—he thought the bill objectionable, not only as being unjust in its nature, but as introducing into the militia a degree of insubordination of the most perilous nature. When it was brought into parliament the last year, he had foreseen that what was then grounded upon a particular emergency would be resorted to on every occasion as a general principle.

The same reasons which induced him to oppose it at that time were strengthened by this proposed extension: the plan was a breach of the engagement which subsisted with men who were raised for a peculiar purpose, under a peculiar system: by changing the nature of their service, government acted in a manner which they had not anticipated. It was also to be considered, that the burden of raising the militia was not distributed over the community; it devolved chiefly on the owners of land; it had been a considerable weight upon the poor's rates: to the poor's rates those who had fixed and ostensible property contributed in the greatest measure. Landholders indeed had a superior interest in defending their property, because it could not be transferred like other kinds into other countries: for this reason the landed interest might acquiesce in the support of a body of men for

the defence of their country; but when they found the corps which had been raised and maintained at a great expence for their defence were directed to other purposes, they had reason to complain: it was an act of injustice, as it destroyed the system under which they had engaged to contribute their personal service or pecuniary aid. This was not the only ground on which he opposed the measure; all sorts of mutinies were engendered by it; riot and disorders took place on the recruiting from the militia forces; the officers were placed in the most mortifying situations; they were obliged to confine themselves to their barracks, durst not face the soldiers, or appear on the parades. Such was the overthrow of discipline which had hitherto resulted from the measure.

Lord Holland observed, that the avowed object of the bill was, to reduce the number of the militia, in order to obtain a disposable force. It was not (he hoped) necessary to demonstrate what was so obvious, *i. e.* that no man could give his vote for the measure, unless he also could give his sanction to the manner in which the force should be applied: it was no less essential to approve of the final object than of the mode to attain it. As to this mode, their lordships had heard from different members of the house well qualified to judge, that it was considered as a violation of engagement between government and the militia; that it was odious to the officers, and regarded as an insult both to their spirit and their rank—two things which, in the militia, ought to be held most sacred. Upon this part of the subject much had been already said; but there was another branch, of no mean consideration, which had not come under

under examination. He was well aware that he was exposing himself to censure by discussing it: the exercise of one of the great duties of a lord in parliament had of late years become obnoxious; and to arraign the object or conduct of an expedition pending its success, was stigmatised as factious, unseasonable, and hostile to the interests of the public. Consciousness of rectitude, however, rendered him regardless of all these imputations.

He was ready to admit, that in the execution of an enterprise some mischiefs might arise from public discussion, but these were compensated by the benefits arising from that free investigation so peculiarly connected with the genius of our constitution. His lordship proceeded to examine the object of the present expedition, and whether in our actual circumstances it was prudent to be attempted, or safe to be pursued: that it would be happy for the United States to be again placed under their old government he most readily acknowledged—but what were the sentiments of the people of Holland upon this subject? Unless they co-operated with our efforts, it would be extreme folly and injustice to attempt the restoration of the stadtholder's power; and this was the avowed object of administration. That the Dutch abhorred the usurpation of the French, and languished for independence, there was little doubt; but it did not therefore follow that they would coincide with the views of Great Britain and Russia: they were too well acquainted, both by experience and observation, with the full meaning of that protection and relief which the weak receive from the powerful: it implied, in fact, that a small state should be conquered and plundered by a great one. They

had seen what was the protection of the Netherlands, of Poland, of Venice, and of Switzerland, and could not but entertain suspicions, even of the most flattering protestations held out to themselves. But it would be answered, How could they suspect the magnanimity of the emperor of Russia, and the generosity of the British nation? Our proclamations indeed breathed nothing but liberal and friendly aid; but our conduct spoke a different language, when, in our negotiations at Paris, it was evident that we were determined to retain the settlements which had fallen into our own hands, and the restoration of the Cape, and of Ceylon, was never intended, even should we again become their allies. Would they infer our generosity by our readiness to procure troops to fight their battles in Holland, when we had no design to put them in possession of those colonies essential to their commerce and prosperity?

But there was another consideration to be weighed: Might not the object which we were now so doubtfully pursuing by arms, be more probably achieved by negotiation? There was reason to believe that the king of Prussia must be desirous to see the government of the stadtholder restored; and perhaps France, upon certain considerations, would acquiesce in such a change.

To attempt it by force, with the assistance of Russia so actively interposed, might risque the total failure of the expedition. It was the wise maxim of Mr. Burke upon another occasion, that if negotiation failed, an appeal might be made to arms, but if force proved ineffectual, it was impossible to recur to negotiation: our failure, therefore, in our present plan, left no place for amicable arrangement.

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But, admitting that it was eligible to restore the old government of Holland by force of arms, ought we to employ our own forces, or those of our allies, in the enterprize? To rely upon our own, was attended with many advantages, but still they might be counter-balanced by the sacrifices requisite. If we were obliged to strain every nerve, and compelled to violate our engagement with the militia, the question was doubtful. To depend solely on our allies was attended with certain inconveniences; the expence of maintaining a large army abroad was enormous; the employment of so many vessels in transport service had already produced an uncommon scarcity of coals in the metropolis; the price of grain was rising to an unusual height; and when the demand of vessels for government would probably continue, there appeared but little of sound policy in employing foreign allies to accomplish our design. There were other expeditions which strongly deterred us from sending so great a part of our men out of the kingdom: the French fleet had returned to Brest in great force; there was cause for apprehension in Ireland, should foreign aid be joined to domestic discontent; the union held out by ministers had not yet tranquillised the sister kingdom. Surely, then, it was questionable, whether the proposed reduction of our defensive force in the country, and the employment of so great an army on a foreign expedition, were measures of wisdom.

The practice which had been introduced of sacrificing the militia to the regular army, tended to destroy that constitutional system of defence, and he suspected that from the beginning it had been in the contemplation of ministers to render

the militia subservient to the recruiting of the army—a measure calculated to disgust the officers in that service. The nature of its objects was different from those of a regular army; the views and the qualifications were different: and his lordship concluded with expressing his disapprobation of the bill, both with respect to the object and the means.

The earl of Westmoreland said, he could not see that the militia system was violated; it was indeed difficult to define what it was: there were various kinds, from the Swiss militia to the London trained bands: it never could be meant that they should be useless to this country in any emergency of state: their whole conduct disclaimed such a supposition. They had contributed to save the nation from the designs of jacobinism; they had cheerfully volunteered their service for the defence of the sister kingdom; and was it probable that they would even brook the idea of remaining inactive, when England could be benefited by their services? But it had been objected, that in going to Ireland they had left their own home defenceless. Nothing could be so ill founded as such a remark: by defending Ireland they placed their own country out of the reach of an attack: it was by guarding against the attempts of the enemy *there* we had been most effectually protected from invasion here.

It had been said, that men would be deterred from entering into the militia by this mode of proceeding; but he conceived it would rather be a recommendation to the service to find, that when tired of one situation they might place themselves in another, with a considerable bounty! Neither were the officers thrown into a more irksome state than if the reduction of the militia had been
by

by a discharge regulated by lot: the power in the present instance was greater; and as to its being disagreeable to the commanding officers, there was no real grievance in the case. The only circumstance that could be regarded, such as was, that the colonel of a militia regiment would now find himself at the head of a smaller body of men than he did some time ago; and surely this personal consideration could not be balanced for a moment against the substantial interests of the nation.

Another objection had been, that, a precedent being established, the executive government would always have recourse to this mode of recruiting the army. It should, however, be recollected, that the sanction of parliament must previously be obtained; and as the employment of this resource would be regulated by the emergency of the occasion, there was no danger of its being abused. On these reasons he supported the bill.

The earl of Carnarvon, in a speech of considerable length, pointed out the obvious sense of the act. He said the original militia was calculated and raised for all circumstances whatever, either of peace or war, and not liable to be affected by any changes in the situation of public affairs. The supplementary was raised as a war-addition to the permanent militia, and augmented to accommodate the defensive force to peculiar exigencies. It would necessarily admit of reduction, though not of its perversion from a militia to a force of another nature. Government could not cast a greater odium on the legislature than by supposing it intended to divert the money given by private subscription for domestic defence, to purposes diametrically opposite, namely, to re-establish the subverted govern-

ment of Holland. Nothing could excuse the dishonourable conduct of appropriating large sums bestowed for one declared end to another quite different, *without the consent of the subscribers*, who in such a case would be defrauded of their money under false pretences. Nor had the legislature been guilty of so flagrant an outrage to justice and probity: it had been effected by the finesse of government in misconstruing the act for this very purpose. The bill had been brought forward late in the last session, when only seventeen members were present, and was now resumed at an early period, in an unusual way, when only those whom public employments detained near town could possibly attend.

But it was affirmed, that the men willingly had entered the service. There was no doubt of it: soldiers were always to be obtained by money, and the tricks of ale house seduction. But the measure was not to be estimated by the approbation of these men, which did not render it less a breach of faith with the land owners, who still continued loaded with the expence of their internal defence, when deprived of the purchased security: that management and address was not very creditable which had succeeded in corrupting, with public money, men who were encumbered with another service.

The system of an unalienable home defence, under the command of gentlemen of independent fortune, was an object of constitutional value: the militia was a force by which the combined zeal and patriotism of the whole country was called forth and interested in its defence, if attacked within. It was vain to allege that there would be left a sufficient number to preserve the old establishment entire; the

militia was not an army described by its numbers, but its nature, and its excellent principle was destroyed by this measure. After the whole body had been reduced by furnishing recruits to the army, there might remain numbers equal to the original plan spread through the various corps, original, supplementary, and volunteers; but the militia could not be re-composed by adding to its remains any number drawn from any other corps. They were not sworn in for the same service; the officers were not qualified by the same indispensable property; and the two last corps had no existence beyond the war, consequently could not complete the militia, which continued to exist in peace. These several bodies of men may be added and spliced together, during their mutual existence, into an heterogeneous compound, and may form, for a time, a miserable regiment of shreds and patches, no longer feeling themselves the champions of their country reserved for the last stake, but degraded to the state of a drill to the army, and burdensome to those whom they were raised to defend. This perversion of the militia once carried into execution, irrecoverably destroyed it—the legislature could not, with all its omnipotence, restore it—the same confidence could never be revived. Unprofessional gentlemen could not be expected to labour in the formation of regiments which they were not to command in the hour of danger—they must remember that their zeal and labour had been rewarded by the transfer of its object to another, and that those who directed military arrangements held the constitutional system of the militia in aversion, sought every opportunity of depressing its ardour, and reducing it to a standing army.

The authors of the bill, deeming it necessary to gain the approbation of officers by any means, had introduced a clause as disgraceful to the proposers as to the persons acceding to it; a clause which enabled the king to continue, during pleasure, the pay of those officers who were rendered useless by the deprivation of the men: it was a flagitious bribe, held out to render them corrupt instruments of the seduction of their soldiers; it was a dishonourable military pension to reconcile self-interest to a bad measure, by placing commanders without service in a better pecuniary situation than those who retained the labour and expence of their vocations. Government had thought fit to subvert a militia which had been the pride of the country, and of little burden to the public purse, and that in the midst of an alarming war, at a moment when 50 sail of the line were in Brest harbour, fit for sea, and which a little change in our continental successes would render again formidable to our coast. Should the danger revive, and domestic defence again be necessary, the bad policy of this measure would be felt to its full effect.

The earl of Hardwicke admitted, that the bill was liable to much objection, and contained many things grievous and painful to militia officers; but that the propriety of enlarging the offensive force of the country induced him to give it support, much as he deplored the necessity.

Lord Grenville thought it would be peculiarly hard, if the militia officers should be permitted to keep on the defensive a force so adequate to act with effect on the offensive, for the attainment too of our general welfare, and the security of our dearest interests. It was no breach of faith with respect to officers, landholders,

or farmers, to convert this constitutional defence of the country into a disposable military force; it was, in reality, only converting it to the promotion of their happiness and safety. He would allow it was not intended that it should act within the kingdom; but the vigorous co-operation which our external efforts received from it, ultimately tended to our advantage and glory as a nation, and consequently to the essential benefit of landholders, farmers, &c.

Many statements had been made respecting the expedition to Holland. If we were to be influenced by circumstances devoid of doubt, and not by idle speculations, what inference might we draw from the events which had already occurred?

Was it no proof in our favour, that the Dutch wished the restoration of their antient government, when the sailors of the fleet, forming a considerable body of them, seized the first opportunity of returning to that order of things under which they were once so happy and flourishing? When we considered the insults they had experienced from

the wanton tyranny of the French; the annihilation of their commerce, from the destructive policy of their allies; the degradation of their pride, and the plunder of their property, could we hesitate to decide whether they wished emancipation?

His lordship concluded with observing, that we had uniformly evinced our sincerity in wishing to re-establish their happiness and independence; that we had even offered, during the negotiation with France, to restore the Dutch their most valuable possessions, provided France consented to leave them in the enjoyment of their rights; and that the object of the bill was to establish, on a permanent basis, the real interests of this country.

The house divided: contents 26, non-contents 3.

After the passing of this bill, and making some arrangements for the necessary supplies, (which will be noticed in the next chapter,) both houses of parliament concluded a short session, as it may be called, on the 12th of October, and adjourned to the 21st of January 1800.

CHAP. II.

Finances of the Year 1800. Committee of Supply. Mr. Tierney's Observations on Army Estimates. Third Reading of the Exchequer Bills Bill. Navy Estimates. Mr. Tierney's Observations. Subsidy to the Emperor. Army Extraordinaries. The Budget. Supply. Ways and Means. Taxes. Debates on the Ways and Means. The Minister's Defence. Debate on the consolidated Fund for July 1800. Resolutions agreed to. Bill for the Renewal of the Bank Charter. Mr. Tierney's Objections to it. Debates whether Foreign Subsidies should be sent in Specie. Regulations in the Income Tax. The Bill withdrawn, and a new Bill brought in. Debates on the third Reading of the Amendments on the Income Tax. Mr. Tierney's Motion for a Repeal of the Income Tax. India Budget.

THE next measure of consequence (after passing the militia reduction bill) to which the attention of parliament was called by

ministers was the important business of the supplies.

On the second of October the chancellor of the exchequer moved

the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house to consider of a supply to be granted to his majesty; which being agreed to, and the several estimates presented by the chancellor of the exchequer, the secretary at war, Mr. Wallace, &c. being referred to the said committee, the house resolved itself into a committee accordingly.

The secretary at war said that the estimates he had the honour to lay before the committee consisted of the expences of the army for two months under the heads of guards and garrisons; and estimates of the militia, and of the fencible cavalry. In considering the head of guards and garrisons, it would occur to the committee that much of the expence for barracks included the subsistence of the men, which must have been provided for if they had not been kept there. He then moved that a number of land forces amounting to 90,000 effective men be employed for two months, &c. for the year 1800.

Mr. Tierney said, he did not rise to oppose this motion on its own grounds; what he objected to was, the idea of voting any supply at all at this moment, and under the circumstances which brought the members of the house together. He felt it a duty upon him as a member of parliament, to protest against voting any supply at this time; and he would briefly state why he was of that opinion. By a late act of parliament his majesty could call them together in fourteen days. To their being so assembled he had no objection; on the contrary, he thought that every thinking man must see the necessity of their being so called together, and that much public inconvenience might be felt, if his majesty had not the power of assembling parliament

in less than forty days. The reason, however, of assembling them in fourteen days appeared in his majesty's gracious speech delivered from the throne; it was to enable his majesty without delay to avail himself of the voluntary services of the militia; upon that measure parliament had a bill before it, and it was a measure which he saw no disposition to oppose. Gentlemen might say, that it would be useless to vote for a bill to increase the force of the army, without voting a supply, for that an army is of no use unless there be money to support it. That he knew; but he objected to the manner in which this was done, and the more especially since his majesty had declared from the throne, "that the ample supplies which had been granted to him in the course of the last session would enable him, without further aid, to continue his exertions to the close of the present year." But then it was stated as a matter of convenience to the members, for the members themselves to provide for an early part of the ensuing year, by which they were promised, if they voted a certain portion of the supply now, they would not be called upon again until they had a comfortable recess. Now, having adverted to his majesty's speech, he was naturally led to take notice of some deficiencies which were likely to arise in the supplies for last year. He believed there would be 400,000*l.* in the navy: that the minister might think a trifle, although in former days it might be thought a considerable sum: the distilleries in Scotland were stopped; that would occasion another deficiency. The income tax had been taken at the lowest to produce 7,500,000*l.* whereas he believed it would not actually produce above 6,000,000*l.* This was a point which

the minister must know, at least within 100,000*l*. Possibly the land and malt now to be voted might be made to cover this deficiency.

Mr. Pitt said, he should fall short of his duty if he did not express some surprise at the observations he had just heard. The honourable gentleman would not find one word in his majesty's speech from the throne which went to restrain parliament from entering upon the very business against which the honourable gentleman entered his protest. He should be sorry to use any improper words; but after what he had heard he could not help saying, that the only presumptuous conduct that he observed upon this occasion was that of the honourable gentleman himself, who opposed his individual opinion to the conduct of the house of commons, and that opinion having a tendency to fetter the inherent power of parliament; and really this was the whole of the honourable gentle-

man's constitutional defence of the usage of the house of commons. The proceeding before the house was a measure growing out of the present war, and out of the very point on which parliament was assembled; the object was to transfer a considerable number out of the militia into the army, which could not be done without an augmentation of the army estimates: whether that was a right or a wrong measure in itself he was not now arguing, nor was the honourable gentleman disputing; but this was nothing more than a necessary measure arising out of that plan, a plan which his majesty had recommended from the throne, which parliament had adopted, and to which the honourable gentleman himself did not object.

Mr. Tierney explained. The question was then put and carried. The other resolutions were put and carried, viz.

For defraying the charges of the above number of men for two months	}	£. 510,596
For maintaining forces in the plantations, &c.		16,648
For defraying charges of corps of cavalry in Great Britain, &c.		92,635
For defraying the charges of embodied militia, and a royal corps of miners in Cornwall, &c.	}	232,998
For defraying the charges of the increase of the rate of subsistence to inn-keepers and victuallers, &c.		40,000
For defraying the charges for barracks, &c.		120,000
For the charge of ordnance of land service		230,000
For the ordinaries of the navy		121,510
For extraordinaries of ditto		115,625

The malt, mum, cyder and perry duty bill, on the 9th of October, was read a third time and passed.

Mr. Bragge moved, on the same day, the third reading of the bill for continuing the duties as a land tax on all pensions, places, &c. also on

malt, snuff, tobacco, &c. The bill was read a third time and passed.

Mr. Pitt then moved the third reading of the exchequer bills bill, for the service of the year 1800. Mr. Tierney expressed a wish to know at what time these exchequer bills

bills would become payable, and whether they did not interfere with the arrears of 1799? They would also, in his opinion, exceed in some measure the supply already granted by parliament.

Mr. Pitt contended, that the amount of the said bills did not exceed what was already voted for the services of the beginning of the year 1800. They were only to make good the amount of the ways and means already agreed to for the months of January and February 1800. After some further explanation, the bill was read a third time and passed.

On the 12th of February, the house having resolved itself into a committee of supply, Mr. Wallace moved, that the navy, army, ordnance, &c. estimates be referred to the said committee; which being agreed to, Mr. Wallace rose to call the attention of the house to certain regulations which had been adopted in the departments of the admiralty and the victualling-office, at the suggestion and recommendation of the committee of finance. These new regulations produced the difference that might be observed in the estimates for the ensuing year in the departments to which he alluded. There would indeed be found an increase in these estimates rather than a diminution; but when the nature of that increase was duly attended to, it would appear that the increase of expence was apparent rather than real; and it would be temporary, not permanent. The total increase of the establishment in time of war would amount to 8,299*l.* This in time of peace it was proposed to reduce to 3,617*l.* and when a peace, solid and secure, was restored (and that alone was the peace which the real friends of the country would look for) a considerable diminution

would take place in the number of clerks. He would now proceed to the augmentation that had been adopted in the victualling-office, and there also the expence was not so real as apparent. In this department the amount of the old establishment was 26,389*l.* that of the new establishment would be 48,199*l.* upon which a difference of 21,810*l.* would arise; that would be amply compensated to the public by the abolition of fees and other expences, which would amount to about 31,000*l.*

He then concluded by moving, "that the sum of 685,429*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.* be granted to his majesty for the ordinaries of the navy for eleven lunar months, beginning the 26th of February 1800."

Mr. Harrison thought that a longer notice should have been given previous to the discussion of a matter so complicated. He saw no necessity, for example, to increase the salaries of the lords of the admiralty because that of the secretary of the admiralty was augmented. Scarcely any other office could come in competition with his. He hoped that when a peace would permit this establishment to be reduced, ministers would bear in mind that no extraordinary number of clerks should be kept employed.

Mr. Burdon, as a member of the committee of finance, declared, that upon due investigation it appeared to the committee, that such increase of salary was but just, and that as such they recommended it to the attention of government.

Mr. Tierney, in explanation, observed, that it was worthy of remark, that the secretary of the admiralty had 4000*l.* a-year, while the salary of the first lord of the admiralty was not above 3000*l.*

Mr.

Mr. Pitt observed, that the office of first lord of the admiralty was one to which men aspired with a patriotic ambition, and whose fortune rendered the consideration of a

salary as little else than secondary.

Mr. Wallace now moved for the several resolutions in their succession, viz.

For repairs, wear and tear, &c.	656,515
Probable expences of transport service	1,300,000
Prisoners of war in health	500,000
Sick prisoners of war	90,000

These and the other fundry votes for the different heads of expences in the naval departments, being read, were agreed to.

The secretary at war next rose to move the extraordinaries of the army. On these estimates he had little more to offer than what might appear from the mere recital of them. The committee, however, might be desirous to learn the general comparison between the estimates of this year and those of preceding years; they would have the satisfaction, therefore, of finding that the number of men to be voted this year was less by 32,000 than that voted last year. This diminution would fall upon the less disposable force, the militia, for example, and the fencible cavalry. Notwithstanding this diminution, the regular army would be increased by 48,000 men. The whole amount of the number he proposed to be voted was 192,000 men, which was 32,000 less than that of last year, and less than what had been voted for the three preceding years. The expence in some articles would be found to have increased, but that increase would be counterbalanced by a diminution of expence in other articles. Some reduction had been made in the military staff, which would have amounted to 20,000*l.* were it not found necessary to in-

crease the medical staff by an addition of 9,000*l.* There were some new heads of expence, such as a corps of waggons and of pioneers, which had proved of infinite service in the late expedition; these, therefore, it was thought proper to retain. The whole to be voted was, as he had already stated, 192,000 men; to provide for which he would now move that there be granted to his majesty the sum of 8,854,700*l.* After a few observations from Mr. W. Smith, that resolution, and several others connected with the army extraordinaries, were moved and agreed to, and the report of the committee ordered to be received on the morrow.

The chancellor of the exchequer on the 17th of February moved the order of the day, that the house do resolve itself into a committee of supply; which the house having done accordingly, the chairman proceeded to read a message from his majesty relative to an aid to be granted to the emperor, and to the elector of Bavaria. After it was read the chancellor of the exchequer rose, and said that he did not think it necessary to say much in order to convince the house of the propriety of adopting the measures recommended in his majesty's most gracious communication. A great majority of the house had already pledged

pledged themselves to a vigorous prosecution of the war; and those who thought with him that it was acting wisely and prudently to decline entering into negotiation under the circumstances in which it was proposed, could not well refuse their assent to the adoption of every means that appeared likely to insure the same advantages to the common cause which attended it the whole of the last campaign. He could now only glance at a general statement, and he thought that the pecuniary assistance that the emperor, &c. might stand in need of, might amount in the course of the year to 2,500,000*l.* He would at present only move for an advance of 500,000*l.*

After a very long debate the question for granting a subsidy to the emperor was carried.—Ayes 162—Noes 19.

The chancellor of the exchequer on the 21st of February moved the army extraordinaries in the shape of resolutions, as follows:

	<i>£.</i>
Army extraordinaries for the year 1800	2,500,000
Deficiency in former grants	447,000
Secret services	150,000
To make good the like sum pursuant to addresses, and not yet made good	26,203
Relief of suffering clergy of France and American loyalists	242,298
Relief of emigrant clergy and emigrants	7,574
Civil establishment of Upper Canada	7,950
Ditto Nova Scotia	5,540
Ditto New Brunswick	4,460
Ditto Island of St. John's, America	1,900
Ditto Cape Breton	1,840
Ditto Newfoundland	1,640
Ditto Bahama Islands	4,100
Ditto Bermuda	580
Ditto Dominica	600
Ditto New South Wales	630,916
Bills drawn on the lords of the treasury for New South Wales, and not yet come to hand	24,074
Charge for superintending aliens	6369
Convicts at home	32,535

The house resumed, the report was brought up, and ordered to be received on Monday.

On the 24th of February, the order of the day was read for going into a committee of ways and means; and the house went into a committee accordingly, Mr. Bragge in the chair.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose, and said, he should not detain the committee with any preface to

the account of the supplies which had been already granted, or remained to be granted, for the service of the current year, and of the ways and means for defraying the same; but he should proceed directly to state generally the sums under the several heads of which those accounts consisted. There had been granted, and there remained to grant, under the head of

SUPPLY.

Navy,		£.	12,619,000
Army ordinaries, - £8,850,000	}		
Army extraordinaries, 2,520,000			11,370,000
Ordnance,			1,695,000
Miscellaneous services,			750,000

[These last include the plantation service, which had been voted that day, and the other usual miscellaneous articles. These are the chief heads of the supply already voted. He should include all these sums in his account of supply, that the committee might have before them the whole at one view, though the whole was not yet voted.]

Interest paid for sums raised by exchequer bills; discount for prompt payment; and sums paid to the bank for receiving and paying contributions, and for other services not included in the supply of 1799: he made this, therefore, an article of supply,	}	816,000
Deficiencies of the grants of 1799,		447,000
Deficiency of the usual grant of the land and malt tax,		350,000

Exchequer bills.—In consequence of the tax upon income, credit was taken in the ways and means of last year for 10,000,000*l.* under this head; but in the estimate made of its probable produce, after the modifications which were made of the tax, he reckoned upon no more than 7,500,000*l.* According to the paper on the table, the amount of it was likely to be 6,200,000*l.* From the number of exchequer bills issued on the credit of this tax, there would be paid off about

Ditto. In like manner exchequer bills were issued on the credit of the aid and contribution act of 1798, and which exceeded the produce, making a charge which must be provided for of

Ditto. In like manner a vote of credit was given last year for 3,000,000*l.* to be provided for in the ways and means of the present year. It was his intention to vote for a like sum to be charged on the ways and means of the year 1801; but in the mean time he must include it as an article of supply;

Subsidies.—Mr. Pitt could not yet ascertain the amount of the subsidies which Great Britain might have to pay to foreign states for their co-operation in the war. When applied to by those who bid for the loan, he told them that the probable amount would be 2,500,000*l.*; but this was exclusive of the sum to be paid for the maintenance of the Russian troops now in the British dominions, which might be about 500,000*l.*

So that he should take the whole of the subsidies at

£.
3,000,000
These

These were all the specific sums which he could state, unless the annual grant towards the fund for paying off the national debt, - - - - -	£. 200,000
And these together amounted to the sum of 37,728,000 <i>l.</i> ; but there was still left the amount of the extraordinary services, to which we might be subject, and of which he could not as yet form any accurate estimate, but he would say about - - - - -	1,800,000
This would make the total of the supply for the year 1800, about - - - - -	39,500,000

WAYS AND MEANS.

Mr. Pitt then proceeded to state the ways and means which were to meet this supply, and the first sum he estimated (under the head of land and malt) at - - -	2,750,000
Lottery, - - - - -	200,000
Exports and imports, - - - - -	1,250,000
Tax on income.—Here, Mr. Pitt said he should propose such regulations as, he was informed on the subject, would render the tax on income a much larger production than it had been in 1799. Suppose, however, that, with the regulations which would be introduced, it should produce only the sum of 7,000,000 <i>l.</i> from this sum he had to deduct the interest to be paid on the loans for which this fund is, in the first instance, to be appropriated, viz.—it stands charged with the interest on a loan of 8,000,000 <i>l.</i> which is -	480,000
Ditto, 11,000,000 <i>l.</i> - - - - -	588,000
And he proposed to charge it with 13,500,000 <i>l.</i> of the present loan, - - - - -	635,000

Making together the sum of - - - - -	1,703,000
Which, deducted from 7,000,000 <i>l.</i> leaves, as a sum applicable for the service of the year, about - - -	5,300,000
“Gentlemen will observe, said Mr. Pitt, “that, in order to make out the disposable surplus of the consolidated fund, they must call to their minds, that by the redemption act of the land tax, the sums, as they are paid, go, with their interest, to the consolidated fund;” and he estimated the quarter ending on the 5th of April to be - - -	2,174,000
Upon which there remained a charge for the year 1799 of -	1,280,000

Leaving a surplus on the 5th of April, applicable to the service of 800, of - - - - -	894,000
It appears that the produce of the four quarters amount of the permanent taxes ending the 5th of January 1800, was -	23,791,000
The taxes of 1799, inclusive; but these were not yet fully collected, and on that account an arrear would become due of -	300,000

Making

		£.
Making the amount of the permanent taxes for the year ending the 5th of January 1800,	}	24,091,000
Now, the amount of the interest upon our national debt was		19,725,000
		<hr/>
Leaving an applicable surplus of		4,365,000
To which might be added a sum which we might expect to receive under the title of imprest monies, and of the payment of monies granted to the colonies of Grenada and St. Vincent, without reference to the indulgence now under discussion,	}	750,000
		<hr/>
Making a total of		5,115,000
The interest on the imperial loan,		497,000
		<hr/>
		4,618,000
Add to this the surplus balance which was to come from the land tax fund, over the appropriation of last year,	}	894,000
And the total of the applicable surplus of the consolidated fund for the year 1800, he therefore took at		5,512,000
Exchequer bills,		3,000,000
Bank charter.—This sum was to be received from the bank without interest for the renewal of their charter,	}	3,000,000
Loan of the year (exclusive of that for Ireland),		18,500,000
		<hr/>
The total of the ways and means for the year then amounted to	}	39,500,000
		<hr/>

Upon the subject of the loan he should only say, that it was the strongest proof and confirmation of the propriety and wisdom of the new system of finance which had been adopted, and of the solid resources of the empire. The terms were, for every 100*l.* in money, the contractor was to have 110*l.* of 3 per cent. consols, and 47*l.* of 3 per cents. reduced. Early on the day before the bargain for the loan was made, the consols were at 61, and the reduced at 61 $\frac{3}{4}$. Taking them at this price, the terms would be as follows:—

110 <i>l.</i> of 3 per cents. consols, at 61,	would be	£.67 2 0
47 <i>l.</i> ditto reduced, at 61 $\frac{1}{2}$ 15 <i>s.</i>		29 0 4
The discount for prompt payment, according to the rate previously agreed on, must be added to this, in fairness, and it was calculated to amount to		2 16 7
So that for every 100 <i>l.</i> in money it was agreed to take		<hr/> £.98 18 11

In this view of the contract, it the stocks rose to 62, and in that view of the market the terms would gain; but in the course of the day stand thus:—

110 <i>l.</i> of 3 per cents. consols at 62 would be		£.68 4 2
47 <i>l.</i> ditto reduced, at 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ 15 <i>s.</i>		29 9 10
Discount,		2 16 7
		<hr/>

Making

	£.100 10 5
	<hr/>

So

So that the contractors agreed to lend their money for a bonus of 10s. 5d. "Let us," said Mr. Pitt, "look at it in another way. The total amount of the interest to be permanently paid by the public on each 100*l.* was 157*l.* of stock at 3 per cent. 4*l.* 14s. 2¼*d.* So that in the eighth year of the war we have been able to raise the necessary supplies at less than four and three-fourths per cent.; a circumstance which, more than a thousand arguments, would show the efficacy of the plan adopted by parliament for raising so great a part of the supplies within the year, since, by comparing these

terms with the bargains which were made before the adoption of this new system, "we," said Mr. Pitt, "may see the enormous benefit which we reap."

He next came to the permanent charge which was to be imposed on the public by this loan; a circumstance which used always to be contemplated with such dread by the public, and which even yet, from prejudices, had its alarm. It was his proposal to charge the tax upon income with the interest of 13,500,000*l.* and there would then remain only 5,000,000*l.* for which he was to provide by taxes.

The whole of the sum then to be raised by taxes was	- - -	£. 235,000
To which add one per cent. as a fund for paying it off, according to the established system, and for charges of management,	- - - - -	78,500
Total,		313,500

The first tax that he should propose towards the payment of this annual sum, was a duty of 5 per cent. on the higher priced teas, he meant on all above the price of 2s. 6d. per lb. He was induced to propose

this tax from seeing, by the late sales of the East-India company, that the consumption of the higher priced teas had considerably increased even during the war.

He estimated this tax at	- - - - -	£. 130,000
The next article of taxation which he meant to propose was on British and foreign spirits. The proposed amount of the duty on the home-made spirits was 1 <i>d.</i> on the gallon of wash, or 5 <i>d.</i> on the gallon of spirits; and the same proportionate duty to be laid on all foreign spirits. He estimated these duties to produce,		

Home-made spirits,	- - - - -	100,000
Foreign spirits,	- - - - -	120,000
Making together,	- - - - -	350,000

Which was more than the sum wanted.

He then moved his first resolution on the taxes.

Mr. Tierney said, he could not observe, without some suspicion, that the right hon. gentleman had confined himself to a simple statement of financial details, without those embellishments of oratory which he used to employ. He was

glad that the matter was left to its own merits; for he had frequently found by experience, that nothing was more difficult to surmount than the impression of the right honourable gentleman's eloquence.

With respect to the exultation which was expressed by the right honourable gentleman on the view

view of our financial situation, he could not entirely agree with him. It certainly was a subject of serious consideration, that no less a sum than 41,500,000*l* was to be raised for the service of the current year. Upon the detail of the supplies, however, he should not at present enter, as he hoped an opportunity would occur for doing that, when he brought forward a second edition of the financial resolutions he had offered last year. He could not help observing at the same time, the very large sum the house was called upon to vote without any previous estimate. This sum, consisting of army extraordinaries and foreign subsidies, without specification, amounted to no less than seven millions and a half. Many of the articles in the army extraordinaries were extremely vague. He observed, particularly, that 3000*l*. had been given to a baron Hompesch, as an indemnification for quitting the Prussian service to raise a regiment in the service of this country; and the latter he understood to be a transaction sufficiently beneficial to have rendered any other bonus unnecessary. There was a sum of 30,000*l*. to a count de Muron, for services in the island of Ceylon; this sum, too, was exclusive of another sum of 50,000*l*. to the same person. He thought that the house should exercise their controul in preventing any expenditure which was extravagant or unnecessary; for, if it was so, they had no means of getting it back. With respect to the flourishing state of the revenue, he was extremely glad to find it was so prosperous. It certainly had exceeded his expectations; and the right honourable gentleman probably would have the candour to confess that it had exceeded his own also. Into this point, however, he

should not enter at present, but he begged leave to lay his claim to perfect liberty to examine on a future occasion the grounds of the statement of the right honourable gentleman, notwithstanding the acknowledgment he had made of the apparently flourishing state of the public revenue. With respect to the monies which the right honourable gentleman had calculated upon to arise from the repayment of advances to the merchants of Grenada, &c. he thought that it was not very probable that they would be available immediately. As to the income tax, he was of opinion that the statements of the right honourable gentleman on this subject gave room for serious reflection. In the outset of the measure, the minister had taken eight millions as the produce of the assessed tax bill; but, exclusive of the voluntary contributions, an idea which was suggested in the progress of the business, no more than four millions and a half had been obtained. Afterwards, with the convoy duty it was taken at seven millions. The whole amount then of what was called the *solid* system of finance, in 1798, was no more than three millions. With respect to the income tax, which was considered as a farther improvement of the *solid* system, its amount had fallen greatly short of what was expected. The gentlemen of the city, when they met in a sort of parliament of their own at the mansion-house, seemed to have contented themselves with merely recommending the adoption of this system. When the assessed tax bill was under consideration, the country gentlemen were accused of all sorts of frauds to evade its operation. In opening that scheme, the right honourable gentleman had calculated, that from the

the commercial part of the community would be obtained no less than four millions of the whole amount. The gentlemen of the city were for leaving the investigation of their affairs to choice commissioners, and such, from experience, it appeared they had been. Although many persons who had the greatest part of their property in land chose, because they had some part in commerce, to go before the commercial commissioners, yet not more than 1,100,000*l.* had been contributed by commerce. He believed even that it would be found that the proportion of the income tax, arising from commerce, was not so much as he had stated. The rest of the produce of it, being upwards of four millions, was obtained from those classes of whose evasions so much had formerly been complained. This circumstance, at a time when the country was in a state of unexampled prosperity, must be admitted to be very extraordinary. But the right honourable gentleman stated, that he intended to bring forward certain regulations for the better collection of the income tax; what these were he had not hinted. In considering the probable amount of the income tax, it was to be recollected, that the people would no longer consider, as formerly, the war as just and necessary, when ministers had refused even to hear what the enemy had to say. Their zeal, in itself liable to wear off, would be much abated by such communications as had of late been laid before the house.

In the ways and means which the minister had brought forward, it was evident that he was postponing those provisions which would be afterwards required; that he was evading, instead of meeting, our difficulties. He had even re-

course to post-obits as part of his ways and means; he had solicited the bank to purchase the renewal of their charter while it had twelve years to run. As to the loan, he agreed that the terms were extremely favourable to the public; he could not admit, however, that this circumstance was a decisive proof of the prosperity of the country; he thought that it was no less a proof of the extravagant spirit of speculation which prevailed. From the way in which the subject was viewed, indeed, it seemed as if the war was considered as the greatest of blessings. Mr. Tierney then proceeded to make some observations on the statements of Mr. Rose's pamphlet respecting our peace establishment, and repeated his intention to go more into detail on that subject on a future occasion.

The chancellor of the exchequer in reply to Mr. Tierney observed, that most of the topics upon which that honourable gentleman had thought proper to enter, either did not touch immediately upon the business before the house, or had already been postponed for future discussion. For that opportunity he would reserve what remarks he had to make upon them. The honourable gentleman even admitted, that the situation in which the country now appeared to be placed, was, and ought to be, matter of exultation and triumph. But he then thought proper to check himself, and observe that there would be no reason for this triumph until he saw the amount of the peace establishment. The enemy had been in the habit of holding out threats that they would exhaust the resources of this country, and make Great Britain a bankrupt in credit. It must, therefore, be now a subject of discouragement and disappointment

to the enemy, to find that the revenue of that country, which they threatened to exhaust, far exceeded the charge of interest on the loans during the war, and exceeded it to a degree beyond all expectation. The honourable gentleman had also indulged pretty freely in his observations on the small produce of the income and assessed taxes. Their produce, most assuredly, did not amount to the original estimate; but it was nothing unusual that taxes, when new, should not amount to their full produce. But whatever might be the prosperous state of the revenue, the war, it is said, must swell our expences beyond the proportion of the increase of the revenue. But was it not the war that protected our resources by guarding the foundations of that wealth from which they spring, and which would be sacrificed and betrayed by an insecure and precarious peace? The next objection was against the renewal of the charter of the bank, in consideration of a loan of three millions for six years. This the honourable gentleman had been pleased to say was "raising money upon post-obits; it was a mode of raising money which nothing but the utmost difficulties could justify." If the honourable gentleman would, however, consult the statute book, he would see that this was the usual mode adopted since the bank charter was first granted; and that even in one instance the renewal had taken place though the charter had a longer time to run than it had at present. The grounds of all these objections he would leave to the judgment of the committee, with the confident hope that there was nothing in them that could diminish the satisfaction with which they had that night contemplated the flourishing and increased pro-

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spérité of the revenue, and general resources of the country.

Mr. Burdon entered into a justification of the conduct of the commercial commissioners, and insisted that they had behaved with the greatest prudence and integrity.

Mr. Tierney replied at considerable length to the arguments of Mr. Pitt, and entered into an able justification of his former statements. He said, with respect to the renewal of the bank charter, there was no instance in the history of the country of such a measure having been adopted so many years before the expiration of the charter.

Mr. Jolliffe said, that we were told when the income-tax was imposed, that it would terminate with the war, but we were now employing it to pay the interest of the debt which we were contracting, and he feared much it would be next to perpetual. The several resolutions were put and agreed to.

Nothing more of a financial nature occurred till a late period of the session; but as we have been accustomed to present the whole of these transactions in a connected view, we shall conclude in this chapter the detail of these regulations. On the 16th of July, Mr. Pitt, in a committee of ways and means, moved, that the account of the produce of the consolidated fund, for the quarter ending the 5th of July, 1800, should be referred to the said committee; which being agreed to, Mr. Pitt opened to the committee the general state and produce of the consolidated fund. He took his criterion from the account laid on the table (and which had been that evening referred to the committee) of the produce of that fund, ending the 5th of July, 1800, namely, 5,217,000*l*. This excess was to furnish the means of

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providing for the supply to be granted to his majesty towards the further expence of the year. Mr. Pitt now entered into the usual calculations to show how the excess arose; and, having exhibited the grounds of his statements, he proceeded to observe, that the circumstances of the country, and the flattering prospects of an abundant harvest, pointed out an obvious increase of the duties on malt for instance, which this year was much diminished, owing to the scarcity; but the expected increase of the crop of barley naturally led him to trust that his calculations in this place would be found correct. After conversing with the persons most acquainted with this subject, he had estimated the addition to the revenue from this source at 500,000*l.* Last year the produce from the distilleries in Scotland was necessarily diminished; but this year, supposing the harvest to turn out as he fondly hoped, an increase would arise in this way of about 100,000*l.* Besides these, the further sums of 300,000*l.* partly repayments and partly remittances on outstanding accounts, and two sums of 50,000*l.* and 150,000*l.* arising from contingencies, would give an added total of 500,000*l.* under another head. Mr. Pitt concluded by moving, "That there be issued 5,200,000*l.* out of monies to arise from the consolidated fund, towards the supply to be granted to his majesty."

Mr. Tierney wished the estimate had been for the whole four quarters, as had been the custom. He entered into a counter calculation, and appeared to be of opinion, that, either owing to mis-statement, or to a fallacy in the quotations of the chancellor of the exchequer, a sum of about 2,300,000*l.* would still be wanting, allowing all the items of

the right honourable gentleman to make up the 5,200,000*l.* He found fault with the calculations about the land-tax, and prophesied they would prove erroneous. He allowed that the amount of the taxes this year might be 1,600,000*l.* greater than it was the last; but still he could not conceive where the 5,200,000*l.* mentioned by the right honourable gentleman could possibly come from. The resolution being put and agreed to, the house was resumed, and the report ordered to be received on the morrow.

On the 18th of July, Mr. Pitt moved, that the house should resolve itself into a committee of supply. After his majesty's message relative to the imperial subsidy had been read, Mr. Pitt rose and said, that having already had occasion to submit a motion to the consideration of the house, relative to the treaty between the king of Great Britain and the emperor of Germany, it could not be necessary for him at present to enter very minutely into the subject. Now, to enable the committee accurately to judge of the propriety of following up by its vote that which the house had sanctioned, it might be necessary to consider the circumstances under which the treaty was proposed and accepted, previous to the knowledge, or even the suspicion, of those disasters which had lately taken place in Italy. He concluded by moving the first resolution, "that a further sum, not exceeding 1,500,000*l.* should be granted to his majesty, to enable him to fulfil his engagements with the emperor of Germany."

Mr. Tyrwhitt Jones said, when he had asked a few weeks ago what would be the amount of any subsidy to the emperor that might have been in contemplation, he little thought a treaty had been entered into calling

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ing for such a sum as 2,000,000*l*. He was well assured the country was unable to bear it. It was well known there had not been any interest paid on account of former loans. After a long debate on the utility of the war between Mr. Pitt and Mr. I. H. Browne, Mr. Martin, Mr. Tierney,

Mr. Canning, and Mr. Nicholls, the latter gentleman concluded with voting for the subsidy; for, if an advantageous peace was to be made, it must be in conjunction with Austria. The question was then called for, when the following resolutions were read:

1. That it was the opinion of the committee that there should be granted to his majesty, to enable him to fulfil his engagements with the emperor of Germany - -	} 1,500,000
2. To the emperor of Russia - - - - -	245,494
3. To defray the expence of the copper coinage for New South Wales - - - - -	} 3,697
4. To defray the expence at the police-office at Wapping -	797
5. To supply the deficiencies of grants made by parliament	680
6. For addition of salary to clerks for auditing accounts -	827
7. For expences of settling the accounts of New South Wales - - - - -	} 177
8. For the clerk of the house of commons, for expences not made good by parliament - - - - -	} 370
9. For work done at Somerset-place - - - - -	2,550
10. For fees and compensation of certain merchants for the loss of their vessels from Mogadore - - - - -	} 42,048
11. To discharge bills drawn from New South Wales -	30,000
12. To liquidate demands from St. Domingo - - - - -	50,000
13. To the surveyors of the forests - - - - -	1,000
14. For printing the journals of the house of lords - - -	1,024
15. Towards the establishment at Sierra Leone - - -	4,000
16. To the trustees of the British museum - - - - -	3,000
17. To the board of agriculture - - - - -	3,000
18. To the Levant company - - - - -	5,000
19. To the veterinary college - - - - -	1,500
20. To John Davis, for his discovery of a method to purify wheat damaged by smut - - - - -	} 1,000
21. For the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa - - - - -	} 20,000

On reading of the ninth resolution, Mr. Martin observed, that as the public money was paid for keeping the terrace at Somerset-house in order, the public had certainly a right to amuse themselves by walking there, and they ought not to be excluded from it. Mr. Pitt said, the vicinity of the public

offices made such a precaution absolutely necessary.

The other resolutions were then agreed to.

As the renewal of the bank charter was alluded to in the preceding debates on the public finances, it cannot be improper to introduce in this place a short account of the introduction

roduction and progress of that important act.

The bill was introduced conformably to a resolution in a committee of the whole house on the 21st of February, 1800; no debate, however, took place upon the subject till the third reading, which was on the 21st of March. On that day the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day for the third reading of the bill, for renewing, upon certain conditions, the charter of the bank of England for the term of twenty-one years. Mr. Pitt observed, that the measure had been formally proposed, in a letter from himself to the bank directors, but he had previously taken pains to sound their inclinations; and he could assure the house that they and his majesty's ministers went hand in hand in the business.

Mr. Tierney rose and spoke at great length against the principle and particulars of the bill. He regretted that he had not received satisfactory information as to whether this business had originated from the directors of the bank, or from his majesty's ministers. Great blame lay somewhere, and he did not wish to accuse any whom he did not know for certain to be culpable. It would be extraordinary indeed, if this proposal should come from the bank, when it had nearly one half of the time of its former charter still to run, and when it had so mismanaged its affairs, as to owe its existence to the forbearance of the public. It would not be less extraordinary, if ministers were the projectors of the measure, that they should interfere in the affairs of the bank, after what had happened. It was wicked to derive profit from its misfortunes, and to anticipate the resources of posterity. A more se-

rious charge could not be made against ministers or the bank directors, whichever of them were the proposers of the measure, and upon that account alone he wished for information. But as a gentleman whom he wished to have questioned on this occasion had for some reason or other absented himself, he would proceed to discuss the general merits of the question.

The first thing that struck him in this affair was the strange measure of proposing to renew a charter which was not within twelve years of its expiration, when there was no particular reason assigned for that step; of proposing to re-confide the whole money of the kingdom to the hands of gentlemen who had mismanaged the affairs of the bank so grossly as to reduce it to bankruptcy. There were two points chiefly to be considered in the nature of the proposed bargain, its advantageousness to the bank, and its advantageousness to the public; what were they to give, and what are we to receive? They proposed, apparently, to lend us three millions, without interest, for six years; but nothing could be more precarious than this offer, and we should merely engage in a speculation in the funds if we accepted of it. By the terms of the agreement, they had a right to demand payment when consols should be at eighty; so, if they should, within the six years, (and whether they would or not was merely a matter of conjecture) we should be deprived of all our boasted advantages.

The chancellor of the exchequer here interrupted the honourable gentleman to inform him, that the gain of the public was certain; for though the bank had a right to demand payment when the three per cents.

cents. should be at 80, still it was bound to pay the interest of the three millions for the whole of the six years; and he would put it to the honourable gentleman, whether it was probable that the bank directors would even ask to be repaid, although they could, when, by so doing, they would put the public to inconvenience without any advantage to themselves.

Mr. Tierney said, that in that case the public would receive for certain 750,000*l.* as the price of the renewal of the bank charter, but it by no means appeared that we were sure of not being distressed by the three millions being soon demanded from us. In 1797, the bank was exposed to the greatest jeopardy by the advances it then made, and we were at the present moment greatly more in arrear to it. Mr. Tierney here entered into a long calculation, the result of which was, that from its profits in managing the national debt, from the advances it makes to government, from the loan, and several other articles, the bank received annually from the public the sum of 979,000*l.* He next calculated the expence of conducting the affairs of the bank, which, judging from the excise and other offices, he was certain could not exceed 100,000*l.* a-year, which left a clear profit of 879,000*l.* springing from the charter. The profits on their own capital, and which they made as bankers, he did not include. In time of peace, the sum perhaps would not exceed 675,000*l.* per annum, as the advances to government were then less considerable; there was no loan, and not so much was allowed for management: but supposing, according to the right honourable gentleman's calculation, that out of twenty-one years there would be six years of war, the

annual sum given by the public to the bank (and which might at the expiration of the charter be withheld) would amount upon an average to 661,000*l.* For the grant of that annuity for twenty-one years we were to receive 750,000*l.*

He then proceeded to state other advantages arising from their charter to the proprietors of the bank,—such as having the command of money, a power of obliging their friends, and a controul over the whole commercial world. It was strange that, though the salary of a director was only 150*l.* a-year, the office was aspired to by the richest men in the kingdom, and more eagerly fought after than any one in the gift of the crown. Mr. Tierney then mentioned several other subjects that ought to have been considered, and particularly the expediency of dissolving the connexion between government and the bank, which might give rise to the most serious inconveniences to both parties, and was of great disservice to the country at large. Mr. Tierney concluded by showing, that the bank was enabled to make its present advances only from the restrictions lately put upon it. At the period when the letter was written from the directors, declaring in the most solemn manner that they must be ruined if they continued to make such advances to government, and unless they received prompt payment of their debts, they had not advanced more than 3,829,000*l.* On the 1st of January last they had advanced eight millions, to which the three millions for the renewal of their charter were to be added; in all not less than eleven millions.

Mr. Pitt denied the statement of the honourable gentleman, that the bank was an exclusive corporation; the bank was a corporation, but not

an exclusive one; another corporation of the same nature might be created whenever the powers vested in this legally ceased. The honourable gentleman was, he said, equally mistaken in supposing that the bank might be dissolved as a corporation the moment they were paid the eleven millions, or whatever other sum might be the amount of the public debt due to them; the fact was, they would continue to be a corporation, not only till that sum, but till every shilling of the present national debt was paid. He then contended that the honourable gentleman's own words proved the present to be a bargain highly beneficial to the public; for he had stated, that he had no doubt but very soon after the end of the war stocks would be at par. He then adverted to the profits of the bank, which, on a renewal of their charter, he supposed might amount to 400,000*l.* a year. As to the general observations of the honourable gentleman, that the bank never could have done this but under the present circumstances of its restriction; that the eight millions due to it would now be eleven millions; and that was the moment when the directors thought it proper to remonstrate with administration, he thought them very trivial, and could assure the house that the same practice had uniformly prevailed from the time of sir Robert Walpole. Under these circumstances he contended, that the idea of the charge of enlarging the powers of the bank was chimerical.

Mr. S. Thornton confessed, that the first overtures for the renewal of the bank charter came from the governor and directors of the bank, because they felt that such a renewal at such a period would prove of utility both to the bank and to the

country at large. A question had been set afloat about the establishment of another bank; meetings had been held for that purpose; pamphlets had been published in recommendation of such a measure, and motions had even been made in that house respecting its necessity. It was therefore high time to propose the present measure, and to bring it to as early a decision as possible. After a few words from Mr. Manning and Mr. Simeon the question was then put, that the bill be read a third time, and agreed to without a division.

A conversation not unimportant, and connected with these subjects, took place also on the 23d of April. The order of the day for the third reading of the exchequer-bills bill being then read, Mr. Tierney rose to observe, that the bill had passed through a first and second reading without any intimation having been given of its real nature and object, which now appeared to be a subsidy to a foreign power, to be paid in British specie.

Mr. Pitt contended, that not only an instruction had been voted to the committee upon that point, but a previous notice of two days had been given of that instruction.

Mr. Tierney then proceeded to propose, that a secret committee be appointed to examine into the probable operation that might result to commerce, &c. from sending out of the country so large a sum as three millions, and that in specie.

Mr. Pitt said, that he could furnish all the information the honourable gentleman required, without consenting to his motion for a secret committee on this business. He could inform the honourable gentleman, that it was the decided opinion of a great majority of the governors of the bank, that the
mode

mode proposed for making the remittance in question was more advantageous and oeconomic than any other that could be devised. Objecting, therefore, to the mode of furnishing the subsidy was, in reality, objecting to the subsidy itself, of which the honourable gentleman did not wholly disapprove.

Mr. Tierney said, he thought himself not only justified in opposing the clause, but even in opposing the subsidy altogether, if no other mode could be devised for paying it. It was a serious and alarming circumstance, that so much of the specie of the country should be employed in subsidizing a foreign power, while it was known that the bank only kept in its coffers such a quantity of bullion and foreign coin as might enable it to do so. He could not bring himself to believe that the bank directors could be unanimous on such a perilous point.

Mr. Brogden said, that though the lowness of the exchange might increase the demand for our manufactures, it hurt them still more by impeding the operations of commerce.

Mr. S. Thornton rose to correct part of the statements of Mr. Tierney. The reports of a difference of opinion among the bank directors as to the expediency of the present measure were totally unfounded; for the directors had but one opinion on the subject, and that was, that no injury would be done to public credit; but that, on the contrary, the public service would be facilitated by the measure. He thought sending the money from this country to the continent would, in the present circumstances of Europe, rather tend to lower the exchange; and, if so, the facility would be increased of

importing corn. As to the state of the bank with regard to specie, almost every packet from the continent brought bullion, which was made into guineas, and the quantity of money in the coffers of the bank was more than adequate to any demands that could be made upon it.

Mr. Tierney said, he was then to understand that bullion was never exported by government.

Mr. Pitt said, that government had lately sent to the continent 300,000*l.* in dollars. Ever since the restriction was laid upon the bank, every packet had brought over a large quantity of gold to this country, which was all sent to the mint. It was the constant practice of every merchant, and a practice which we had uniformly followed, when money was to be remitted, to remit it in the most advantageous manner. The course of exchange was now against us, otherwise the German subsidy would have been remitted in bills. There was a law to prevent the exportation of bullion, and this clause went to repeal that law in a particular instance.

The honourable gentleman had objected to money being sent to the continent, when it was not allowed to be distributed at home. But he ought to consider, that the payment of money from the bank was already restricted by an act of parliament, which would continue in force till one month after the termination of the war; and that if that money were not sent abroad, it would be lying unemployed and useless. The restriction was not put upon the bank for political purposes, or to enable government to subsidize foreign princes, but it was an internal arrangement to promote the interest of our merchants

chants and manufacturers. The honourable gentleman ought to have argued against subsidies altogether, though he had formerly approved of the present one.

Mr. Tierney denied that he had.

Mr. Pitt then begged his pardon. After Mr. Wilberforce had spoken to order, the bill was then read a third time and passed.

The next subject that engaged the attention of the house in a financial view was some regulations in the income-tax.

The chancellor of the exchequer, on the 4th of April, moved that the 39th of his present majesty be read; which being read accordingly, he observed, that at the present moment it was not his intention to trouble the house with any enumeration or detail of the particular clauses of the bill, which he was desirous to bring in to amend the above act, it being merely his wish that the bill might be brought in as soon as possible, read a first and second time, and then be printed for the perusal of gentlemen during the recess; after which the house might enter into minute and mature consideration of it; he should therefore move "that leave be given to bring in a bill to explain and amend the above act, and render it more effectual."

—Leave being accordingly given, and the bill having been regularly introduced after the order of the day for the second reading of the above bill, on the 17th of April, Mr. Rose observed, that, in consequence of several objections which had, since the house last met, been made to the bill in its present shape, and also of several alterations which had been suggested, it was the wish of his right honourable friend to have further time to re-consider the bill. He therefore moved, that the said order be dis-

charged. Mr. Rose then moved, that the said bill be read a second time on Friday se'nnight.

Mr. Tierney said, that the minister had obtained the leave of the house to bring in a bill to amend an act passed last session, without mentioning the purport of the bill. It had been read a first time, and, by that and the order for printing, it had become the solemn act of the house. When printed and sent forth to public view, it appeared to be a bill of such a monstrous tendency as ought never to have been suffered to be brought into that house. The right honourable gentleman had thus saddled the house with the odium and disgrace which attached to a bill belonging solely to himself, and he could by no means think of giving his assent that such a bill should be read a second time at all. He therefore gave notice, that on Thursday he should move for a repeal of the income-tax altogether.

The speaker recommended to gentlemen to examine the bill with the utmost care and attention, to see how far that part of it pointed out by the honourable member (Mr. Tierney) was founded on fact. He meant they should do this by the next day. He said, by the standing orders of the house, no new tax could be laid on but by a committee of the whole house; and as this bill did not originate in such a committee, it would, for want of that, be vitiated; because, if the fact were so, the bill must be withdrawn, and in such case the motion for the second reading on Friday se'nnight would be nugatory.

Mr. Rose acknowledged the fact, as stated by the honourable gentleman opposite to him, but it had been owing to inadvertency, for the bill had been printed and circulated

culated through the country; which showed they could not suppose that such an error was contained in it.

Mr. Grey said, that from the whole manner of proceeding, it was evident, that it exhibited an appearance to the world which was very extraordinary. The house had, in consequence of the novel procedure of the right honourable gentleman in introducing this bill, certainly received a bill which it ought not to have received: this bill had received the sanction of the house to its being printed, at the same time that it now clearly appeared that if the bill had been regularly brought into the house, it would have been discussed, and by that means no doubt would have been entertained at all.

He coincided entirely with his honourable friend (Tierney) in those objections which he made to the suggestion of alterations coming from persons without doors rather than within. - "This," said he, "is one of the proceedings which I most reprobate, and which has, I fear, tended more than any other to lower the character and dignity of the house."

Lord Hawkesbury said, in regard to the fact which had been stated by the honourable gentleman opposite, he was certain that the omission had been owing entirely to inadvertency. The general objection which had been urged in the present debate was, that the bill was brought forward without opening the contents. What reason could there be for doing so? It is a bill to amend an act passed last session, which act had been highly approved by the public; but notwithstanding that, he believed there were very few persons, however much they liked that bill, who did

not think it wanted amendments; and under this impression he should think the chancellor of the exchequer was wasting his own time, as well as that of the house, if he had gone into the detail of a measure which had previously received the approbation of both that house and the country.

Mr. Johnes said, that the honourable gentlemen opposite to him had all confessed there were great irregularities in the bill. He did not think this was the only complaint against it. If he understood the bill right, it went so far as to prevent people from reducing their assessed taxes, which was a direct call on them for ten per cent. more of their property than they paid under the former act. It was in other respects so very oppressive and inquisitorial a bill, that he had heard many of the minister's own steady friends declare it must be very materially altered. If he was to speak the sense of the people upon it, he verily believed nine out of ten thought it so very monstrous, that it ought to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

In this desultory debate there were many speakers, and the solicitor-general remarked, that the proceedings of the house on that occasion, instead of being those of a dignified assembly, resembled the revolutionary tactics of a jacobin club. He then spoke at great length against the irregularity and unfairness of opposing the motion of Mr. Rose. The only objections, he continued, that could be urged against the second reading of the bill, were two: The first was, that the clauses were oppressive:—the other ground was, that the bill violated a standing order of the house. How improper, indecent, and disgraceful, would it be then to throw out

out the bill for this reason, which was not ascertained to exist, and to leave it in doubt in what manner the house should again act in similar circumstances. He thought it would be much better if every honourable gentleman should have a little leisure to make up his mind. —Among the speakers on this occasion, were Mr. Sheridan, the master of the rolls, Mr. Dent, Mr. Vansittart, colonel Gascoigne, and Mr. W. Smith. The question being now loudly called for, the motion of Mr. Rose, that the bill be read a second time on Friday se'nnight, was put, when there appeared—ayes 85, —noes 20.

The next day the speaker said he imagined that all the gentlemen present had turned their attention to this subject; for his part, he had given it his most serious attention: and the result of his investigation was, the complete confirmation of the opinion which he had yesterday entertained concerning the bill; namely, that there were some provisions in it which ought to have originated in a committee of the whole house; and if that was the opinion of the house, the consequence was, that the bill ought to be withdrawn.

On the motion of Mr. Long, the order was discharged, and the bill was accordingly withdrawn.

Mr. Tierney then observed, that it must now appear to every gentleman, that there was no unfairness in the objections he had made to the bill yesterday; they being such as it was the duty of every member to make, whether the chancellor of the exchequer had been present or not.

The house of commons being in a committee on the income-tax, on the 19th of May, Mr. Rose moved a resolution, empowering commissioners to surcharge persons whom

they shall detect in fraud; to tax, according to their description of income, persons who reside occasionally in the country; and to restrict to persons making returns of 2000*l.* per annum the right of appeal to the commercial commissioners; which several resolutions were, after a conversation between Messrs. Tierney, alderman Curtis, Bastard, M. A. Taylor, Jolliffe, and sir W. Geary, agreed to. The house, in a committee on the income-bill, on the 20th of May, resolved, 1st, That it is the opinion of the committee, that the rules prescribed in the several acts for granting duties on income, as far as relates to the mode of ascertaining income on land occupied by the owner, or by a tenant at rackrent, shall be repealed. 2d, That in lieu thereof, such income arising from land occupied by the owner, or by a tenant at rackrent, shall be taken in the proportion hereinafter specified to the aggregate amount of the following articles, viz. rent for one year payable to the landlord; parochial and other rates and assessments charged on the said lands, or upon the occupiers in respect of such lands, on the average of three years, ending on the 25th of March preceding, if payable by the occupier; the value of all tithes, when taken in kind, or agreed to be paid in satisfaction for the same, within or for the last preceding or current year. If such aggregate amount be under 300*l.* a-year, the income to be taken at three-fifths of such amount; and if at 300*l.* or upwards, then at three-fourths of such amount; and in case of lands occupied by the owner, the income arising therefrom shall be taken at the aggregate amount of the rent of which the same are worth, to be let by the year,

year, according to the ordinary rent of lands of the like quality, and under the like circumstances, in the same neighbourhood, and two-thirds part of what would be computed to be the income of the tenant at rack-rent, as above mentioned. 3d, Resolved, that it is expedient that the provisions of the said acts, which exempt any person from the said duties, who shall be resident in this kingdom for a temporary purpose, shall not exempt any person resident for more than six months. 4th, Resolved, that in all cases where the commissioners appointed to execute the said acts shall assess any person at any greater amount than the sum delivered in his statement, or shall increase such assessments, such commissioners shall be authorised to charge such persons, for every such increase beyond the sum delivered in his statement, with a proportion not exceeding double the amount by which the duties with which such persons would otherwise have been chargeable, under or by virtue of the said acts, or either of them, shall be increased."

On the 26th of May, the house having resolved itself into a committee on the income-bill, Mr. W. Smith wished to know the object of the third clause, requiring that persons should distinguish in their returns how much of their income arises from trade, and how much from other sources. If he saw that any great national object could be attained by it, he would withdraw his objections to the clause; but in his mind it merely went to gratify an idle curiosity.

Mr. Pitt said, it must be very satisfactory to have the proportion of the public burthen which fell on the commercial interest clearly ascertained. The clause was then read and agreed to.

The fourth clause being read, re-

quiring that every person having a partner should specify certain particulars respecting the return of such partners, Mr. W. Smith said, he had no objection to make the tax effective, and productive, without violating the principles of liberty; but he could not agree that productiveness should be the only object, and that in pursuit of it the house should lose sight of every other consideration.

The chancellor of the exchequer proposed, as the most complete amendment to answer the ideas of all parties, that instead of "divers" be inserted "or any of the places where such trade was carried on, which shall be chosen by the principal partner, or if the shares are equal, &c."

The attorney-general supported Mr. Pitt's amendment, which was put and carried.

Mr. W. Smith objected to the sixth clause, by which the receiver was not sworn to secrecy, while the commissioners who appointed him were. Mr. Pitt said, the receiver would not know the amount of the returns to the commercial commissioners, as it would be done by letters instead of real signature. It was at length agreed that the receiver should be sworn to secrecy also.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the blank in the seventh clause, respecting persons in London and its vicinity, be filled up with 200l. The object of this clause, he said, was, that no person whose income did not amount to 200l. and consequently did not pay 20l. should come before the commercial commissioners of London. This was not for the purpose of oppressing the little traders, but because they were not likely to be known by such persons as the present commercial commissioners were, and because they would have

the

the same benefits of secrecy, and other advantages of the higher commercial classes. It became the more necessary for him to enter into this explanation, as an idea had gone abroad, that an invidious distinction was to be adopted.

Sir Francis Baring suggested an amendment, that the income of the preceding year must be also not above 200*l.* The clause so amended was then agreed to.

All the intermediate clauses to the twelfth were then successively put, and agreed to.

Mr. Hobhouse objected to the mode in which it required the returns to be transmitted by the commercial-commissioners to the commissioners of taxes. He thought it would be sufficient to state to them the gross amount, without distinguishing how much from trade, and how much from other sources; and therefore moved, that the words "distinguishing, &c." be left out. Agreed to.

The two next clauses were agreed to with a few verbal alterations.

Mr. Pitt then called the attention of the committee to the next clause, (the sixteenth) stating the manner in which the income of landlord and tenant was to be taken. The clause was in lieu of the schedule now repealed; the articles which it embraced were, however, the same, but the proportion would vary. Gentlemen, he said, would recollect, that last year it was agreed the profit of the landlord and tenant was not to be ascertained by the amount of rent only, but by the aggregate of rent, poor's rates, and tythes. Two deductions were then allowed by taking away one-fourth, and ascertaining the profit at half of the remaining three-fourths, or thereabouts. This mode was too favourable to farmers, many of

whom had thereby been enabled to lower themselves in the scale of income below what they would have fairly paid, and many to reduce themselves below 60*l.* so as not to pay any thing at all. The proportion he should now state was, if such aggregate amount be under 300*l.* a-year, then the income shall be taken at three-fifths of such amount; and if upwards, then at three-fourths. Mr. Harrison entered into a calculation to show that the proportion would be much more than 10 per cent. on the income of the farmer: from one view of it he insisted he would pay 23*l.* on 120*l.* and from another, at the rate of 9*s.* 4*d.* in the pound. He also instanced the great hardship which it would impose on a man taking a long lease, which did not yield him any immediate profit, and recommended that the actual gain should be the measure of the tax.

Mr. Bastard said, the landed interest, and the farmers particularly, were cruelly oppressed. He would take the instance of a farmer who rented twenty acres of land, at 15*l.* an acre, which was no uncommon price in the neighbourhood of London and other great towns. For this farm he would pay 300*l.* a-year for rent, and would be supposed to make a clear income of 250*l.* But to pay this tax alone, and pay his landlord, he must make by these twenty acres 550*l.* a-year, which was altogether impossible. For these and other reasons, he wished to have the farmer put, in respect to assessment, exactly on the same footing with tradesmen.

Mr. Vansittart proposed an amendment, by leaving out the words "the value of all tythes taken in kind," as tythes he thought could not be well ascertained in respect to their value, and could form, therefore, no fair ground

ground of average. The house divided on this motion, when there appeared for it 23, against it 88.

The house again divided on the clause which gave a discretionary power to commissioners to make out schedules; for the clause 61, against it 8. The other clauses were then read and agreed to.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved, on the 30th of May, the order of the day on the third reading of the income-bill. He said he would just trouble the house on that part of the bill which related to the form of schedules, which were to obtain the more accurate information of each person's income, and propose a clause in the place of that which he wished to withdraw—"That it should be lawful for commissioners to put questions in writing, and to receive answers thereto in writing, instead of by word of mouth; and to give the option to the commissioners, whether they would send for the party for examination in case of neglect or not." Mr. Smith objected to this clause, as leaving to the commissioners still too large a share of discretionary power. Sir W. Geary thought that the commissioners should be compelled, in case of the answers not being satisfactory, to summon the party before them for a *viva voce* examination before they proceeded further. Mr. Pitt, on the suggestion, adopted this proposition; and it was agreed, after a conversation on the expediency and propriety of obtaining, in the fairest and most indulgent manner, the amount of income, that the party should be summoned, in case he required it.

The bill then, on the motion of Mr. Pitt, passed, and was ordered to the lords for their assent.

On the 5th of June, Mr. Tierney

rose, in pursuance of a notice he had given, to move for what he had called in his notice, a repeal of the income-tax, but which he did not now wish to have understood in those terms. He rather might be said to rise and move for leave to bring in a bill to limit the duration of the tax on income. He wished to have his object clearly understood; for he knew there were many gentlemen who supposed he meant to embarrass his majesty's ministers, and prevent the necessary supply for the service of the year. He had no such intention. His intention was merely to fill up the blank in the bill then before the house, with the words, 5th April, 1801, and to allow the tax to continue till that period.

Supposing the house should adopt his motion, it would still be competent, if the circumstances of the country required it, for either himself, or any other member in the house, to move for its continuance another year; for, although his opinion was, that this mode of raising the supplies within the year was not only disadvantageous, but, even if it were the contrary, its advantages were materially overbalanced by its attendant evils; yet he should have no objection to voting its continuance another year as a war-tax. As a war-tax, its operation ought to be temporary. In strictness, the tax was of the nature of an annual land and malt-tax, and, in fairness, ought so to be voted. He was actuated by two motives in bringing forward his motion at the present moment: first he wished to have the sense of the house of commons on so important a subject (previous to its separation) in its collective capacity, and to avail himself of the opinions of the individuals composing

posing it: his second and principal motive was, that he might expose a system of finance wholly defective and inadequate to the purpose intended to be answered by it, and that he might show those who purchased into the public stocks of the country what their real situation was. To the principle of raising a large sum of money within the year, he was as ready as the chancellor of the exchequer himself to subscribe; but he was inimical to that principle being carried into effect through the medium of an income-tax; it was a bad mode of raising the public money. The chancellor of the exchequer, in the year 1797, had conceived the project of abandoning the old funding system in order to raise the supplies, and to determine that a new system should be had recourse to, namely, that, in every year, a large sum of money should be raised within the year by an arbitrary mode of taxation, determined by the amount of the assessed taxes paid by each individual. The sum proposed to be raised originally by the assessed taxes was 8,000,000*l.* within the year. The measure had failed of producing that sum. The produce of the tax, with the operation of the different modifications, was four millions and a half, and, with the voluntary contributions, was, he believed, raised to six millions and a half, or seven millions.

The right honourable gentleman, in the next year, thought fit to adopt a new mode of taxation, and to shift his criterion of property. The former criterion was expenditure; under this new mode, it was income; and the principle upon which it proceeded was, that whatever the income was, each person should pay a tenth of it towards the public supplies. The produce of

this tax was estimated at ten millions; and, in fact, it was distinctly stated that the probability of such a measure being available to the public, as a permanent and solid system of finance, was, that it should produce a sum not less than ten millions. In 1799, instead of ten millions, which had been stated as necessary to carry the system into effect, it had produced only about 5,800,000*l.* In the present year the estimate was, that it should produce 7,000,000*l.* Taking the three years 98, 99, and 1800, this tax, which, to have any beneficial effect, was estimated for each year at 10,000,000*l.*, would produce a sum not much above 5,864,000*l.* exclusive of the voluntary contributions. This was all the advantage the public had derived from the operation of this system of finance.

In 1798, the minister added eight millions; in 99, fourteen millions, and in 1800, thirteen millions to the debt of the country. Such was the aggregate of the facts. It was in the next place to be considered, that, on the produce of this tax, there was already no less a sum mortgaged than 13,000,000*l.* The income-tax was a system which could only be carried into effect by spies and informers, and as such unfit for a free country. By a paper laid on the table on Thursday, he found there was to be an addition of ninety-one inspectors to the former, for the purposes of this tax. He wished to avoid harsh expressions when mentioning those persons; they were good-looking men, dressed in good clothes, selected from the tax-office for their activity and vigilance. They were persons whose duty it was to go about and see the number of servants, horses, dogs, &c. each man had, and to make a true return; in this

this it is their interest, as well as duty, to be keen and active. These were the persons that were now to come abroad to survey and inspect men's properties, and to get at the truth by getting at the secrets of each man's affairs. Mr. Tierney then repeated, that the country, if subject to such a permanent tax, would not be worth living in. After a long speech he concluded with moving, that leave be given to bring in a bill to limit the duration of the income-tax.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, one radical error appeared to have pervaded the whole speech of the honourable gentleman, that was, that the tax was imposed in a wanton spirit of oppression, and adopted without any grounds of necessity. But what was the system he would recommend in its stead? The perseverance in the funding system—a mode of taxation infinitely more injurious to those middle men, for whose interest he seemed so solicitous, than the present system. The present was temporary. That which he recommended was permanent, both in its amount and its duration. If the tax was not raised upon income, it must be raised on consumption; in which case it would bear harder on men of middling fortunes. They would therefore have an increased proportion of a permanent tax instead of a diminution of a temporary one. Such was the relief proposed. The honourable gentleman had stated, that he (the chancellor of the exchequer) opened the tax as if it were to be only for one year; but he had said that it was to be in lieu of the assessed taxes, which he had also admitted were to continue during the war, and one year after. How the honourable gentleman

could reconcile the contradictions which these admissions obviously involved he should wish to discover. As to the principle of the tax itself, there was no stronger proof of its excellence than that of its furnishing such resources for carrying on the war, that all the countries on the continent of Europe were now looking up to Great Britain as the instrument of their deliverance and protection. Previously to the introduction of this new system of finance, stocks were reduced as low as forty-six. Now it will be easily seen what the effect of the fifty-six millions and the twenty-four millions must have been, had it been done by the old system of funding. It might be fairly doubted whether we could have met the pressure in that way; but without going that length, he did not think any gentleman conversant with the subject could suppose we could have borrowed within these three years at higher than 45. By this measure then, combined with the redemption of the land-tax, the stocks from 45, had risen in 1799 to $55\frac{1}{2}$, and in 1800 to 62; a difference of 34 per cent. So much for the capital. Now, if the honourable gentleman would look to the rate of interest, he would find that, instead of its being at from 9l. to 18l., it was last year only 7l., and this year 6l. 5s. 7d. It is singular enough then, that this measure, which was to destroy our commerce and manufactures, and dry up all the sources of national prosperity, should have raised the stocks as high as the honourable gentleman says it could be for the interest of the country to see them.

Now, if we looked to the capital, we should find that the capitals which

which we had borrowed within these three years, were, in 1798, 15 millions; in 1799, 15 millions; and 18 millions in the present year, which would be found 24,800,000*l.* less capital created than would have been had not this system been resorted to. The total amount to have been borrowed in the last three years would be 69,000,000*l.*; and it would be necessary to impose permanent taxes to the amount of 6,000,000*l.*; and, therefore, the measure complained of as inefficacious, had, in the short space of three years, saved a perpetual tax of 6,000,000*l.* He admitted that, within that time, we had laid on permanent taxes to the amount of 1,200,000*l.*; but he still contended, making full allowance for this, that there was a saving of permanent taxes to the amount of 4,800,000*l.* He concluded with saying, that he could not retract from the present system of finance.

After Mr. W. Smith, sir R. Williams, Mr. Buxton, colonel Elford, and Mr. Manning had spoken, the question being loudly called for, the house divided—Against the question 104—For it 24—Majority against the motion 80.

The income-tax regulation bill was passed on the 13th of June in the house of lords, and sent back to the commons.

The order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house to consider of the accounts of the India Company being read, on the 25th of March, Mr. Secretary Dundas rose and said, that, in pursuance of his official situation, he would, as briefly as possible, submit to the consideration of the committee the proper statements which related to

the affairs of the East-India Company. The accounts, he observed, went a year further back than he could have wished to have laid before the house, owing to the circumstance of the accounts from India last year not having arrived till some time subsequent to the end of the session of parliament; he should, therefore, have wished for some further delay in this business, as he was of opinion that accounts would soon arrive which might considerably elucidate many of the articles contained in the present statements; the reason, however, which had determined him to prefer the discharge of his duty at the present moment to that of following his inclination, was, that the accounts of the India Company were so very accurate and clear, that it would not be necessary for him to take up much of the time of the house. The purpose of his present course would be to give merely the figures, with such casual explanations as might strike him to be necessary, in going over the several articles. The committee would be pleased to observe, that the accounts of the different presidencies were of two kinds: the one giving the value of the several articles in current rupees, the second column the sterling value, tending to show the different heads of revenue charges and estimates with the greatest degree of accuracy, the present accounts taking in three years average. And it was his intention to lay before the committee the estimates of the last, as well as those of the next year, in order to enable the public and the house to judge what degree of accuracy was to be attributed to them.

Mr. Dundas then read as follows:

Abstract

Abstract of Statements relative to the Affairs of the East-India Company, 1799.

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the year 1797-8, collectively.

Revenues in Bengal, rupee at	2s. 0d.	5,78,27,413	£. 5,782,741
Madras, pagoda at	8s. 0d.	48,47,377	1,938,950
Bombay, rupee at	2s. 3d.	30,06,129	338,189
Total revenue			8,059,880
Charges in Bengal, in rupees	-	4,03,16,599	4,031,660
Madras, in pagodas	-	62,89,436	2,515,774
Bombay, in rupees	-	83,54,855	939,921
Total charges			7,487,355
Net revenue of the three presidencies	-	-	572,525
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c. in rupees		16,32,993	163,299
Remainder			409,226

INTEREST PAID ON DEBTS.

Bengal, No. 18, in rupees	-	-	40,88,103	408,810
Madras, 19, in pagodas	-	-	3,68,648	147,258
Bombay, 20, in rupees	-	-	4,23,627	47,858
			Sum	<hr/> 603,926
Net deficiency of territorial revenues	-	-		194,700
Deduct from amount of sales of imports per	}		58,28,336	582,833
No. 15, in rupees				
			The remainder	<hr/> 388,133

Mr. Dundas having gone through the several articles of the accounts of the presidency of Madras, he begged the attention of the committee to a few observations which he wished to impress on their minds. It was evident, he said, from a comparative view of the estimates and the charges in the years 1798 and 1799, that the latter had, in almost every instance, considerably exceeded the former; and he assured the committee, that the reason of this was, that the

estimates were made in the beginning of the year 1798, when the country was in profound peace; but the charges had increased considerably before the end of the first half of that year, and the whole of the remainder of it, in consequence of the movements and plans of Tippoo, in conjunction with the French. This, he said, was the only reason for the difference he had alluded to; and he had no doubt but the great advantages which the India company would

hereafter derive from the happy result of the war would abundantly overpay them for the expences attendant thereon, and prove a source of the brightest prosperity to their concerns in India.

Having gone through the several articles of the accounts of the presidency of Bombay, the secretary

observed, that the estimates of the Bombay government were as accurate as those of any of the other presidencies, and he brought the accounts regularly forward, in order that the public and the house might be able to form a competent judgment of their accuracy.

BENCOOLEN AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS.

Spanish dollars at 5s.

	<i>Dol.</i>	<i>£.</i>
No. 10. Revenues of fort Marlborough on } average, 1795-6, to 1797-8	20,707	5,177
Charges, ditto, ditto - - -	418,827	104,707
Net charge - - -	398,120	99,530
	<i>Rupees.</i>	<i>£.</i>
Supplies from Bengal to Marlborough, Pinang, &c. estimated for 1797-8 }	8,58,400	85,840
No. 18. and 19. The actual amount was	16,32,993	163,299
Being more than estimated	7,74,593	77,459
No. 11. Supplies estimated for 1798-9	11,71,600	117,160
Amount actually advanced for purchase of investment, payment of commercial charges, and in aid of China investment.		
At Bengal, No. 18, in rupees - -	1,50,19,685	1,501,968
Madras, 19, in pagodas - -	16,19,260	647,704
Bombay, 20, in rupees - -	27,53,902	309,814
Bencoolen, 22, in rupees - -	2,04,793	20,479
	Sum	2,479,965
Exceeds amount applicable for revenues as above		2,091,832
No. 22, Cargoes invoiced from India to Europe } in 1797-8, with charges		2,583,690

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of estimates 1798-9 collectively.

Revenues. Bengal, in rupees - -	6,25,96,008	6,259,600
Madras, in pagodas - -	50,12,483	2,004,993
Bombay, in rupees - -	30,76,537	346,110
	Sum	8,610,703
		Charges.

		£.	
Charges.	Bengal, in rupees	3,95,28,473	3,952,847
	Madras, in pagodas	71,43,797	2,857,519
	Bombay, in rupees	88,59,550	996,699
Sum of charges			7,807,065
Net estimated revenue of the three presidencies			803,638
Deduct, supplies to Bencoolen, &c. in rupees		11,71,600	117,160
Remainder			686,478
Deduct further. No. 16. Interest on the debts			758,135
Deficiency of territorial revenues			71,657
Deduct from No. 15. Estimated amount of sales of } imports and certificates }			630,675
The remainder			559,118
is the amount estimated to be applicable in 1798-9 to the purchase of investments, payments of commercial charges, &c.			

DEBTS IN INDIA.

		Rupees.	£. Sterling.
No. 16.	Amount stated last year	9,29,45,394	9,294,539
	Amount this year	11,03,26,452	11,032,645
	Increase	1,73,81,058	1,738,106
No. 17.	Debts transferred in the year	34,55,792	345,579

DEBTS BEARING INTEREST.

Amount last year		7,47,91,626	7,479,162
Amount this year		8,93,36,486	8,933,648
Increase of debt bearing interest		1,45,44,860	1,454,486
Amount of interest payable by accounts of } last year		57,67,752	576,775
No. 16. Amount of interest payable by } accounts of this year		75,81,353	758,135
Increase of debts payable annually		18,13,601	181,360

ASSETS IN INDIA.

Consisting of cash, goods, stores, &c. last year		10,53,11,453	10,531,145
No. 11. Ditto by the present statements		9,92,29,034	9,992,903
Decrease of assets		60,82,419	608,242
Add decrease of assets to the above increase } of debts, the state of the company's affairs }		2,34,63,477	2,346,348
in India is worse by			

HOME ACCOUNTS.

£.

No. 25.	Aggregate amount of sales	-	-	-	-	10,315,256
	More than last year	-	-	£.4,261,855		
	The excess on the company's goods alone	-	-	3,618,224		
	On private trade goods	-	-	425,058		
	The excess on sale of Dutch or neutral property	-	-	218,553		
	The sales of the company's goods estimated at	-	-	-	-	6,691,327
	Actually amounted to	-	-	-	-	8,337,066
	More than estimated	-	-	-	-	1,645,739
	The receipts on the sale of the company's goods estimated at	-	-	-	-	5,905,927
No. 13.	Actually amounted to	-	-	-	-	7,764,404
	Receipts more than estimated	-	-	-	-	1,858,477
	Charges and profits on private trade estimated at	-	-	-	-	100,000
No. 23.	Actually amounted to	-	-	-	-	137,394
	More than estimated	-	-	-	-	37,394

GENERAL RESULT.

	Balance at the end of the year 1798-9, expected to be against the company	-	-	-	-	1,318,937
No. 23.	Actual balance was in favour	-	-	-	-	805,938
	Better than estimated	-	-	-	-	2,124,875

Occasioned by increased receipts on sales, smaller payments on sundry accounts; supplies to India nevertheless extensive, and 500,000*l.* of bond debt paid off.

ESTIMATE 1799-1800.

£.

No. 23.	Receipt for sales of company's goods	-	-	-	-	7,840,528
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RESULT.

	Calculating upon a supply to India and China to a large amount, and on the payment of 800,000 <i>l.</i> to the bank, balance against the company on the 1st of March 1799	-	-	-	-	565,988
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DEBTS AT HOME.

	In March 1798	-	-	-	-	7,284,694
No. 23.	In March 1799	-	-	-	-	7,103,762
	Decrease	-	-	-	-	180,932

ASSETS

ASSETS AT HOME AND AFLOAT.

£.

	In March 1798	-	-	-	-	-	13,211,370
No. 23.	In March 1799	-	-	-	-	-	17,119,628
	Increase	-	-	-	-	-	3,908,258

Adding the increase of assets to the above decrease of debts, }
the state of affairs at home appears better by - - - } 4,089,190

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

	Balance at China last year, against	-	-	-	-	718,945
No. 24.	Ditto this year, against	-	-	-	-	1,073,607
	Worse this year than the last in China,	-	-	-	-	354,662

✍ No books received from St. Helena since last year's balance was stated.

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India	-	-	-	-	-	1,738,105
Decrease of debts at home	-	-	-	-	-	180,932
Increase of debts	-	-	-	-	-	1,557,173

Decrease of assets in India	-	-	-	£. 608,242
Increase of assets at home	-	-	-	3,908,258

Deduct, balance at China worse
3,300,016
354,662

Net increase of assets	-	-	-	-	2,945,354
The increase of assets, or the improvement of the company's affairs in general, is in this view proved to amount in the present year to	-	-	-	-	1,388,180
Deduct, cargoes included in home assets arrived in India, so as to form a part of the stock there	-	-	-	-	279,653
Net improvement	-	-	-	-	1,108,527

Mr. Dundas, having gone through the whole of the figures, said he had no doubt on his mind but that the committee would be convinced, as he was, from the results of the whole, that the affairs of the East-India company were in a most flourishing and prosperous situation. Whatever deficiencies might appear in the assets in India, or in the increase of the debt there, it was evident that the revenues and sales at

home so far exceeded what they had done in any former period, that the happiest and most beneficial consequences might be expected to result from them. It was not his intention to trespass long on the time of the committee at present. The charges of the war, he observed, were not yet ascertained: it was highly probable those expences might have increased the debt in India. There was one point, however, to which he wished

to call the attention of the committee. It might, perhaps, be asked, how far the East-India company were warranted in keeping up so great an investment? He confessed that, considering the great expences attending the company's investments in time of war, they might be justified in importing no more than was absolutely necessary. But should this be the case, it would be productive of a most grievous, if not irreparable injury, to a great number of manufacturers of Indian fabrics, subjects of this country, whose prosperity, and whose habits of daily industry, depended almost totally on the encouragement and support given to their labours and their ingenuity by the East-India company. Should their capitals be injured, and their industry destroyed, for want of support in time of war, the India company would find the disadvantage of it when they wished to extend their investment on the return of peace. The woollen manufactures alone, exported by the company, amounted to the sum of 600,000*l*. He allowed, that, on the export of woollens taken in the China market, the company lost about 12,000*l*.; but would they, he asked, be justified, in consequence of such a loss, in neglecting the encouragement of our manufactures at home to the amount of 600,000*l*. and of our subjects who are manufacturers in India to a very large amount also? They had better, he thought, contract their debt than their investment. Mr. Dundas then showed, that in proportion to the difficulty of raising money in India, merchants, gentlemen, officers, and others who had made fortunes in India, were induced to remit such fortunes home, either in articles of trade or in bills of exchange, which depended on the interest of money being very high or very low. Of

these circumstances the East-India company could take advantage, and by that means from time to time considerably diminish their debt.

By an account in the years 1797 and 1798, the company had extended their affairs abroad. In the articles of exports for goods and stores, bullion, bills of exchange accepted, and transfer of Indian debt, they remitted no less a sum than 2,769,776*l*. In the years 1798 and 1799, when there was a probability of their being engaged in a war with Tippoo, the directors and the board of controul were unanimously of opinion that a million sterling should be sent out to India. This million sterling had paid the army, and placed every department on the most firm and permanent footing; and yet in those years the company had sent in bullion, goods, and stores, bills of exchange accepted, and transfer of India debt, to the amount of 3,566,483*l*. In the years 1799 and 1800, goods and stores, bullion, bills of exchange accepted, and transfer of India debt, the sum of 4,324,418*l*. making in the whole 10,660,677*l*. Mr. Dundas said there yet remained the article of sales, which lately amounted to four millions above the estimate, and was a more striking and signal proof of the prosperity of the country. At the same time, he said, it was two or three millions more than in former years on the article of tea. He said that, notwithstanding all that had been said by physicians of its noxious and deleterious qualities, we had the most convincing proof that it was now become almost an actual necessary of life. The sales of tea last year amounted to 25 millions of pounds weight. In point of revenue, in 1785, it was only 324,000*l*.; last year the revenue amounted to 1,410,117*l*., and the duties on it to upwards

upwards of 600,000*l.*; and this year we might calculate on a revenue of 1,500,000*l.* on tea. Mr. Dundas then read a string of resolutions, founded on the several statements, which were agreed to.

The house being in a committee, Mr. Dundas, on the 23d of July, opened his second India budget. Instead of entering into a detail of the accounts presented from the East-India company, he expressed his sentiments in the shape of resolutions. He noticed the heavy and expensive war in India, which had

caused an addition to their debt, both at home and abroad; but had the satisfaction to say, that their situation was now better by 969,000*l.* than had been predicted by the estimate of the last budget; and, as peace was restored in that quarter, he had no doubt but India would experience a long and increasing prosperity. He then went into the accounts of the three settlements of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; but as he touched but slightly on the details, we shall offer only the following

GENERAL REVIEW.

Result of the Estimates 1799-1800 collectively.

Revenues.	Bengal	-	-	-	-	£.6,196,733	
	Madras	-	-	-	-	2,507,594	
	Bombay	-	-	-	-	368,366	
	Total revenues	-	-	-	-		£.9,072,693
Charges.	Bengal	-	-	-	-	4,157,558	
	Madras	-	-	-	-	2,739,230	
	Bombay	-	-	-	-	1,450,476	
	Total charges	-	-	-	-		8,347,264
Net estimated revenues of the three presidencies							725,434
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c.							100,920
Remainder							624,514
Deducted from interest on debts							915,687
Net deficiency from the territorial revenues							291,173
Deducted from estimated amount sales of imports							624,727
The remainder							333,554
is the amount estimated to be applicable in the year 1799-1800 to the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c.							

GENERAL RESULT.

The balance was expected to be against the company at the close of the year 1799-1800, to the amount of		565,988
Whereas, notwithstanding the deficient receipt for the sale of the goods, and notwithstanding the aid afforded to India and China exceeded the estimate, by a small issue of bonds, by a less payment on customs and freight, and by the protraction of the intended payments to the bank, the actual balance proved to be in favour		
Being better than estimated		403,322
		969,310

Mr. Dundasthen entered into a general statement of the company's affairs, in order to show that they were bettered in the thirteen years, from 1786 to 1799, in the amount of

11,882,000*l.* and concluded by moving his resolutions, founded on the preceding statements, which were put and carried.

CHAP. III.

Overture from the Chief Consul of the French Republic. Its Reception. Message from his Majesty to the Parliament on that Subject. Debates on it—In the House of Lords—In the House of Commons.

THE close of the year 1799 was distinguished by a remarkable revolution in the government of France, the particulars of which were detailed in our last volume. One of the first measures of the new government was to solicit reconciliation and peace with Great Britain. With that view a letter was sent over by a special messenger from the chief consul, immediately addressed to the king of Great Britain, of which the following is the official translation.

“Buonaparte, First Consul of
“the Republic, to the King
“of Great Britain and Ire-
“land.

“Called by the wishes of the
“French nation to occupy the first
“magistracy of the republic, I think
“it proper on entering into office
“to make a direct communication
“of it to your majesty.

“The war which for eight years
“has ravaged the four quarters of
“the world, must it be eternal? Are
“there no means of coming to an
“understanding? How can the two
“most enlightened nations of Eu-
“rope, powerful and strong beyond
“what their safety and independ-
“ence require, sacrifice to ideas of
“vain grandeur, commerce, pro-
“sperity, and peace? How is it that

“they do not feel that peace is of
“the first importance, as well as the
“highest glory?

“These sentiments cannot be
“foreign to the heart of your ma-
“jesty, who reigns over a free na-
“tion with the sole view of render-
“ing it happy. Your majesty will
“see in this overture my sincere
“wish to contribute efficaciously,
“for the second time, to a general
“pacification, by a step speedy, en-
“tirely of confidence, and disen-
“gaged from those forms which,
“perhaps necessary to disguise the
“dependence of weak states, prove,
“in those that are strong, only the
“desire of deceiving each other.

“France and England, by the
“abuse of their strength, may still
“for a long time, for the misfor-
“tune of all nations, retard the
“period of their being exhausted;
“but I will venture to say it, the
“fate of all civilised nations is at-
“tached to the termination of a
“war which involves the whole
“world.

“Your majesty's, &c.

Paris, 5 Nivose, “BONAPARTE.”
8th year.

To this letter lord Grenville, as secretary of state for the foreign department, returned an answer rather

rather perhaps more haughty than prudent; it was conceived in the following terms.

“ Sir,

“ I have laid before the king the letters which you have transmitted to me, and his majesty, seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with foreign states, has commanded me to return in his name the official answer which I send.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) “ GRENVILLE.”

Official Note.

“ The king has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for re-establishing tranquillity in Europe. He neither is nor has been engaged in any contest for vain glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining against all aggression the rights and happiness of his subjects. For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack, and for the same objects is still obliged to contend. Nor can he hope that the necessity could be removed by entering at the present moment into negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage can arise from such negotiation to the desirable object of general peace, till those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, by which it has been since protracted, and in more than one instance renewed. The same system to which France justly ascribes all her present miseries has also involved Europe in a destructive warfare, of a nature long unknown to the practice of civilised nations. For the exten-

sion of this system, and the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, and the Swiss Cantons, have successively been sacrificed. Germany has been ravaged—Italy has been the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His majesty himself has been compelled to maintain an arduous contest for the independence and existence of his kingdom.

“ Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone: they have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries so remote, both in situation and interest, from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was probably unknown to those who suddenly found themselves involved in its horrors.

“ Whilst such a system therefore prevails, and whilst the blood and treasures of a powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shown that no defence but that of open and steady hostility can be availing. The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way to fresh aggression, and it is to determined resistance alone that whatever remains in Europe of stability, for property, for personal safety, for social order, or the exercise of religion, can be preserved. For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his majesty cannot place reliance on the mere renewal of general professions for pacific dispositions. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all who have successively directed the resources of
“ France,

“ France, to the destruction of
 “ Europe, and whom the present
 “ rulers have declared all to have
 “ been incapable of maintaining
 “ the relations of amity. Greatly
 “ will his majesty rejoice whenever
 “ it shall appear that the danger to
 “ which his own dominions and
 “ those of his allies have been so
 “ long exposed, has really ceased;
 “ whenever he shall be satisfied that
 “ the necessity of resistance shall be
 “ at an end; that, after so many
 “ years of crimes and miseries, bet-
 “ ter principles have prevailed, and
 “ the gigantic projects of ambition,
 “ endangering the very existence
 “ of civil society, have at length
 “ been relinquished. But the con-
 “ viction of such a change can re-
 “ sult only from the evidence of
 “ facts.

“ The best pledge of its reality
 “ and permanence would be the
 “ restoration of that line of princes
 “ which, for so many centuries,
 “ maintained the French nation in
 “ prosperity at home and confide-
 “ ration abroad. Such an event
 “ would at once remove all ob-
 “ stacles in the way of negotiation
 “ or peace. It would confirm to
 “ France the unmolested enjoyment
 “ of its ancient territory, and give
 “ to all other nations that tran-
 “ quillity, that security, which they
 “ are now compelled to seek by
 “ other means.

“ But it is not to this mode that
 “ his majesty limits the possibility
 “ of solid pacification. He makes
 “ no claim to prescribe to France
 “ what shall be the form of her go-
 “ vernment, or in whose hands she
 “ shall vest the authority necessary
 “ for conducting the affairs of a
 “ great and powerful nation.

“ His majesty only looks to the
 “ security of his own dominions,
 “ of his allies, and of Europe.

“ Whenever he shall judge it can be
 “ in any manner attained, he will
 “ eagerly embrace the opportunity
 “ to concert with his allies the
 “ means of an immediate and ge-
 “ neral peace.

“ Unhappily at present no such
 “ security exists; no sufficient evi-
 “ dence of the principles by which
 “ the new government will be di-
 “ rected; no reasonable grounds of
 “ its stability appear. In this situ-
 “ ation, therefore, it remains for
 “ his majesty to pursue, in conjunc-
 “ tion with other powers, those
 “ exertions of a just and defensive
 “ war, which a regard to the hap-
 “ piness of his subjects will never
 “ permit him to continue beyond
 “ the necessity in which they origi-
 “ nated, or to terminate on any
 “ other foundation than such as
 “ would contribute to the secure
 “ enjoyment of their tranquillity,
 “ their constitution, and their inde-
 “ pendence.

(Signed) “GRENVILLE.”

The letter of Bonaparte and lord Grenville's answer were both communicated to the parliament by a message from his majesty; and on the 22d of January lord Grenville moved the reading of his majesty's message in the house of lords, which was to the following effect: “ That copies of communications recently received from the enemy, and the answers which had been returned to them, should be laid before the house. That his majesty entertained the fullest confidence, that these answers would appear conformable to the most important interests of his dominions; and that, having no object nearer his heart than that of contributing to the tranquillity of Europe, and establishing the prosperity of his faithful people on a permanent basis, he relied on the support

support of his parliament to accomplish these ends; and on the zeal and perseverance of his subjects in such measures as would best confirm the signal advantages obtained in the last campaign, and conduct the contest to an honourable conclusion."

It was, however, the 28th of January before the question was taken into consideration. Lord Grenville then rose, and observed, that the question was one of the most momentous that ever came under the deliberation of parliament. Their lordships had demonstrated in their repeated addresses, laid at the foot of the throne, their perfect acquiescence in those measures which the servants of the crown had adopted.

The same unfortunate necessity still existed for persevering in the contest. Nothing in the state of Europe admitted a rational hope that there was any security but in war. He would be understood to make his present appeal to those who concurred in his sentiments, not to those who never did admit the necessity and justice of the contest; nor did he call on them for co-operation or support.

From the documents on the table, it was obvious that a hostile mind still pervaded the conduct of the enemy; the same proneness to aggression and disregard to equity. Peace with a nation at enmity with order, religion, and morality, would rather be an acquiescence in wrong than a suspension of arms in ordinary warfare. Hence it was incumbent on that house and the country to prosecute their measures with renewed vigour, and to demonstrate to the world the same undaunted and unyielding spirit which had maintained Great Britain against the arms, and, worse than the arms, the levelling principles of France.

In these times, when the differences that agitated states were of no common origin, when indeed they were the offspring of a mad and maddening system of innovation, the work of peace should be entered upon with caution, and pursued with jealousy. To negotiate with established governments was formerly not merely easy, but safe; but to negotiate now, with the government of France, would incur all the risks of an uncertain truce, without one of the benefits of a temporary peace.

He deplored the sufferings of Europe; he deplored the lives of our brave Englishmen, who fell fighting the battles of their country; he deplored the diffusion of misery in those states which were the seat of slaughter: but he knew not how to avert greater evils, otherwise than by persevering in hostilities against a power which sought the destruction of the world. Until, therefore, the enemy evinced moderation and good principles, he must, with all its horrors, prefer war.

M. Talleyrand had asserted in his note, "that, from the commencement of the revolution, the republic had solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, her disinclination to conquests, and her respect for the independence of all governments." But how stood the facts? *This love of peace* had been displayed in being at war, during eight years, with every nation in Europe, excepting Sweden and Denmark; and these two northern powers had suffered, in aggravated instances, a series of insults, injuries, and injustice, from the cruisers of the republic, common indeed in war, but directly repugnant to the principles of recognized neutrality.

The disinclination to conquest had been ascertained by marching armies to the Rhine, seizing the Netherlands,

lands, and annexing them to the republic; by the invasion of Italy; by the wrongs of Switzerland; nor did Asia and the Porte afford mean specimens of the *unambitious* spirit of France. *Her respect for the independence of other governments* had been manifested by arming governors against the governed; and, when it suited their politics, stirring up the governed against their governors: in Italy the whole scheme of civil society was changed, and in Switzerland violated. The Netherlands also exhibited some monuments of the veneration with which the republic regarded the independence of states; and they acted on the decree of November 1792, when they dethroned kings, plundered princes, accumulated province on province, and destroyed the laws and constitutions of other nations.

His lordship, having stated the question in various views with much force and eloquence, affirmed that the assertions of the French minister were proved to be false by the history of the war, and the whole progress of the revolution.

He proceeded to show, that no safe, honourable, and permanent peace could be made with the present rulers of France. Every power with which she had treated could furnish melancholy instances of the perfidy, injustice, and cruelty of the republic. If she agreed to a suspension of arms, it was in order to be admitted into the state of the negotiating prince, that she might then undermine his throne by corrupting the principles of his subjects. The duke of Tuscany was among the early sufferers by a treaty. He strove to conform his conduct in every respect to the views of France; but at the moment when she pledged her honour for the security of his state, he saw the troops of his ally enter his capital, the governor of

that city imprisoned, his subjects in a state of rebellion, and himself about to be exiled from his dominions. It was to this prince, however, that the republic repeated her assurances of attachment. That very republic which fought not conquest, which declared she would not interfere with the government of other states, deposed the sovereign, and gave a democracy to the Florentines!

The king of Sardinia opened the gates of his capital to the republican arms; and, confiding in the integrity of the French government, expected to find his possessions guaranteed by the treaty which recognised his rights, and secured to France adequate advantages. He was obliged to resign his continental dominions, while the city of Turin was treacherously seized by the republicans. The change of papal government was schemed by Joseph Bonaparte in his palace; and, after that ambassador had excited an insurrection, we saw the revolution effected by him at the head of a Roman mob. In the example of Naples was displayed the same contempt of the laws of war, and of the rights of peace. Reverting to the intercourse of the republic with the States of the Empire, the same want of faith was discoverable. The armistice concluded by the archduke, with the general of the republic, was succeeded by the treaty of Campo Formio; and was this better observed than others? It generated the causes of the war which now raged for the second time over Europe. After the armistice with the emperor, the French directed their arms against Venice. Here they proclaimed themselves deliverers, who came to release them from the yoke of Austria, which, according to the French, had oppressed the republican Venetians: out it was mere proclamation;

tion; for in no long time after was that republic annihilated, and Venice sold to that very emperor whose vaunted aggressions afforded the original pretext for the French invasion.

Genoa received them as friends; and, that the debt of gratitude might be paid in the style of the new school, Genoa was revolutionised, a new government was hurried up, while, under the authority of a mock revolution, we saw the people plundered, and the country pillaged. If injustice towards princes and aristocrats forms part of the creed of the modern rulers, why was not justice better observed towards *republics* raised especially under the wings of France, her own offspring, and affiliated with her?

Switzerland concluded a truce; the republic excited insurrections there; overthrew her institutions; oppressed her people with contributions; degraded, deposed, or exiled her magistracy; seized her strong places; assumed the command of her armies; and, to give permanency to the usurpation, imposed a new government, not only in form but name.

From which of these facts could we expect security in any peace? But it would be said, these were not the acts of France more than they were inevitably the result of a state of war. This was answered by the report of Boulay de la Meurthe (a principal member of the new government), who told the council of elders, that neither the revolutionary nor constitutional government was capable of maintaining the relations of friendship and peace with the powers of Europe; that treaties were made to be broken; and that there was no security in the republic itself, whilst such a mass of absurdity, of folly, and of error, continued to

form the basis of the government. If then the declarations of the rulers of France so entirely supported all that his majesty's ministers had from time to time stated on the subject of war and peace, what other course would Great Britain adopt (if she were wise) than wait the event of things, and not enter on negotiation at a time when no one advantage could fairly be expected from it? To negotiate now would be to impeach all former decisions, libel the past declarations of the house, and, above all, betray the interests of our allies, at a moment when the world hailed with impatience our vigorous resistance to the aggressions of France, and which, under Providence, might yet lead to the deliverance of Europe.

His lordship then reiterated, with great ability, the arguments of ministers, to prove that France, respecting England, had been the aggressor; disclaimed all alliance and connexion with any powers for the purpose of overthrowing their government, especially the pretended treaties of Pavia and Pilnitz; and observed, that so far was the emperor from meditating such interference, that he expressly notified to all the courts of Europe, that he regarded the new French constitution by the king as the proper act of the king. The emperor too soon felt the effect of his declaration; for, when the French invaded his dominions, in 1792, he was so unprepared, that the Netherlands speedily fell into the hands of the republic. England not only did not mean to interfere with the internal affairs of France, but actually authorised her ministers on the continent to become the mediators between the powers at war. Even M. Chauvelin and M. Talleyrand admitted this: and, in fact, the latter in his declaration as an

ambassador contradicted his declaration as a minister.

Lord Grenville, after taking a view of the negotiation at Lisle, and maintaining that the reception of our ambassador there, and at Paris, were proofs of the impracticability of negotiation, commented on the note of the French minister, dwelling upon that assertion in it, "that the powers of Europe had originally provoked the republic to the exertion of her own strength, and of the courage of her citizens." There was more meant in the original phrase than could be expressed by a translation. It was an artful insinuation, that the republic, being dragged into the war, carried her arms into neutral states to make her claims valid against nations at war. In other words, if a neutral state would not commit aggressions on states at war with the republic, or supply the wants of her soldiers, she was to resort to the exertion of her strength, and subjugate and plunder them. It was in this spirit they had invaded and seized on Egypt, and in the same spirit might England expect to be invaded, if, unlike the other powers which surround the republic, we were not separated by a channel, which, under Providence, would ever be impassable. His lordship proceeded to an investigation of the character of Bonaparte.

General Bonaparte, in the third year of the republic, imposed upon the French, by the mouth of the cannon, that very constitution which he had now destroyed by the point of the bayonet. If a treaty was concluded and broken with Sardinia, it was concluded and broken by Bonaparte: if peace was established and violated with Tuscany, it was established and violated by Bonaparte: if armistices were

ratified and annulled with Modena, and the other petty states of Italy, they were ratified and annulled by Bonaparte: if that ancient republic Venice was first drawn into a war, and compelled afterwards to conclude a treaty, it was, that Bonaparte might more easily overthrow her constitution, and annihilate the political system by which she had existed with glory and security for ages past: if the government of Rome was subverted, it was subverted by Bonaparte: if Genoa was reduced to the same humiliating situation, her wealth and her independence were sacrificed to Bonaparte: if Switzerland, deluded by offers of peace, was induced to surrender up her rights and liberties, she was deprived of them by Bonaparte. But to examine that part of his conduct which is diplomatic, and passing over his rapacities, and the cruel massacres which were perpetrated by his orders, let us review his professions to the Porte: he solemnly declared that he had no intention of taking possession of Egypt, whilst he declared to his own generals that *this* was his intention; and to the people of Egypt that it was with the consent of the Porte. He had multiplied violations of all moral and religious ties; he had repeated acts of perfidy; his hypocrisies were innumerable; and in that country where he had affirmed the French to be true Mussulmen, he had given us a correct idea of his sincerity and his principles.

Being thus provided with so many unquestionable pledges of his future integrity, was it illiberal or impolitic to suspect a man who, having overturned the government of his own country as well as that of others, now came forward with offers of pacification? If the interest of Bonaparte were deeply concerned,

concerned, he might be sincere, and there was no doubt but it was his interest to consolidate his power: but it ought not to be forgotten, that whenever any acts of atrocity were to be accomplished by the French, they had been usually effected by a suspension of arms; the proposed negotiation would relieve her from the present pressure of alarming difficulties, and could not relieve England from any; the ports of France, which were now blockaded by our fleets and cruizers, would be thrown open to introduce naval stores, and a variety of necessary articles of which the country was in want; fleets would be sent to bring back the troops which were now deprived of all intercourse with the republic, and which might then be employed in augmenting the number of the French armies. To us, a suspension of arms could not be productive of any benefit whatever; our ports were not blocked up, our commerce was not interrupted; and it also should be considered, that there would be no security for the maintenance of such a suspension. Was Bonaparte now prepared to sign a general peace? If he were not, he could not be sincere in his offers; it was necessary for him to keep an army of sixty thousand men to preserve tranquillity in the interior of France: every act of his government was supported by force; and if he even were sincere, it was hazarding too much to hazard all on his single life. What reliance could be placed on the unanimity of the French people? We were destitute of hope, from the change which had recently taken place in the persons employed in public offices; men of the blackest characters had been appointed to situations of the greatest trust; men infamous for

professed principles of anarchy had been raised to places of confidence and power, and those who were judges in the sanguinary tribunals of Robespierre were now exalted to a distinguished rank in the republic. Whilst, therefore, the jacobin system prevailed in France, there was no security in England but by a vigorous prosecution of hostilities.

The last subject of his lordship's animadversion was, ministers being accused of determining to restore monarchy in France. This, he said, had been often and publicly and solemnly disclaimed; disclaimed after the capture of Toulon to the present moment. He did not pretend to deny that monarchy was considered as the best, the surest, the speediest, but not the only means of restoring peace, and we merely wished for a government capable of preserving the customary relations of amity; nor would his majesty hesitate to treat with any form of government, whether republican or monarchical, which could preserve these sacred ties of order. But to commence any negotiation which would not be likely to terminate in peace would be dishonest, it would be unwise, and it would be fruitless. His lordship ended with moving an address of thanks to his majesty.

The duke of Bedford gave his decided negative upon it; instead of going into detail in answering the noble secretary's arguments, he meant, he said, to discuss the principles of the war, and the basis upon which negotiation was to be founded. All the objections advanced against it now might have been urged when the negotiations were opened at Lisle; the conduct of the French government prior to that period had been amply sufficient

cient for the manifestation of their principles; and though his majesty's ministers were so well acquainted with these vile principles at that time, they sent an ambassador to treat for peace; and now, on this very account, we were told that we ought not to think of treaty.—“But the French defended their conduct in commencing and carrying on the war.” Far was he from wishing to defend it, any more than the conduct of our allies, or of this country when it first established itself in India. The details in all these instances would be equally repugnant to humanity.

The paper transmitted by our ministers called upon the French government to vindicate their nation at large in pursuing the war. Did it not expressly say, that if France would again revolutionize itself, restore its ancient line of princes, this country would treat with her? Was this the conciliatory paper which it was a crime in France to answer as she had done? Was it extraordinary that the French should deny that they were the aggressors, when our ministers not only endeavoured to prove that they were so, but that they had acted infamously and atrociously? Had the republic made use of any language so provoking? The style of their government had been the direct contrary: yet, without the least necessity, his lordship had thought fit to load them with every degrading and insulting epithet. Whether England or France were the first aggressors was a question to be reserved to posterity; it was natural for each country to throw the imputation off their own shoulders, and avoid not only the execration of the present age, but the curse of posterity. The wild scheme of restoring the French monarchy was

the *sine qua non*, if not of peace, of negotiation; for, notwithstanding the noble secretary had denied the charge, whilst he pointed out the impossibility of treating with the French government during all its stages to the present, and insisted upon vigorous hostilities being the only means of our security, there was no inference to be drawn but that the war must be continued till monarchy was established. What prospect remained of such an event taking place, his grace said, he would not pretend to determine; but this fact was certain, in proportion as this country oppressed France, in the same proportion did she become violent; our attempts to destroy jacobinism promoted, and, if we persevered, would establish it. If the restoration of monarchy was not the object, what was it? Were ministers contending that we ought to wait for a more favourable opportunity of entering into negotiation? Was it to be attained by railing at Bonaparte? There were no terms sufficiently strong to censure the littleness which attacked his character, in order to ruin him in the estimation of the French nation, as if by so doing we could negotiate with more effect, or gain a fairer prospect of peace. It was also most contemptible to publish what was called “The intercepted Correspondence of the Enemy;” these were paltry shifts, reflecting more disgrace upon ministers than on the writers of these fabricated letters.

Could we depend on our allies? Was there one of them who had not shown, in the course of the present war, that he would obtain a separate peace if he could obtain it advantageously? Had not Austria proved herself actuated by views of aggrandisement? Did ministers

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themselves place implicit confidence in Russia? These were points which he did not mean now to discuss, but he would advert to the probable hopes entertained of a more favourable opportunity to negotiate, from the internal situation of the country itself. Had their lordships considered it with relation to its finances? The old system of finance had been abolished, as incapable of being applied to the operations of government, and a new one had been introduced, which, after a trial of two years, had been found defective, so that it was necessary to resort to some other, more violent in its nature, to enable ministers to carry on the war—a war pursued in conjunction with powers who would not bring their men into the field for nothing. We had been taught to believe that this country was able to starve France; now, if we took a view of our own internal situation, we should find it alarming in an extreme degree. If we repaired to the woods, we should every where discover traces of those miserable wretches whose poverty left them no resource but depredation; if we contemplated the villages, we should hear only the unavailing cries of children calling for that food which their parents had not to give them. Numerous were the instances of strong and healthy countrymen appealing from parish officers, who had denied them assistance, on the ground of their being able to work; it was true, they had ability, but no employment; and, left without it, they were perpetually distressed with the clamours of their families, pining at their miserable homes in wretchedness and want. The beneficence of individuals had, indeed, much alleviated these evils; but the necessity of affording relief to the laborious

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part of the community by charity was a proof of the weakness of the country. Six months ago our army had been recruited by unconstitutional measures; the fundamental principles on which the force of the kingdom was formed had been violated, for the purpose of conducting us to victory: that same army which we had beheld marching with an assurance of success had been obliged to purchase its retreat from the enemy's territory with disgrace. Such were the means we had of obtaining a more favourable opportunity to negotiate. Ought ministers to be suffered to persist? Were they to have another secret expedition—to drain the country of its provisions in order to fill the magazines of the enemy, and to stamp the British character with dishonour? Surely it ought first to be well ascertained that we had some rational hope of success. The question now was, whether the present was a favourable opportunity for peace? he maintained that it was; and notwithstanding it had been asserted, that the government of France had not been tried a sufficient time, and the dispositions of Bonaparte were unpacific, the letter of Bonaparte and of his minister Talleyrand, refuted such assertions: from their contents it was evident to the candid, that peace was not the personal wish only of Bonaparte, but that he had stated it as his own personal wish in addition to the desire of the French nation. His majesty had declared in his note to Barthelemy, that England would always be willing to treat when its enemies evinced a disposition to that effect; if this declaration was not a mockery, why did we not treat now? The only means of proving the sincerity of Bonaparte was to enter into a negotiation: to prosecute the war after

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the concessions of the French government was neither open, manly, nor characteristic of the British nation. His grace next adverted to the report of Boulay de la Meurthe, admitting that what had been advanced by him proceeded from Bonaparte; but it was no more an argument against the abolished constitution of France, than a report of any violent jacobin on the ancient government of Louis XVI. The chief consul doubtless sought to make a peace advantageous to himself and the nation over which he presided; like all other statesmen, his motives might not be influenced by humanity; it was to be supposed his aim would be to satisfy the French people, and consolidate his own power. As to the abuse which ministers threw upon his character, it was their habit to abuse every ruling power in France; but whenever they had been driven by the voice of the people to negotiate, their former ill language had never been any impediment. It was unfortunately the interest of ministers to procrastinate the war; they retained their places by its continuance; and when it was ended, the people would inquire for what they had been spending their blood and treasures, and reflect on the heavy calamities they endured, without having reaped the least advantage by the contest.

The present question was big with the crisis, not only of England, but of existing man, and succeeding generations. He implored their lordships, by the love they bore their country, to pause ere they consented to plunge it in eternal war. If France and England were to be eternal rivals, let that rivalry be manifested by other means; instead of desolating each other's territories, and carrying devastation into every

part of the habitable world, adding to the number of disconsolate widows and helpless orphans, let the countries reciprocally lighten the burdens of the people, direct their thoughts to agriculture and commerce, and vie with each other in the arts of peace. By the silence of the people it might be supposed they were satisfied; in this case the more responsibility attached to ministers; they were bending under the accumulated weight of taxes; it was for their rulers to take care that they did not sink. A continuance of oppression would make them slaves, or prepare them for revolution. If they were driven to despair, like the people of France they would look up to themselves, and redress their own grievances.

His grace concluded by observing, that the address proposed by ministers was to be regarded as containing their own sentiments rather than those of their sovereign, and as such the house ought freely to discuss it: he proposed another in its stead, which he submitted to their consideration. Being exhausted, lord Holland rose to read it.

‘That an address be presented to his majesty, returning thanks for his gracious communication of the correspondence between the minister of France and that of England, and humbly to represent, that in December 1795, his majesty was pleased to acquaint the house that he had been induced to meet any disposition for negotiation on the part of the enemy with an earnest desire to give it the speediest effect.

‘That, in pursuance of this disposition, an overture had been made in the spring by his minister in Switzerland, in the year 1796.

‘On the rejection of that overture, his majesty had given the most solemn assurance, that whenever the enemy

enemy should manifest more pacific sentiments, he would eagerly concur in them, and concert with his allies such measures as were best calculated to re-establish tranquillity on conditions just, honourable, and permanent.

‘That his majesty had since entered into two negotiations for peace with the republic, at Paris in 1796, and at Lisle in 1797: and that the rupture was solely to be attributed to the determination of the French government to reject all means of peace, and to pursue at all hazards their hostile designs against these kingdoms.

‘That we his majesty’s most dutiful subjects, impressed with the justice of these sentiments, anxious for the re-establishment of peace, and the dignity of the crown, cannot conceal our regret on perceiving his majesty has been advised to reject the first overtures on the part of the enemy; and we implore his majesty to give directions for an immediate renewal of the negotiation for peace with the republic, beseeching him to recur to those principles of moderation and equity so solemnly and repeatedly avowed, and which, if adhered to, must either ensure the restoration of peace, or render our enemies alone accountable for the calamities of war.’

Lord Borington said, that the present question was simply this: Whether they would or would not assure his majesty of their support in the present war, until a treaty could be concluded with France with security? No token of it existed at the present moment, and the safety of the country would be risked by negotiation. The most important revolution which France itself had ever witnessed had placed upon the throne of power in that country a most celebrated and extra-

ordinary man. He would give him no other epithets. How long he might remain in this situation it was utterly impossible to decide, consequently impossible to depend on any treaties we might form with him; and if he were expelled from it, he might be replaced by that faction whose undisguised hatred to this country would lead them to put a speedy end to all negotiation with it. We should then be at their mercy, and have the mortification of knowing it was our own impatience which had made us so. It would be a painful degradation for Old England to be an imploring and dependent power at the feet of a jacobin directory. He would not pretend to determine what might be the real dispositions of the first consul relative to general pacification; but it was remarkable that though his majesty, with that good faith so well becoming his character as well as that of the nation, expressly stated his intentions of acting only in concert with his allies, not one word should be said in answer respecting peace with them: he argued, therefore, that even if we had acceded to the French propositions, it was probable we might have left in existence the continental war; we might have enabled France to have strengthened and recruited her forces, basely have allowed her to bring them out against the powers now in alliance with us, and have put into the hands of these successors of Bonaparte a power more formidable than that now enjoyed by himself—more formidable, from the principles of those who might direct it; and, above all, from the abject state in which it would most assuredly find this country under such circumstances. It was impossible to conceive means more calculated to damp the ardour and

check the enterprize of our fleets, to destroy the discipline and spirit of our armies to enfeeble every branch of the public service, and diffuse distrust and despondency into the public mind, than the hasty conclusion of a temporary peace.

He totally differed from the duke, that the personal character of Bonaparte did not come into the present question; their lordships, who had been such anxious witnesses of the extraordinary events of the last ten years, could not dismiss from their recollection what was the character, and what had been the part acted in those events by him in whose person was now concentrated the whole government of France.

It had been said, that ministers, by their answers to France, had declared eternal war, but this proposition could not be proved; ministers could not have expressed (short of negotiation) his majesty's desire of peace more strongly; experience and facts could mean nothing else than that his majesty felt it his duty to wait to see whether the power of the present rulers in France should be established, and whether his use of that power would induce us with reason to hope for the faithful observance of any treaty concluded with Bonaparte. It was necessary to remind the house that Bonaparte had only been installed a month; and such was the nature of the French revolution, that no reference to the history of former times, no recurrence to those transactions of which France had for so many years been the melancholy and sanguinary theatre, could in any way lead to a plausible conjecture, much less to such a solid opinion as should be adopted before they could proceed in a measure of the deepest importance. Surely, in waiting for the test of experience and the evidence of facts,

there was nothing which justified the imputation of unwise delay and timid policy: no comment was necessary upon peace having been proposed on the last occasion, because betwixt powerful and independent nations that circumstance made no difference; nor could the proposal of peace be ever considered in itself as either an act of humiliation or a pledge of sincerity. The restoration of monarchy was not the *sine qua non* with us; it might be regarded as a means of peace, but not a reason for the continuance of the war. If Bonaparte was really sincere, it would have induced him to confirm the professions of principles made on the eve of his revolution by Boulay de la Meurthe; but this was so far from being the case, that M. Talleyrand justified in his second note the excesses of the former government, and pleaded the aggressions of those who had provoked the war. Did this appear like a sincere disposition to conclude peace? Ministers were charged with a breach of promise in not adhering to the declarations made, after the breaking off the negotiations at Lisle: could it be imagined that these declarations were to be in force under all circumstances? The very terms implied no such thing. Since then, Italy had been rescued from the tyranny of its invaders; the flower of the French army had been destroyed in Africa; the glorious battle of the Nile had been fought, and the victory obtained: Could it be expected that we should now accede to the same terms then offered, or a declaration be binding three years after it had been issued? Since the death of Robespierre, every French government had made the same pacific professions; each faction, as it came into power, had held out the same allurements; but each had been

been actuated by the same insatiable ambition, and, after pretensions to equity and honour, had proved equally perfidious and unjust.

Upon this view of the probable instability of the French government, upon the character of the enemy, and the existing circumstances, his majesty was justified in not yet concluding any treaty; and upon this ground his lordship called upon the house to support the address as it was originally moved.

Lord Romney rose:—He approved of the general conduct of ministers, and considered the country greatly indebted to them; but in this instance thought they had taken the wrong ground, and acted improperly in their abrupt rejection of the overtures of France. Not that their intentions appeared as laudable as the duke had represented them; the chief consul might mean merely to perplex our government, and render himself popular at home; but in the present case we had enabled him to gain his end: we certainly ought to have entered into a negotiation, and weighed the terms he might have proposed. No bad consequences could have ensued; our military operations were now suspended, and our preparations might have gone on with equal vigor for the next campaign. If the terms of Bonaparte had been unreasonable, they might have been refused, and the odium of this prolonged war would have devolved on France; every Englishman would then have contributed with cheerfulness to carry it on. His lordship concluded with a eulogium on his majesty, whose virtues, moderation, and paternal care of his people, distinguished him so eminently from the rulers of other nations; but these being his sentiments on our rejection of Bonaparte's proposals, he could not

vote for the address, nor would he for the amendment.

The earl of Carlisle expatiated on the nature of the contest; ours was a war, he said, for the preservation of our laws, our liberty, our religion, and our property. By its continuance we had obtained every object we had proposed; we had checked the career of France, and established our own security. To enter into a negotiation would be to ruin the country, and therefore he should vote for the address: it would, however, have been more prudent had they only thanked his majesty for his communication, and not have given any opinion on the conduct of the executive government. The address pledged them to support the war till the ministers should say that the period was come to put an end to it: they only knew a part of the transaction; ministers might be acquainted with reasons unknown to them to justify their violent answers to the overtures; this was a subject unfit for their discussion. Firmness had saved the nation, which, had the opposition been allowed to influence, would have been ruined by their impolitic projects.

Lord Holland, in an able speech, reprobated the conduct of ministers throughout the contest; formerly, it was the constant answer to every pacific motion, that the ambition of France was insatiable, that she refused to listen to any terms; now, even by their avowal, it was not they but we who refused to listen to overtures; they could not ascribe the continuance of the war to the acknowledged animosity of the enemy, and other pretexts are urged; the peace would be insecure, and negotiation unsafe; the instability of the new order of things was the inseparable objection; but when the

late constitution of the French republic was established; ministers admitted, by a message in Dec. 1795, that it was a crisis which led to a termination of the contest. On that occasion six weeks had been sufficient to determine their opinions. Was there greater appearance of instability now than then? Every thing of destructive tendency and pernicious example in political principle had been given up under the present system; it was evident, therefore, that the objection did not rest upon the revolutionary principles of the new government. But was not its ambition as dangerous? Had not the republic broken every treaty? No; the French had not violated the treaty with Prussia: and this was the only case at all applicable to us. It was also to be remarked, that most of the treaties mentioned had been violated by the government which had lasted longest in France, and there was no instance of any treaty made with one government alleged as a justification of its infraction by another.

As to the ambition of the enemy, it was a consideration of weight in the arrangement of terms, not a preliminary objection preclusive of treaty. What proof could be given of the abandonment of dangerous views, but a negotiation in which moderation could be displayed? It was urged that Bonaparte might be insincere; but if he was not, he could only have done precisely what he had done: was it reasonable to suppose that he would admit that the guilt of the aggression lay with France? this was a point which ought not to have been discussed: the object was to treat on actual circumstances, and the real grounds of dispute: it was not Talleyrand who began the subject; he did not, like our ministers, throw out severe re-

proach and pointed insult; he merely stated, that the possibility of arrangement, not the original offence, was now the question. Suppose that Bonaparte, desirous to obtain peace by any means, should sit down to consider how he could succeed. What does the note allow him to do? He would find that the restoration of the hereditary line of kings was the only case in which a speedy peace would be admitted as possible: in fact, therefore, this restoration was the *sine qua non* in which immediate negotiation was admissible with ministers. Now let us examine this condition of peace in two points of view: Was it desirable in itself—would it remove the objections urged to negotiation. Surely if the ambition of the republic was so formidable, we could not forget this ground of apprehension when we talked of restoring the house of Bourbon. Had we forgotten *their* proverbial ambition? and was their restoration the remedy for evils arising from such a source? It was said that the most natural pledge which they could give of sounder principles was “the restoration of that family which had maintained France in prosperity at home, and respect and consideration abroad.” It was singular to observe so much anxiety in ministers for the prosperity of France: But what respect was now alluded to—respect of justice, of moderation, of wisdom, and fidelity? No, it was the respect arising from the power of France, and founded on no better claims. To promote the internal prosperity and external renown of the French monarchs surely would not be considered as British objects. We complained of the recency of the revolution as precluding immediate negotiation, and in the same breath recommended to France to make another,

another, as the speediest means of restoring peace. We talked of the ambition and insincerity of the republic as objections, and then mentioned, as inducements, a family, and government insincere and ambitious for many past generations. The French minister stated, that the perseverance of this country had driven France into excesses: if this avowal was atrocious, what was the practice of it? Too true it was, that England had given France an apology for some part of her violence. What had been our conduct to neutral powers? Had we not violated the neutrality of the duke of Tuscany in spite of the most solemn treaties? Had we not violated that of Genoa? What was the conduct of our allies? Did not the Russians violate the neutrality of other states, prescribe to the king of Denmark that no clubs should be permitted in his dominions? Ambition was objected to France, but was France the only power that was ambitious? If we could not make peace with an ambitious power, it was necessary to point out the ambition of our allies, to prove that this was not the reason we were at war. The noble secretary, in justifying the conduct of ministers, drew many of his arguments from the second letter of Talleyrand; and whatever principles that letter displayed could not be the least palliation of their refusal to negotiate, because our decision was pronounced before they could know a second messenger would be dispatched. "But Bonaparte had not spoken of a general peace:" he had alluded to the miseries of war, and the necessity of putting an end to the effusion of human blood. He expressed his desire to co-operate in terminating these evils, and at any rate we might have listened to the terms he would have proposed. If he was actuated

by a hostile spirit, it would appear in negotiation, and thus the continuance of the war be justified, and the country be reconciled to it.

We had now taken up the principle so much objected to jacobins, of distinguishing between the people and their government. But what was the conduct of the French? Bonaparte distinctly renounces this principle in the letter to the king, and acknowledges the title and the character of his majesty's government. The note of our ministers was a manifesto to the royalists, and formed for that purpose. It spoke of the miseries of France; but the miseries of France were not the causes of the war: they might interest our humanity, but were not to be urged as motives in diplomatic papers. As little had we to do with the internal miseries of the republic as Talleyrand would have to retaliate by reproaching us with the test act, the want of parliamentary reform, assessed taxes, or any other of our grievances. The only argument of weight, and connected with common sense and common humanity, was the sacrifice of the Chouans, with whom we might have engaged, and whom he feared we had incited by our money and intrigues. This argument the noble secretary had not urged, and he did not blame him as a minister for suppressing it: but there was no impropriety for himself to offer some remarks upon the subject. Far was he from wishing to abandon and betray those whom we had engaged to support; but was it not possible, if a negotiation was carried on sincerely on both sides, if peace in its true spirit was concluded, that we might render these Chouans a greater service than by furnishing them with arms, supplies, or even assistance? By continuing the war, were we not

dooming them to destruction? and it was a dreadful thing to reflect on, that, by the obstinacy of administration, we might be condemned to carry on the war for years, without gaining any of the advantages which we might now gain by negotiation.

The people at large disapproved of the abrupt rejection of Bonaparte's overtures: and if it afterwards should appear that he was sincere, how would their lordships reconcile it to their consciences to have prolonged by their sanction the calamities of war, without any motive of honour, interest, or security? He therefore gave his decided support to the amendment.

The earl of Carnarvon said, he could not consider the answer of our ministers as a refusal to treat for peace, or a declaration of eternal war: it was (as the secretary of state had termed it) a case upon the house and the country to pause, before they rashly suffered themselves to enter into a negotiation with an unsettled government. He did not expect any extraordinary faith to be manifested by Bonaparte more than by any other chief or chiefs: but although he should be best pleased with the restoration of monarchy in France—in all times—in monarchies as well as in republics, aristocracies, and every other species of government—good faith in treaties was preserved and exemplified only so long as it was the interest of the parties to maintain it. So little integrity had history left on record, that, at the very time they were signed, a secret intention was often indulged to violate them at a particular period.

He believed the present ministers had given the proper answers, because their wise and extraordinary exertions in the conduct of the war had saved the country, and protected our liberties. His lordship voted for the address.

The earl of Liverpool spoke of our prosperous situation, of our triumphant fleet, our flourishing revenue. Even our taxes, large and numerous as they were, proved to the astonished world how much might be expected from a free people in defence of their rights, and in preservation of their advantages. Ought we then to relinquish a system which had established us in such prosperity, to rely upon the arts and treacheries of the enemy. Ministers had adopted the only course of security and honour by their replies to Bonaparte. No notice was taken of our allies. We had engaged never to treat but in conjunction with them. This was the first objection to negotiate: the second was, our consenting to open an armistice: to an armistice when the commerce of France was gone! Until the French repealed their decrees, one of which was, *that they had a right to interfere with every government upon earth*, and the other, *that they had a right to annex any part of Europe which fell into their hands* to the republic. Until these decrees were repealed, no good could be derived from opening a negotiation, and he gave his warmest sanction to the address.

The earl of Carlisle rose to make some observations, he said, on the statement of our prosperity. If to the war we were indebted for the trade of the whole world, peace must deprive us of it; and this argument was not only against present negotiation, but at any future time, under any circumstances whatever. Exclusive of the attendant calamities, was the change of property, arising from the pressure of taxes, of little moment? This increase of trade might be pleasing to trading men; but country gentlemen, and the middle classes of society, had no share in it. An objection urged
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against negotiation was, that France had given no proof of renouncing the system of which we complained. Surely it was not likely that in the heat of contest she would make the *amende honorable*, and deprive herself of the confidence and assistance of those men who supported her government, by condemning their conduct. This proceeding would weaken her strength, and was not to be expected till the arrival of peace. His lordship did not condemn ministers for pausing before they accepted overtures, but for going into inflammatory details: it would have been sufficient to have stated, that the proposal took no notice of our allies. Ministers might have reasons for thinking there was no stability in the government to justify negotiation; but parliament were kept in ignorance of those reasons, and very properly so. At the same time it was going too far, to call upon them to sanction a proceeding, the whole merits of which they could not be acquainted with. These were his objections to the address; but, if he disapproved of it yet more, he thought it right to give it his support. For the address 79—against it 6—majority 86—proxies 13.

‘*Dissentient.*

‘Because the address directly approves of the rejection of an overture for peace, when that blessing might probably be attained with honour and security by opening a negotiation with the republic, and indirectly approves of the language in which the rejection of the offer was conveyed to the French government—a language which can only widen the breach between the countries, exasperate the enemy, and prolong the calamities of war.

‘HOLLAND.’

In the house of commons Mr. Dundas moved an address, approving the correspondence laid before

the house respecting the overtures of Bonaparte. It was, he said, a subject which could not be considered properly without adverting to the situation and circumstances in which we were placed, and decisive of the conduct which we ought to pursue. Experience had decided the question, and we were to dispute on the merits of the French revolution; whether it really were that glorious work which some fondly had imagined, or an event productive of more mischief, horror, and devastation, than political history had ever before recorded. The leading feature of this revolution was a total disregard of all treaties and obligations, and a sovereign contempt for the rights and privileges of all other powers. In proof of this assertion he merely would recite the names of Spain, Naples, Sardinia, Tuscany, Genoa, Geneva, Modena, Venice, Austria, Russia, England, and Egypt. The only kingdoms which had not been in actual and avowed hostility were Denmark and Sweden; and these had suffered injuries scarcely inferior to those it had inflicted on nations with whom it was engaged in open war. Yet the French nation set out with pacific professions!

But the point now was, were these aggressions reprobated by France? Were the principles on which she had acted laid aside? Had we any evidence of a change, or any reasonable cause to suppose it had taken place?

The jacobinical *form* of government was at an end indeed; but, in substance and essence, all the qualities of the revolutionary government were in as full force at this moment as they were in the days of Robespierre. All power was now consolidated and concentrated in the hands of Bonaparte; and the nation stood with a military despot at its head, invested

invested with unlimited authority to revive the practice of forced loans and requisitions, to wield the force of the state as he pleased, and resort to all the resources of the revolutionary government.

Under these circumstances, overtures are made for peace. This proposition ministers have thought proper to reject, assigning as the cause, that as all the former attempts had proved abortive, or if successful were followed by violation, nothing yet presented itself which ascertained security. In the first place, we were not assured of the sincerity of the offer; and in the second, of its permanency. There were certain circumstances which inspired confidence in states, as the character of the king of a country, the conduct of his ministers, the general laws of the government; but was there one of these criteria to be found in the present case? If there were none of them to be found, it rested solely on the assertion of the party himself declaring he was of a pacific disposition, accredited by his minister Talleyrand; for to him he had referred to vouch for his character. It was not, however, the business of this country to judge the private character of Bonaparte: At the same time he must confess, that he had an old prejudice hanging about him, so as to induce him to regard the blasphemer of his God as not the person with whom he would wish to treat. But, waving these objections, he was to be considered in the character in which he forced himself upon the house; namely, as professing a pacific disposition, and proposing a negotiation with us.—Here Mr. Dundas particularised, with much asperity, the conduct of Bonaparte in the various kingdoms and states which he had before named; and concluded with observ-

ing, there was not a single one with which he had not violated his faith: and affirmed these to be strong reasons for withholding confidence, and rejecting treaty.

But it had been said, “Why not make the experiment?” Because, if it did not succeed, we should only be where we were before, at best, and probably (if we considered the relative state of Europe) be much worse than before. If we succeeded in the last campaign in calling out the exertions of another power, if we had cause to exult in our achievements, was it a matter of indifference to dissolve that connexion to which they owed their birth, and to send the other nations of Europe to scramble for a peace, abandoned by us their allies? On this point it might be alleged, that the present reduced state of France afforded security: and he did not doubt that the weakness of France might produce the desire of negotiation, and thus gain more time to recruit; but it afforded no proof of a desire (should her private views be attained) of concluding a treaty begun, or observing it when concluded. Were we then to uphold the usurpation of Bonaparte, and become his instruments, when opportunity occurred, to turn against the powers that created it? It was a dangerous experiment, and the consequences might be fatal. But should we be in a worse situation, if the French consul was not sincere, than we were with the ancient line of French princes? Yes. He did not contend that the Bourbons were not actuated by a spirit of aggrandisement; but in what manner had that spirit been displayed? Not by the passions of the lowest of the people, by dissolving all the bonds of society, by overturning all laws, and destroying all principles; these were not the en-

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gines of the old government. Yet it was in this manner that the French revolution had commenced its attack on other nations. It was not France in arms which was to be dreaded; but a government founded on bad principles and bad faith. Such a government must therefore be overthrown, or its powers reduced, before this country could safely treat with France.

As to the revolution in this country, it was against the person of a sovereign who had violated his engagements; but when the grievance was removed, there was no question about principles. How unlike was this to a revolution which had torn up all principles, broken the bonds of all order, and had its origin in blood! He admitted, that twice within these ten years this country had entered into negotiation with France; but the feelings of ministers were repugnant to the measure, and its success would have proved a calamity. There were many collateral circumstances too, which forced them to this measure; the country was deluded by false fears and speculations, and fancied that a continuance of the war would induce insupportable taxes, and exhaust our resources, and that it was prudent to try whether a peace might not be procured on reasonable terms; the attempt therefore was made, and proved in vain. But let us not again sacrifice the honour of the country by adopting such a line of conduct; let us not depress its spirit and degrade ourselves. For what did the attempt evince? That there was no sincerity on the part of France. We yielded every thing which a power, not implacable, could wish, and yet it was rejected.

If now we terminated negotiations successfully, should we venture to disarm? Was there a man present

who would advise his majesty to disband his forces, and dismantle his army? Prussia had to support a large army in order to maintain her line of demarcation. We should have a garrison in every foreign colony, so that we all must be at the expence of keeping up a mighty force without the power of exercising it. Before we concluded peace, therefore, we ought well to consider, whether it would not engage us to pledge ourselves to refrain from all hostility against France, leaving her at liberty to act against the different governments of Europe as she thought proper, whilst our hands were tied up, and we were held back from every think but the expence. No negative had been put upon the question; but we professed to be guided by experience and the evidence of facts, respecting the sincerity and good faith of France: without these qualities all treaty with it must prove useless or injurious.

Mr. Whitbread remarked, that the honourable secretary had begun his speech artfully, by calling the attention of the house to the enormities of the revolution, and asking if any person would justify it? For his own part, he had ever held but one opinion on the subject, and that was, that had it not been for the interference, folly, and ambition of the other powers of Europe, the French revolution would have borne a very different complexion. Every injudicious attempt to repress its evils had only diffused them wider. Added to this, a worse effect had followed; which was, the extinction of liberty in almost every part of Europe, under the pretext of counteracting the licentious principles of France. It was asserted, that, from the commencement, she had evinced a sovereign contempt of

of treaties, and, within these last ten years, had been at war with almost every state. Mr. Dundas had thought it right to invite every power of Europe to unite in one common cause against her, as the common enemy of mankind, and had succeeded; but, whether from the want of good faith, ability, or power, the views of the allied powers had been frustrated, and the revolution had always risen superior to their adverse endeavours. The conduct of the French rulers towards neutral powers was justly reprobated; but what had been the conduct of Prussia towards Ham-
burgh? Was it forgotten that lord Hervey, and lord Hood, had ordered the French ministers to be dismissed from Florence? Were the threats which induced Genoa to dismiss her French inhabitants past recollection? It certainly was an oversight to complain of crimes in the French which we ourselves had committed.

The want of good faith had been alleged as a reason for not negotiating with France; but had his majesty's ministers acted on principles of good faith in former negotiations?

The jacobin government, existing at the time of lord Malmesbury's mission, was no obstacle, nor considered as such in our treaty. His lordship was not commissioned to insist on a renunciation upon their part of their bad principles, or on acknowledgments tending to their own crimination. Yet, without these essential requisites, these preliminaries, we *then* expected good faith, otherwise our attempt to make peace must have been insincere.

His majesty had made pacific declarations to the French at the time when the country was elated by the victory of lord Duncan; nor

was it then interdicted to treat with a jacobin government; but pretexts were now sought for variable conduct in administration. A revolution in France places one person in power, instead of five. This person makes overtures to his majesty; and in no way incompatible with the respect due from one crowned head to another. In using this term, Mr Whitbread disclaimed any intention of softening any crime attributed to the first consul of France, in his late assumption of power. This power, however attained, if consolidated, ought to be respected as well as the most legitimate; but as it now precariously stood, the house was called upon to consider the propriety of negotiating. Many arguments were drawn from the character of the first consul (who was represented as an infractor of treaties, and an unprincipled blasphemer) to discountenance any treaty of pacification. Every expression which could revile, every topic which could prejudice, every art which could blacken, had been used, for the purposes of political slander; and he was sorry to see that the intercepted correspondence (embellished with notes) had made its appearance with a view to influence the country against Bonaparte, and thereby to remove every hope of peace. It had been affirmed, that since Bonaparte had been known to mankind, in no one instance had he observed a treaty, or kept an armistice. Before attention should be paid to such vague assertions, or any conclusions formed upon them, our eyes should be fixed on matter of fact. The preliminaries of Leoben were not broken, or the peace with Austria infringed by Bonaparte; for he had quitted Europe before these events took place. Even by any influence
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in the councils of France he could not be supposed to have had a hand in these infractions. His conduct at Venice, indeed, he would not attempt to defend, any more than that of Austria; they were both alike culpable, and both, as far as their transactions there extended, equally worthy of future confidence. France at all times had been notorious for her want of faith in keeping treaties; but it was also known, that other governments kept them no longer than they were found beneficial to their states. England was now smarting under the treachery of Prussia, who took a subsidy from us, and then broke through all engagements. England, however, was said to be actuated by nobler views, and firmly to adhere to treaties. He would beg leave to put it to his majesty's ministers whether they had not repeatedly endeavoured to provoke Austria and Prussia to infractions? This general charge did not justify any violations of promise; but it proved that if our government would only treat with those who had integrity, they could never expect to have an ally or a friend in any foreign state. But to come to the Egyptian expedition; to seize and colonise that country had always been a favourite scheme of the old government of France; the only difference therefore was, that the republic had executed what the monarchy had planned. Treachery of that kind was by no means confined to France; for Prussia had seized Silesia, and three of the first powers of Europe divided and appropriated to themselves the unfortunate kingdom of Poland, whilst England was a tame spectator. Austria and Russia (the chief agents in this treacherous transaction) were still our "good and true

allies:" though ministers refused to treat with France on account of treachery.

Mr. Whitbread affirmed Bonaparte to be as upright as these. If he had broken treaties, so had they; if he had killed his ten thousands, so had Suwarrow. The letter of Bonaparte to his majesty was full of good sense, equally free from republican familiarity and courtly adulation. He had said that his majesty ruled in the hearts of his subjects, and changed his address from the republican form; and this was a tacit renunciation of the principles of his predecessors, and as much as could be expected from the governor of a great nation.

No attempt to make a separate peace was discernible in the papers before the house, no expression which could lead one to suppose himself willing to treat with the allies of England than with England itself; and, probably, had the first dispatches been received with any reasonable consideration, the next courier might have brought over his proposals for treating with those allies. Pacification seemed now to be the wish of Bonaparte; this the whole tenor of the correspondence amply testified; and the expressions proved indirectly that he meant to include our allies. All the arguments, therefore, drawn from a contrary supposition to set aside a negotiation for peace, must be suspected of being unsound and fallacious. But suppose, whilst we refused to hear proposals, our allies should seize this moment, and make peace for themselves with the chief consul? Our former treaty was dictated by the humiliating circumstance of being deserted by our allies: such an event might again happen, and we should be left to negotiate on grounds

grounds far less advantageous than the present.

Ministers very modestly required; that Bonaparte should acknowledge himself a usurper, recant his principles, and descend from the throne which he now filled, to accommodate a branch of the Bourbon family. But was it really their wish to lavish the blood and treasure of England to restore to the throne of France the Bourbon race? The honourable gentleman had carried his veneration of them so far as to palliate their crimes; and if they were perfidious (a fact he could not well deny) to find out something noble in their kind of perfidy: if they were ambitious, yet their ambition was of a sublime nature. He seemed to have forgotten the conduct of Louis the Fourteenth in his seizure of Holland, and of the Bourbon family during the American war, by which a whole continent was separated from its mother-state by a species of perfidy not completely honourable; it was from the same source the very revolution might take its date. Louis the Fourteenth had acted the part of a most cruel tyrant in his persecuting for religion, and extirpating by the edict of Nantz so many thousands of his best subjects. It was thus that their affections were alienated from the Bourbon family; and was it the duty of Englishmen to restore a banished king of this line, of this character, to the throne, or the pope to his tiara: we were now contending either for this, or to exterminate the people who held jacobinical principles: if for the former, we were fighting for an unattainable object; if for the latter, for an opinion which could not be eradicated by force; and in both cases the contest must last as long as time. Bona-

parte had done more to ruin jacobinism than any other person, by taking the executive authority into his own hands, destroying clubs, and restraining the licentiousness of the press.

A complete negative, however, we are told, is not given to the overtures of Bonaparte; and, so far as this is true, it is fortunate for the country. Before any decision be made, it would be well if the house would consider the relation of England with the allies: one of the coalitions against France had already failed, and one single fortunate event on the side of the republic might occasion a second dissolution of such heterogeneous materials. Austria did not pretend to have any communication with us; she had even refused our subsidies. The emperor of Germany had declared *ipso facto* for the restoration of royalty in France. England did not say quite so much, however it might be an object of her wishes. In foreign papers one party blamed the other for its ill success in the last campaign; no treaty existed which bound them all to any one point, or united them in one system; but they were all moving in irregular orbits. Between Russia and England there could be no common cause; between Russia and the Porte it was a rope of sand: Could it be supposed possible for the allies to act in any kind of concert? and without this, combined operations would never be successful; it was the object which alone could inspire unanimity, and, without it, no efforts could be successful. Mr. Whitbread ended by adverting to America: it had been insulted by France, and every thing bore the appearance of hostility; but the president, by pursuing a very different

ferent conduct from ours, appointing a person to remonstrate and negotiate, had saved the country from the evils of war, and established respect and tranquillity. The interest of England, he said, depended on a speedy peace, and we ought to listen to the overtures of Bonaparte to obtain it.

Mr. Canning professed to differ from the honourable gentleman in every sentiment which he had uttered; but no part of the speech, he said, had so much displeased him, as stating that we and our allies had been guilty of as great enormities as the French. He had affirmed that Great Britain had violated the rights of neutral nations when her interests were concerned, and had adduced, as a proof of it, our conduct to the republic to Genoa, and to the grand-duke of Tuscany. When the French, in their destructive career, had penetrated Italy, and were, notwithstanding a brave resistance, discomfiting our allies in almost every encounter, they at last arrived at the borders of Genoa. It was the duty of that state to have refrained from all intercourse with them, much less to have afforded them assistance: instead of which the Genoese supplied them with clothes, provisions, military stores, and necessities of every description;—under these circumstances had we not a right to order the government to dismiss the French ambassador under risk of our displeasure? What was there in this demand unfashioned by the law of nations, and the uniform practice of every state in Europe? Ought we quietly to have sat down inactive, witnessing unlawful measures taken for the destruction of our allies? Had the Genoese adhered to the duties of neutral nations, their rights would never have been infringed.

Respecting Florence, if the source of information had been authentic, he would not pretend to say our conduct had been as justifiable; but it was not authentic: the letter of lord Hervey to the duke of Tuscany issued from the same jacobinical manufactory with the treaties of Pavia and Pilnitz; and, like them, never had existed. Lord Hervey had taken measures for the preservation of British property in Leghorn, and to prevent, as far as was in his power, the government of Tuscany from assisting the French;—but he had done nothing for these purposes which the general practice of different nations did not entitle him to do. The court of Florence had complained; but small states were always irritable, and, sensible of their weakness, were apt to think themselves insulted.

Great stress had been laid upon the declaration of his majesty after the failure of the negotiation at Lisle; and occasions had never been omitted of censuring ministers for rejecting the offers lately made by the enemy. The statement of facts was the best refutation of censure and prejudice. Immediately after the departure of our ambassador from Lisle, his majesty's arms were blessed by Providence with a signal victory, which might naturally be supposed to elate him and raise his pretensions: to do away these apprehensions, he published his declaration, in which his majesty said, that notwithstanding the important advantages he had obtained, he was still ready, if the French were pacifically inclined, to treat upon the same equitable terms proposed before this victory. But because he was willing to negotiate then upon those terms, did it follow that he ought to do so now? The object of that declaration was, to remove all
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bar to the treaty at that time which the victory might have occasioned: twice the republic had rejected our overtures, unfettered by any former promise or agreement, and were we not justified in refusing to listen to theirs?

But it was impolitic to talk of the restoration of royalty; it was an insult on the government of France, and a certain mode of irritating the nation. If, notwithstanding their dreadful experience, there still remained in that unhappy country some men enthusiastically attached to democracy—whose indignation was excited at the very name of king, who longed for the overthrow of every regular state, hated religion and its ministers, and wished to reduce all orders to one undistinguished mass—an appeal would be fruitless; but after ten years of misery, after having seen their commerce ruined, their navy destroyed, and their colonies wrested from them; after having been deprived of their property and bereaved of their children, forced to carry on a war not only detrimental but destructive to them; after wading through seas of blood to grasp the empty shade of liberty, which ever eluded their pursuit; after seeing in the throne of their kings a form which waved a sword in its hand, and made the people bow before it: was it probable that they still bore an unconquerable antipathy to that line of princes under whose gentle sway they had lived so respectable abroad and happy at home. Mr. Canning said, he had not a doubt but that the French people equally wished their restoration, and the usurpation of Bonaparte had been considered as a step towards it. Although they were not unanimous, it was our duty principally to consult our own interest, which was

materially concerned in overturning their present government. Much had been said of the wickedness of the Bourbon family—he would not undertake to defend many of their actions, but the worst of them surely could not be compared with those of the present rulers of France. Besides, were we to infer that the conduct of their descendants would be equally unjustifiable. The honourable gentleman had looked back with triumph to the reign of king William; he did the same; but it was not the skill of our generals, the valour of our troops, nor the spirit of the people which chiefly deserved our applause,—it *was the unanimous support afforded by the legislature to the executive government*; and he wished for nothing so ardently as to see the house follow the example of those times.

It had been objected, that too harsh language had been used towards Bonaparte—and highly improper it must be to injure so respectable a personage! Yet character must be taken into consideration, since upon that depended the nature of the peace to be obtained. It was not asserted that Bonaparte had been accessory to the infraction of every treaty which the French had infringed, but that he never kept any of the treaties which he had himself made; and that this was the case was notorious to the world. Supposing Bonaparte to be sincere, still a peace would be insecure. When France had so often changed her rulers, what reason had we to suppose that she would long obey the present one? His government was more arbitrary and despotic than any of the preceding; despotism never could be permanent; it could be maintained only by a military force, and this was a precarious tenure to fix supreme power

power upon; tyrants were particularly insecure amidst their armed guards; and as this constitution was more detestable than any one which had gone before, it must soon be overturned. He should be censured for these strictures by men who threw out the most illiberal abuse upon our allies; this was jacobin justice. The success of the coalition depended on England remaining at the head of it; were she to talk of negotiating, its ardour would be cooled, and its exertions relaxed. There was every prospect of unanimity amongst the coalesced powers at present; and though from some misunderstandings the end of the last campaign had been less fortunate than had been expected, it was, upon the whole, unparalleled for brilliancy in the annals of history. Had any one foretold twelve months ago that the French would possess at this time scarcely one fortress in Italy, he would have been considered a madman. If we succeeded further, we shall have the consolation to reflect, that, by our spirit and steadiness, we had restored Europe to order, tranquillity, and happiness; if we failed, we should not have the mortification to reflect, that we let slip a favourable opportunity to make peace. There never could occur a season for treating more unfit than the present; by acting otherwise than we now designed, we should damp the courage of our countrymen, introduce discord into the councils of our allies, and consolidate a power which would afterwards be employed in our destruction.

Mr. Erskine rose:—He said the house was assembled indeed on a "*momentous occasion*," upon a new æra of the war; the question was not whether the king should have yielded to an immediate armistice,

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or whether he should have opened a negotiation without consulting his allies, but whether the house could fulfil his majesty's expectation, as expressed in his message, by signifying its approbation of the specific answer which had been sent? whether the commons could affirm, in the face of a suffering nation and a desolated world, that a lofty, imperious, insulting answer, to a proposition professing peace, was the answer which ought to have been sent to France, or any government? It was evident, therefore, that they were not called upon to advise, but to ratify or condemn the policy and fitness of the answer which ministers on their own authority had previously sent to the republic. This answer had most unadvisedly put in issue the causes of the war, which the two nations could never, in the nature of things, be brought to agree upon, and which were wholly irrelevant to the question of peace. Whether England or France was the aggressor could no longer be debated in that house with any effect, though posterity would sit in impartial judgment upon the question.

It was a subject on which he had delivered an opinion that he had seen no reason to retract; but he should have thought it the height of impertinence and folly to have expected to produce any conviction on that subject, after the character and consistency of the house had been irretrievably pledged, both by its declarations and conduct, for nine years together.

In stating therefore its different acts in the progress of the war, he did not call upon them to reverse their former judgments by censuring the present answer, but to point out that the same fatality of resisting peace upon *general* and un-

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defined objections to the state of France had characterised the war from the beginning, had been indeed the cause of it, and, if persisted in by the measures in question, would lead to endless hostility.

The French revolution was undoubtedly in its commencement an awful event, which could not but extend its influence to other nations; so mighty a fabric of despotism and superstition, after having endured for ages, could not fall to the ground without a concussion which the whole earth would feel; but the evil of such a revolution (if any there was to other nations) was only to be averted by *internal* policy, not by external war. The American war, when it first broke out, was inveighed against by its opponents in the same extravagant manner: an orator who had long flourished within these walls had left the only fit answer to complaints of revolutions in other countries. "The question," says Burke, "is not whether this condition of human affairs deserves praise or censure, but *what are you to do with it?*" Nor had ministers by eight years invective in this house been able to mitigate the evils of the French revolution; on the contrary, after creating the worst of them, they prevented them from subsiding, and provoked the excesses which now furnished the pretexts of perpetual and unavailing war.

When France cut off her most unfortunate prince, and established her first republic, she had an ambassador at our court; he was here indeed as the French king's ambassador; but he presented letters of credence from the first republic with the most unqualified professions of respect and friendship; they were not only respectful in

form, but the interest of France was an argument that they were not a fraud upon England. It had been said, that, at that moment, the aggressions of France were just causes of the war: why then did not England complain of them, and dismiss the ambassador on his refusal of satisfaction? Not a syllable was ever uttered, capable of being adjusted by negotiation; on the contrary, when Louis XVI. before his death, most earnestly besought our mediation with the continental powers, we positively refused it; yet, on his death, dismissed the ambassador accredited by the republic, for no other avowed reason than that France had tried and executed her king.

What just cause of war was this to England? If France, at that time, was engaged in projects inconsistent with peace, *why were they not stated then?* If any specific objections existed at this moment, why were they not stated now? But *then* and *now* war was provoked, and peace rejected upon unjustifiable objections—upon speculative dangers to religion and government, which, supposing them to have existed with all their imaginary consequences, were more likely to be increased than diminished by the fury and bitterness of the contest.

M. Chauvelin, with the olive branch in his hand from the first republic in France, was sent out of the country on twenty-four hours' notice; not because France was accused of any national aggression towards us, but because *she had beheaded her king!* This dismissal of her ambassador furnished her with a pretext for war; though, at that time, ministers were repeatedly implored from his side of the house not to invite hostilities upon principles

ciples which made peace dependent on forms of government instead of the conduct of nations; upon theories which could not be changed; instead of aggressions which might be removed. France had then a strong interest in peace; she had not extended her conquests, and her internal security was doubtful. Unfortunately we suffered this auspicious season to pass away; and, instead of negotiating a peace with inexhausted nations in our train, ministers declared, for two years together, that the republic was incapable of the relations of amity. Europe combined to place her without the pale of social community; and France, acting on the same principles, desolated whatever territories she occupied, and extended her conquests with the astonishing rapidity we have witnessed. What other consequences could ministers expect? Was it to be imagined that a powerful nation, so surrounded, would act merely on the defensive; or that, in the midst of a revolution which the confederacy of nations had rendered terrible, the rights of nations would be respected? No; we inspired the different French governments with jealousy of every European state, and instigated her to the victories which had been since the subject of so much complaint and indignation. It was our confederacies which obliged her to maintain mighty armies in her defence: but such a contest could not be long defensive; and defence was only practicable by the boldness of invasion: ambitious projects, not perhaps originally contemplated, followed; and the world was changed with portentous violence, because the ministers of Great Britain had resolved that, if it changed at all, it should revert to establishments which had reached

their period and expired. Mr. Erskine said, that what he principally wished to impress upon the house was, that when ministers had been pressed to make peace, they had urged the incapacity of France to maintain it, and thus persisted in that irrational system which produced the very evils which the war was undertaken to avert: he mentioned this as a caution not to let slip the present auspicious period. If Bonaparte found that his interest was concerned by an arrangement with England, the same interest would lead him to continue it: regarding himself and his own power, he would make national sacrifices to preserve tranquillity, and England would thus acquire additional influence in the scale of Europe; for no wise man, in the circumstances of Bonaparte, having once reconciled so mighty a power as Great-Britain, would overset his own authority by throwing his country back into a war. The argument then seemed to be, that because France was disposed to peace, we ought not to be so. But no maxim could be more false than that it was policy to resist any measure which the policy of an antagonist could suggest: this did not hold true in the arrangements of commerce, in the acquisition of riches, or indeed in any thing else: the interests of nations, for the most part, were reciprocal, and peace was an interest perpetual and universal. If democracy was the evil, and the contagion of it a well founded apprehension, surely it was better founded in 1795 than at present. The popular societies, which at the former season had occasioned so much alarm, could not now reorganise themselves after the pattern of the French assemblies; our own country also was in a different situa-

tion; so mighty an event as the French revolution could not but agitate the human mind on the subject of government wherever it was known; and that agitation produced a strong attention to the abuses of our own. But no one could assert, that any spirit, whether it was good or evil, existed at this moment; and the supposed existence of it formerly had enabled government to arm the whole nation, and place it in the most absolute state of internal security; the sword was in the hand of the higher and middle orders of the people; and the domestic dangers, which had always been held out as an argument against peace, were in our present condition permanently removed.

When lord Malmesbury went to Paris not a syllable was insinuated of the danger of a peace with France, or of incapacity in her rulers to maintain its relations: the negotiation was broken off upon our insisting on the restoration of Belgium as the *sine qua non*; it was therefore specific difference, not general incapacity; and the termination of the treaty read an awful lesson to the house. France had not then a soldier or a foot of land in Italy; and a hundred and fifty millions of British property existed, which had since been spent upon the war. A few months afterwards, on the second mission of lord Malmesbury, the *sine qua non* of the restoration of Belgium was retracted, and France broke off the negotiation on other pretences; and this was another warning against the evil of procrastinating; the position of France was afterwards changed, her spirit was altered, her ambition inflamed, and her views extended. The conduct of the republic, in the termination of the second attempt at ne-

gotiation, was not to be vindicated; undoubtedly she evinced no disposition to peace, and that aversion gave great strength to ministers, from the necessity of exertion on the part of this country; and for the very same reason no argument could be more fatal to our ministers, as *our* aversion to peace at this time would consolidate the powers of the present rulers of France.

That government must either establish its authority by wise policy, and fortunate events, or it must perish in the storm of another revolution: this was self-evident; and it was no less so, that the government which overturned it must be a democratical revolution of the people within, or the return of the house of Bourbon. If the authority of Bonaparte became established, it was admitted, that after some undefined period of probation, we were in the end to consent to peace: but was it as certain that France would then be as willing to make it? Experience taught us the contrary; for, after every interval, when peace had been refused on our part, France appeared in a more formidable aspect, with a more alienated spirit. If, on the other hand, the power of Bonaparte was overturned by a democratic revolution, additional difficulties would start up: in such an event, all our panics would return; the terror of French principles would predominate; and war would be prolonged *ad infinitum* to prevent the influx of dangerous opinions in case of peace. No alternative then remained but the restoration of the house of Bourbon; and, in spite of all history and experience, he would suppose it auspicious: confining it to practicability, it could only be effected by entering France at the head

head of hostile armies, and placing Louis XVIII. on the throne; but not only placing—he must be *held upon it* by the pressure of the power which fixed him there, and held upon it *against* the most obvious interests of the people; at least that part of them who had the most decided influence in all countries,—*the people with whom property resided*. The property of France, real and personal, in the hands of its present possessors, depended on the present government; it was impossible to restore the princes of the Bourbon house without restitution to those who had been exiled in its defence; which attempt raised up the whole nation to support the republic, whatever they might have felt from its defects. The same principle supported the British government far more than her constitution, however estimable, affording new strength to ministers in proportion as they ceased to deserve it. The destruction which a revolution in this country would bring on public credit, and the ruin which would attend all the forms and tenures on which property was ensured, formed an insurmountable bulwark here at home; the three per cents. was the great fountain of loyalty and strength to the establishments of Great Britain. Every man who was invited to mix in revolutionary projects, particularly as he advanced in life, and was fettered with its duties and obligations, considered these obstacles; he looked upon his family, which he could still protect; to his friends, to whom, in spite of our burthens, he could administer consolation; and to his mortgages and lands, which furnished him with the only means of discharging his duties and enjoying his existence. Feelings of this nature were not pecu-

liar to our nation, but to every nation similarly circumstanced: it appeared to him, therefore, impossible that the Bourbons could ever establish their authority without convulsion after convulsion, and war after war, which, if Great Britain were embarked in the necessity of maintaining, would destroy her resources, cramp her pursuits, and drag down her constitution. But without resorting to the probable effects, one consequence of it appeared certain: our insulting answer would confirm the government which we sought to destroy; it would produce unanimity when nothing but division could support our cause; upon the universal principles of human interest and feeling, it would raise up all France to a man against us. The only way of judging of the effect was to reverse the case, and to suppose that *we* had sent to France the pacific propositions, and that she had rejected them in the insolent language of *our* answer; that, overlooking this offence, we sent another message, still inviting peace, and that France again referred to her first haughty refusal as her final determination. What would then have been the feelings of this country? Every individual, however he might differ on the origin or conduct of the war, would consider it his duty and interest to support its prosecution: it would no longer be a matter of choice, but of necessity; and every sentiment of enthusiasm, connected with the glory of England, would stimulate universal exertions for its safety. In the same manner would Frenchmen reason on the present occasion; and this natural sentiment, supported by the influence of their government, would be irresistible; our answer would discomfit their

rebellion, and recruit their armies; Bonaparte might easily pass over the intemperate declamations against his character and dominion when they furnished him with the surest means of advancing and confirming them. In every view, therefore, of the question, he was decidedly against expressing any approbation of the answer which had been sent. It was an answer inconsistent with the wisdom, with the dignity, and with the justice of the British parliament; it was pregnant with danger, and entailed an awful responsibility upon those who had advised and upon those who supported it.

Mr. Pitt said, the hon. gentleman had, in the conclusion of his speech, placed the question precisely on that ground on which he was most desirous to discuss it: the foundation of his reasoning, and the great argument for immediate treaty, he stated to be, the impossibility of overturning the French revolution; and that it would not only be imprudent but impious to struggle any longer against the order of things; which, on he knew not what idea of predestination, he regarded as immortal. Little as he was inclined to accede to this opinion, he was not averse to contemplate the subject in this serious point of view. He did indeed consider the French revolution as the severest trial which the visitation of Providence had ever yet inflicted on the nations of the earth; but could not reflect without satisfaction, that England, under such a trial, had not only been exempted from those calamities which had overspread almost every other part of Europe, but had been a refuge and asylum to those who fled from its persecution; had been a barrier to oppose its progress, and perhaps ultimately to deliver the

world from the crimes and miseries which had attended it. The learned gentleman had revived all those arguments from his own pamphlet, which had before passed thirty-seven editions, and now gave them to the house, embellished by the graces of his personal delivery. The first consul had also thought fit to revive and retail the chief arguments used by opposition in this country during the last seven years; and, what was more material, the question itself (whether there is such a prospect of security from any treaty of France as ought to induce us to negotiate or not) could not properly be decided, without tracing from experience the magnitude of the danger against which we were to guard in order to judge of the security which we ought to accept. Unwilling as he was to go into much detail on ground which had been so often trodden before, yet, as the learned gentleman (Mr. Erskine), after all the information which he must have received, if he had read any of the answers written to his book, still gave the sanction of his authority to the supposition that the dismissal of M. Chauvelin was the cause of the war, he felt it necessary to say a few words on that part of his speech.

The house would recollect the first professions of the French republic, which were enumerated, and enumerated faithfully, in that note: it is there stated, that their first principles were love of peace, aversion to conquest, and respect for the independence of other countries. In the same note, it seems indeed admitted, that they had since violated all those principles; but it is alleged that they had done so only in consequence of the provocation of other powers.

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One of the first of those provocations is stated to have consisted in the various outrages offered to their ministers, of which the example is said to have been set by the king of Great Britain in his conduct to M. Chauvelin. In answer to this assertion, it was only necessary to remark, that France and Prussia had been at war eight months before the dismissal of M. Chauvelin.

(Mr. Erskine here interrupted, to observe that this was not the statement of his argument). Mr. Pitt resumed: He understood that the honourable gentleman affirmed that the dismissal of M. Chauvelin was the real cause, he did not say of the general war, but of the rupture between France and England. He maintained, on the contrary, that an opportunity was afforded for discussing every matter in dispute between them, as fully as if a regular and accredited minister had been resident here; that the causes of war which existed at the beginning, or arose during the discussion, justified twenty times over a declaration of war on the part of this country; that all the explanations on the side of France were inadmissible; and that M. Chauvelin had given in a peremptory ultimatum, declaring, that if we did not immediately disarm, our refusal would be regarded as a declaration of war.

After this followed a scene which no man could speak of without horror, or think of without indignation; that murder and regicide from which he was sorry to hear the beginning of legal government of France dated.

Having thus given in their ultimatum, they added as a further demand, (whilst we were smarting under accumulated injuries, for which all satisfaction was denied,) that we should instantly receive

M. Chauvelin as an ambassador, with new credentials, representing them in the character which they had just derived from the murder of their sovereign. We replied, "He comes here as the representative of a sovereign whom you have put to a cruel and illegal death: we have no satisfaction for the injuries we have received; no securities from the dangers with which we are threatened: under these circumstances we will not receive your new credentials—the former you have yourselves recalled by the sacrifice of your king."

What was the situation of M. Chauvelin? He was reduced to that of a private individual, and required to quit the kingdom, under the provisions of the alien act, which, to secure domestic tranquillity, had invested his majesty with the power of removing all foreigners suspected of revolutionary principles out of the kingdom. Was it contended, that he was less liable to the provisions of that act than any other individual foreigner whose conduct afforded suspicion to government? Did his connexions here afford no ground? Or was the act of refusing to receive fresh credentials from an infant republic not then acknowledged by one power of Europe, and absolutely heaping upon us injuries and insults, was this of itself a cause of war? So far from it, that even the very nations of Europe, whose wisdom had been extolled for maintaining neutrality and preserving friendship with the French republic, remained for years subsequent to this period without receiving from it any accredited minister, or performing any one act to acknowledge its political existence. It was, it seems, necessary to state what were the terms of that ultimatum with which we refused to comply: acts of hostility had been openly

ly threatened to our allies: the pretended right to open the Scheldt we discussed not so much on account of its immediate importance as on account of the general principle on which it was founded. On the same arbitrary notion they discovered afterwards that sacred law of nature which made the Alps and the Rhine the legitimate boundaries of France, and assumed the power, which they had affected to exercise through the whole of the revolution, of superseding, by a new code of their own, all the recognised principles of the law of nations. They were, in fact, actually advancing towards the republic of Holland. They had already shown their moderation by incorporating Belgium with the French republic. These lovers of peace, who set out with a sworn aversion to conquest, and professions of respect for the independence of other nations, who pretend that they departed from this system only in consequence of your aggression, wrested Savoy from the king of Sardinia, without the shadow of provocation; and incorporated it with France. Nor was this all; they issued a universal declaration of war, the 19th of November, against all the thrones of Europe; they promised succour to all nations who would manifest a wish to become free, evincing by their conduct, as well as their language, what they understood to be freedom; they sealed their principles by the deposition of their sovereign; they had applied them to England, by encouraging the addresses of those traitorous societies who were hailing the progress of those proceedings in France which led to the murder of their king, and looking forward to the day when a national convention should be formed in this country on similar principles. And what were the explana-

tions which they offered to make on these different grounds of offence? As to Holland, they told you the Scheldt was too insignificant for you to trouble yourself about; and therefore it was to be decided as they chose, in breach of a positive treaty which they themselves had guaranteed, and which we, by our alliance, were bound to support.

With respect to Belgium, they assured us they would retain its possession by arms *no longer* than was necessary to the purpose already stated, that of consolidating its liberty; and as to the decree of the 19th of November, they asserted, that it conveyed no such meaning as was imputed to it; and, so far from encouraging sedition, only applied to countries where a great majority of the people declared in favour of a revolution—a supposition which they affirmed could not imply sedition.

But if there remained a doubt of the universal application of this decree, and that towards England it was not particularly directed, there was one circumstance on record which alone would be decisive: it was proposed in the national convention to declare, expressly, that the decree was confined to the nations with whom they were then at war; and this proposal was rejected by a great majority of that very convention from whom we were to receive these explanations as satisfactory!

Such was the nature of their system; it was a system intended to be acted upon. One of the articles of the 15th of December expressly was, “that those who should show themselves so brutish as to renounce liberty and equality, or to recall their prince or privileged order, were not entitled to the distinction which France, in other cases, had established between government and people; and

and that such a people ought to be treated according to the rigour of war and of conquest." Here was their love of peace; here was their aversion to conquest; here was their respect for the independence of other nations!

It was then after receiving such explanations as these, after M. Chauvelin's credentials had ceased, that he was required to depart; and even after that period (he was ashamed to record it) we did not on our part shut the door against other attempts to negotiate. But this transaction was immediately followed by the declaration of war, not proceeding from England in vindication of its rights, but from France as the completion of her insults; and on a war thus originating, could it be doubted by an English house of commons, whether the aggression was on our side or that of France? or whether it was not the result of the principles which characterised the French revolution? The only objection to this simple statement was to be found in the insinuation contained in the note from France, "that previously we had encouraged and supported the combination of other powers directed against them."

Upon this part of the subject, the proofs which contradicted the insinuation were innumerable. In the year 1792 Russia conceived, as well as ourselves, a just alarm for the balance of Europe, and applied to learn our sentiments; in our answer, we imparted the principles on which we then acted, and communicated that answer to Prussia. A dispatch was sent from lord Grenville to his majesty's minister in Russia, dated December 1792, "desiring to have
"an explanation on the subject of
"the war with France, to avert ho-
"stilities, and to enable those powers
"not hitherto engaged in them, to

"propose to that country terms of
"peace: that those terms should be,
"for France to withdraw her arms
"within the limits of her own ter-
"ritory, relinquish her conquests,
"and rescind any acts injurious to
"the rights of other nations.—In
"return for these stipulations, the
"different powers of Europe, who
"should be parties to this measure,
"were to engage to abandon all
"views of hostility against France,
"and all interference in her internal
"concerns. If these proposals should
"not be accepted, or, if accepted,
"not performed, the different powers
"might then engage themselves in
"active measures to obtain these
"desirable ends."—Mr. Pitt laid this paper before the house. In this instance, therefore, as well as the others, our neutrality and pacific dispositions were evident; corroborated by the evidence of dates, and the testimony of all the different parties in France. The friends of Brissot charged on Robespierre the war with this country; the friends of Robespierre charged it on Brissot; both acquitted England. Even Talleyrand was sent by the constitutional king of the French, after the combination must have existed (if it existed at all), with a letter from the king of France, thanking his British majesty for the neutrality he had uniformly observed. The same fact was confirmed by all those who knew any thing of the plans of the king of Sweden—of the emperor—or the king of Prussia; confirmed by every occurrence since the war; by the publications of Dumourier, and by America, respecting the mission of M. Genet, proving that the hostility against this country was decided on the part of France long before the period when M. Chauvelin was sent from hence. From the first rumour of any measure taken by the emperor

emperor of Germany in 1791, till the year 1792, we not only were no parties in the projects imputed to him, but we declined all communications with him on the subject of France: we stated our unalterable resolution to maintain neutrality, and avoid interference in her internal affairs, as long as France should refrain from hostile measures against us and our allies. No minister of England had any authority to treat with foreign states, for any warlike contest, till after the battle of Jemappe—a time subsequent to the repeated provocations which had been offered to us.

He would enlarge no more on the origin of the war: it was material to declare what the conduct of France had actually been, because it was sufficient to confute all the pretexts by which the advocates of France have so long laboured to perplex the question of aggression. Mr. Pitt then detailed all the atrocities of the French government: from the first, he said, they had proceeded on the principle that war was necessary to consolidate the revolution; and so far was it from the real case that it was our opposition which had imposed on France the necessity of those exertions, productive of so many enormities, that, in the year 1796, when all the horrors in Italy were beginning, England opened a negotiation, proposing general peace, and offering the surrender of all she had acquired in the contest, to obtain—*what?* not the dismemberment, not the partition of ancient France, but the return of part of those conquests, not one of which could be retained but in direct violation of that original and solemn pledge of the republic. This offer was not sufficient to procure peace, or arrest the progress of the French in their *defensive* operations against unoffending countries.

It had been affirmed that the negotiation was broken off on the single point of the possession of the Netherlands; but it was not on the decision of this question, but on the republic requiring, as a *preliminary* of all treaty, and before entering into the discussion of terms, that we should recognise the principle, that whatever France in time of war had annexed to the republic must remain inseparable for ever, and could not become the subject of negotiation. In refusing such a preliminary, we were justly resisting the most arrogant claims ever proposed, consulting the rights and interests of other countries, and withholding our sanction to violate the law of nations, held sacred from time immemorial. It was worthy observation, that France, who set out with abjuring any desire of conquest, was not required to give up any thing of her own, nor all that she had obtained in the war; and when she rejected the negotiation for peace on these grounds, were we to be told of the unremitting hostility of the combined powers, for which she was to revenge herself on other countries, and be justified in subverting every established government, in destroying property, religion, and domestic comfort, from one end of Italy to the other?

Let the unprejudiced judge whether the disasters of Europe were to be charged on the provocations of England and its allies, or on the inherent principles of the revolution—the result of which had spread desolation and terror over the world.

One other characteristic of the republic, as striking as its destructive system, was its *instability*, which was, of itself, sufficient to destroy all reliance, if any could have been placed on its rulers. Such had been the rapidity with which the revolutions in France had succeeded each other,
that

that the names of the men who had successively exercised absolute power, under the pretence of liberty, were to be numbered by the years of the new constitutions.—But having taken a view of what it had been, he would proceed to state what it now was. A supreme power was placed at the head of this nominal republic, with a more open avowal of military despotism than at any former period; the different institutions had given way to the authority of one man, who differed from other monarchs only in this, that he wielded a sword instead of a sceptre.

Had we seen any man, of whom we had no previous knowledge, suddenly invested with sovereignty, with the power of taxation, of war and peace, commanding the resources and disposing of the lives and fortunes of every one in his country; if we had seen, at the same time, all the subordinate instruments of jacobinism subsisting in their full force, and retaining their original organization; and had we observed the mighty change which had taken place in their affairs—that there was now one personage with no rival to thwart his measures, no council to controul his operations, no colleague to divide his powers—under such circumstances should we do wrong to hesitate to wait for the evidence of facts, before we intrusted our safety to a single man in such a situation? Ought we to relinquish the means of our defence, those very means which had hitherto conducted us safe through the storms of such a revolution? But what were the principles and character of this stranger, to whom France had committed the concerns of a great and powerful nation? Were we speaking of one of whom we had never heard before? Alas! No; we, and Europe, and the world, had heard

much of him and his satellites. Nor could we discuss fairly the propriety of any answer returned to the late negotiation, without taking into consideration his personal character and conduct. Some gentlemen, indeed, had represented this as irritating and invidious; but no minister could discharge his duty, without stating the principles and dispositions of the person with whom we were to treat, since the stability of the treaty must depend on these circumstances. Mr. Pitt here expatiated on the conduct of Bonaparte at Campo Formio, in the Milanese, Genoa, Modena, Tuscany, Rome, Venice, Switzerland, and Egypt. His acts of perfidy, he said, were commensurate with his number of treaties; and if we traced the history of the men in this revolution whose conduct had been marked by the most atrocious cruelty, the name of Bonaparte would be found allied to more of them than that of any other within these ten eventful and disastrous years!

From these facts the house might judge what reliance might reasonably be placed on this conqueror, and what degree of credit might be given to his professions. It had been observed, indeed, that whatever had been his character, he had now an interest in making and preserving peace. This was to him a doubtful proposition; that it was his interest to negotiate he readily would acknowledge, and to negotiate with this country separately, in order to dissolve the whole system of the confederacy on the continent; to paralyse, at once, the arms of Russia, of Austria, or of any other country which might look to us for support; and then, either to break off his separate treaty, or, if he should have concluded it, to apply the lesson taught in his school of policy in Egypt; and to revive, at his pleasure, those claims

claims of indemnification which
"may have been reserved to some happier period."

Under all these circumstances of his personal character and his newly acquired power, what security had he for retaining that power but the sword? His hold upon France was the sword, and he had no other. Was he connected with the soil, or with the habits, the affections, or the prejudices of the country?—No! He was a stranger, a foreigner, and a usurper. He united in his own person every thing that a pure republican must detest, every thing which an enraged jacobin had abjured, every thing which a faithful royalist must feel an insult. If he was opposed in his career, he appealed to his army. Placing then his whole dependence on military support, could he afford to permit his military renown to pass away, his laurels to wither, and his trophies to sink in obscurity? Was it certain that, with his army confined within France, and restrained from inroads upon her neighbours, he could maintain, at his devotion, a force sufficiently numerous to uphold his power? Having no object but dominion, no passion but glory, was it probable that he could feel such an interest in permanent peace as would justify our laying down our arms, reducing our expence, and relinquishing our means of security, on the faith of his engagements?

In all ages military despotism had been attended with least stability to the persons who exercised it, and with the most rapid succession of revolutions. The republic boasted, in the beginning, that their government furnished a security for ever, not only to France but to all countries in the world, against military authority. It affirmed, that the force of standing armies was vain

and delusive, and that upon the foundation of public opinion alone any establishment could be secure. In this instance, as in every other, the French had belied their professions. Through all the stages of the revolution, military force had governed, and public opinion been scarcely heard. But still he considered this as an exception to general rule, and that public opinion was the only sure support of any government.

But was the inference to be drawn from these considerations, that we ought in no case to treat with Bonaparte? No; but we ought to wait for the evidence of facts: if there should be an appearance that France was governed by other maxims of policy from those which had hitherto prevailed; when there were signs of a stable government, which were not now to be traced; if the danger of the contest should increase, whilst the hope of ultimate success should be diminished, all these would have their due weight: but at present there was nothing from which we could presage a favourable disposition to change in the French consuls; there was the greatest reason to rely on powerful co-operation from our allies; the strongest marks in the interior of France of a disposition to resist this new tyranny; and every reason to believe that, if we were disappointed of complete success, the continuance of the contest, instead of making our situation comparatively worse, would have made it comparatively better.

It had been asked, in the course of this debate, Would we wish to impose monarchy upon France against the will of the nation? Certainly not; but we sincerely wished for the time when the arms of the allies might so far overpower the
 military

military force which kept France in bondage, as to give scope to the thoughts and actions of the inhabitants. We had seen abundant proof of the real sentiments of a large part of that country: we had seen the western provinces deluged with the blood of their people obstinately contending for their ancient laws and religion. These efforts were not produced by any instigation from hence; they were the effects of a rooted principle, prevailing through all these provinces, forced into action by "*the law of the hostages*," and other tyrannical measures of the directory, and at the very moment when we were endeavouring to discourage so hazardous an enterprise. If, under such circumstances, we found them giving proofs of their perseverance in the same sentiments; if the same disposition predominated in many other extensive provinces of their country, and the question was no longer between monarchy and the name of liberty, but between the line of hereditary princes and a military tyrant; if the armies of that usurper were likely to find sufficient occupation on the frontiers, and to be forced to leave the interior of the country at liberty to manifest its real disposition, what reason had we to pronounce that the restoration of monarchy was impracticable?

"But every man in France possessing property was interested in resisting such a change, and, therefore, it could not be effected." This, though he confessed it to be a point of difficulty, was not an insuperable obstacle: whoever considered the precarious tenure and depreciated value of lands held under the revolutionary title, and the low price for which they had been obtained, would think it not impos-

sible that an ample compensation might be made to the bulk of the present possessors, both for the purchase money they had paid, and the actual value of what they enjoyed; and that the ancient proprietors might be re-instated in the possession of their former rights, with only such a temporary sacrifice as reasonable men would willingly make to secure so essential an object. Whether the restoration of the French monarchy, if practicable, were desirable, was a point too obvious to need discussion: scarcely could it be supposed to be a matter of indifference to us, whether the throne was filled by a prince of the house of Bourbon, or by him whose principles and conduct had been so fairly developed; whether a system should be sanctioned which confirmed that general transfer of property from its lawful possessors, holding out a terrible example of national injustice, and furnishing the great source of revolutionary finance, and revolutionary strength, against all the powers of Europe, or whether such a system should be destroyed. In the present impoverished state of France, it seemed impossible that any thing but the continued torture, applied by the engines of the revolution, could extort from its ruined inhabitants more than the means of supporting in peace the yearly expenditure of its government. The heir of the house of Bourbon, re-instated on the throne, would have sufficient occupation in gradually repairing the losses of ten years of civil convulsion, re-animating the drooping commerce, replacing the capital, and restoring the manufactures of the country. Under such circumstances, there must be a considerable interval before such a monarch, whatever might be his views, could become

become formidable to Europe. But while the revolution continued, the case was different; and if our armies were disbanded, our fleets laid up in harbours, and our means of defence relinquished, could we suppose that this revolutionary power would not become dangerous and destructive? Could we hesitate whether we had the best prospect of permanent peace from the restoration of the lawful government, or the continuance of power lodged in the hands of Bonaparte?

It might be necessary to say a few words on the subject on which the opposition was so fond of dwelling—the negotiation at Lisle, in 1797: and he would submit it to the house and country to judge, whether our conduct, at that time, was inconsistent with the principles professed at present. The jacobin system of prodigality and bloodshed, by which the efforts of France had been supported, had, at that period, driven us to exertions which had exhausted the ordinary means of defraying our immense expenditure, and led many, who were convinced of the necessity of the war, to doubt the possibility of persisting in it: there seemed too much reason to believe, that, without some new measure to check the accumulation of debt, we could no longer trust to the funding system by which the nation had supported the different wars in which we had been engaged during the present century. The general and decided concurrence of public opinion was necessary in order to prosecute our plans with vigour. Under this impression we negotiated, not from the sanguine hope that its result would be permanent security, but from the persuasion that the danger arising from peace in these circumstances would be less than the con-

tinuance of war with inadequate means. Those negotiations had fully proved that the enemy would be satisfied with nothing less than the sacrifice of the honour of our country; and, from this conviction, a spirit and enthusiasm was excited in the nation which produced the subsequent happy change in our situation.

Mr. Pitt said, that he had no scruple to declare that he now considered the failure in our treaty at Lisle as a most fortunate circumstance for England; but did it follow that we were then insincere in our endeavours, because we could now perceive the inconveniences which would have attended their success? He then wished for peace; he laboured for peace: our efforts were frustrated by the act of the enemy; and it since appeared, that, had it taken place, it could not have been durable.

We had at this moment the means of prosecuting the contest without material difficulty or danger: our public credit was improved, our commerce flourishing; the population, riches and power of the country were augmented, and supported by every branch of national industry. The attention of the house needed not be recalled to the continued triumphs of our victorious army, which, in the course of two years, had raised the military glory of Britain to an height unexampled in the annals of time. If we compared our situation with that of the enemy, labouring under equal difficulty in finding men to recruit his army, and money to pay it; if we considered that those armies, even whilst supported by the plunder of all the countries they had over-run, were reduced to extremity of distress, and destitute not only of military supply, but of the necessities

necessaries of life; if we observed the disorder of their finances, and the evident marks of dis-union amongst their people; and if this comparison were just, had we not the best reason to expect success from a system which had hitherto averted all these evils from our country, and to conclude, that there was no possibility of permanent peace but by pursuing the same measures?—As a sincere lover of peace, he sought its solid and substantial blessings, not its nominal attainment; nor would he grasp at the shadow when the reality was not within his reach.

Cur igitur pacem nolo? Quia infida est, quia periculosa, quia esse non posset.

Mr. Fox then rose:—All parties were agreed, he said, in their opinion, that the present was a new æra of the war; and the honourable gentleman who spoke last seemed to think it necessary only to press his former arguments to induce us to persevere in it; all the topics which had misled us, all the reasoning which had so invariably failed, all the lofty predictions which had been so constantly falsified by events, were again enumerated and advanced for this purpose. At the end of seven years of the most calamitous contest, we were again to be amused with notions of finance, and calculations of the exhausted resources of the enemy as a ground of confidence! We had been told five years ago, that France was not only on the brink of ruin, but actually sunk into the gulf of bankruptcy: we had been told as an unanswerable argument against treating, that she could not hold out another campaign, and that we had only to prosecute the war for a short time to save ourselves for ever from the

consequences of jacobinism. After having gone on from year to year upon assurances like these, and witnessing the repeated refutations of every prognostication, could we still be deluded with the hope, that we had the same prospects of success on the same identical ground? and without any other security were we invited, at this new æra of the war, to carry it on upon principles which, if adopted, would make it eternal? He much lamented, with every friend of genuine peace, the harsh and unciliating language which ministers had used to the French, and especially in their answer to a respectful offer of a negotiation. Such conduct had always been reprobated by diplomatic men. A sincere wish to accomplish pacification must be frustrated by revolting reproaches and reciprocal invective. He could not but lament also, for the same reason, that the minister had thought proper to enter with such severity of minute investigation into all the early circumstances of the war, which were nothing to the present purpose, and ought not to influence the feelings of the house. He should not follow him into all the detail; though he must acknowledge, whatever impression his assertions might make on some minds, they had not convinced him. Till he had better grounds for changing his opinion than any he had heard that night, he must continue to think, and to say explicitly, “that *this country was the aggressor in the war.*” And was there a man who could for a moment dispute, that Austria and Prussia were the aggressors? The unfortunate monarch Louis the XVIth himself, as well as those in his confidence, had borne decisive testimony to the fact, that between him and the emperor

peror there was an intimate correspondence and a perfect understanding. He did not mean to say that a positive treaty was entered into for the dismemberment of France; but the declarations made at Mantua, as well as at Pilnitz, not only implied but expressed the intention on the part of Germany to interfere in the internal affairs of France. The honourable gentleman denied there having been such a thing as a treaty at Pilnitz. Granted: but did it not amount to the same? The emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia made a public declaration, "that they were determined to employ their forces, in conjunction with those of the other sovereigns of Europe, in order to place the king of France in a situation to establish, in perfect liberty, the foundation of a monarchical government, equally agreeable to the rights of sovereigns and the welfare of the French, whenever other princes would cooperate with them. In the mean time, they would give orders for their troops to be ready for actual service."

Was not this a menace and an insult to any nation? Were not the terms direct, that they would attack France (which was then at peace with them, and at that time only employed in domestic regulations) whenever the other powers of Europe would concur?

Let us imagine the case had been that of Great Britain; would it not be considered by our parliament and people as an hostile aggression, for two of the great powers to issue a public declaration that they would make an attack upon this kingdom as soon as circumstances should favour their intention? Was there an Englishman in existence who would say that our nation

could retain its honour and dignity if it would quietly sit down under such a threat? We ought then to respect in others the indignation which such an act would excite in ourselves; and when it was evidently established, on the most indisputable authority, that declarations to this effect were made both at Pilnitz and Mantua, it was idle to say, that as far as the emperor and king of Prussia were concerned they were not the aggressors in the war. "But the decree of the 19th of November, 1792, was an hostile act, not only against England, but against all the sovereigns of Europe."

Mr. Fox said he was not one of those who attached interest to the general and indiscriminate provocations thrown out at random, nor was it necessary to the dignity of any people to notice them: but if, in insolence or in folly, such offence was given, an explanation was the thing which a magnanimous nation, feeling itself aggrieved, ought to demand; and, if it was not satisfactory, it ought without ambiguity or reserve to be stated. Now, from the documents on the table, it was certain that M. Chauvelin did give an explanation of this silly decree. He declared, in the name of his government, that the decree was applicable only to those people who, having acquired their liberty by conquest, should demand the assistance of the republic, but that France would respect not only the independence of England, but also that of her allies with whom she was not at war. This was the explanation given; "but it was not satisfactory." Why was not M. Chauvelin informed of it then? Was he ever told that we were discontented at this explanation? No: at the death of his king,

king, did we profess ourselves still aggrieved by it? No such thing: we demanded no further explanations, nor gave the French any opportunity of settling the misunderstanding which that decree, or any other, had created. When a nation refuses to state to another the thing which would satisfy her, she shows that she is not actuated by a desire to preserve peace between them; and this was the actual case. The Scheldt, for instance; its navigation was one of the causes of our complaint: Did we ever explain ourselves upon that subject? did we make it one of the grounds of the dismissal of M. Chauvelin? No.—A nation, to justify itself in the origin and continuance of such a war, ought to prove that it had taken every possible means to obtain reparation and redress. If she had refused to explain what would be satisfactory, she could not exonerate herself from the charge of having been the aggressor.

For the first time the important paper had now been produced, stating the instructions given to our minister at the court of Petersburg, in 1792, to interest her imperial majesty to join her efforts with those of Britain to prevent the evils of a general war. Mr. Fox declared he had never heard of this document before that evening; that he entirely approved of the instructions it contained; and could not help observing, that if this paper had been communicated at Paris in the year 1792, it would have been productive of most seasonable benefits to mankind; and, by informing the French, in time, of the means of securing the mediation of England, have not only prevented the rupture with this country, but have restored general peace to the continent. This paper, so excellent

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in its intentions, so well digested, so likely to preserve us from the calamities which have ensued, was never communicated to France, never acted upon, never known to the world until this day: nay, at the very time ministers had drawn up this paper, they were insulting M. Chauvelin in every way till January 1793, when they finally sent him off, without stating any one ground upon which they were willing to preserve terms with the French.

The aggressions of Austria and Prussia could not be denied by any impartial person; nothing could be more decidedly hostile than their proceedings; they scrupled not to declare to France, that it was their internal concerns, not their outward actions, which provoked them to confederate against her. They did not pretend to fear their ambition, their conquests, their troubling their neighbours—but they accused them of new-modelling their own government. In all this he was not seeking to justify the French either in their internal or external policy: on the contrary, he thought their successive rulers had been as execrable in various instances as any of the most despotic and unprincipled governments which the world had ever seen. And it was impossible that it should have been otherwise. Men bred in the school of the house of Bourbon, once engaged in foreign wars, would naturally endeavour to spread destruction and form plans of aggrandisement on every side. They could not have lived so long under their ancient masters without imbibing the insatiable ambition and restless spirit, the perfidy and the despotism inherent in the race: they had imitated their great prototype; and, through their whole

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career

career of crimes, had done no more than trace the steps of their own Louis XIV. If they had overrun countries, and ravaged them; if they had ruined and dethroned sovereigns; if they had even fraternised with the people of foreign countries,—they had acted upon Bourbon principles, and accomplished their exploits in the Bourbon manner. But this example was long ago—we ought not to refer to so distant a period. True, the period was distant, applied to the man, but the principle had never been extinct; nor had its operation been suspended, excepting during the administration of cardinal Fleury; and the crime of France was, not that she had generated new evils, but perpetuated the former, and adopted the old principles so fatal to Europe under the practice of the house of Bourbon. It had been said, that wherever the French had gone they had introduced revolution. So did Louis the XIVth. He was not content with overrunning a state: whenever he entered a new territory, he established what he called his *chamber of claims*, by which he inquired whether the conquered country had any dormant or disputed claims, any cause of complaint or unsettled demand on another province, upon which he might wage war, thereby discover ground for new devastation, and gratify his ambition by new acquisitions. And what had the republic ever done more atrocious, more jacobinical than this? Louis went to war with Holland, pretending that Holland had not treated him with sufficient respect—a just and proper cause of war!

When our Charles II, as a short exception to the policy of his reign, made the triple alliance for the protection of Europe, and particu-

larly of Holland, against the ambition of Louis, what was the conduct of that most able statesman De Witt, when the confederates came to deliberate on the terms upon which they should treat with the French monarch? When it was urged that he had made unprincipled conquests, and ought to surrender them all, the language of that great man was: “You ought not to look back to the origin of the war, but the means of putting an end to it. Had you in time united to prevent those conquests, well; but now that he has actually made them, he stands upon the ground of conquest, and we must agree to treat, not with reference to the origin of the conquest, but the present situation of his affairs. He has possession of those places; and some of them we must be content to resign as the means of peace—for conquest will always set up successfully its claims to indemnification.” Such was the opinion of a minister who was the ornament of his time, and such ought to be ours with regard to the French at this day. It was true that the French had overrun Savoy; but they had overrun it upon Bourbon principles; and, having gained this and other conquests before the confederacy was formed, they ought to have treated with her for future security, not for past connection. Of victorious states, whether monarchical or republican, it will never be so much inquired by what right they gained possession, as by what means they can be prevented from enlarging their depredations. A celebrated historian, Hume, who was a childish lover of princes, talks of Louis in very magnificent terms; but says of him, “though he managed his
“enterprises.

“enterprises with skill and bravery,
 “he was unfortunate in one re-
 “spect; that he never obtained
 “one good and fair pretence for
 “war!” This he reckons amongst
 his misfortunes. Can we say more
 of the republican French? In seiz-
 ing Savoy, they use these words:
“convenances morales et physiques.”
 These were her reasons—a most
 Bourbon-like phrase! And Mr. Fox
 therefore contended that, as we never
 scrupled to treat with the princes
 of the house of Bourbon on ac-
 count of their rapacity, their vio-
 lation of treaties, and their ambi-
 tious spirit; so, we ought not to
 refuse treating with their republi-
 can imitators for any of these rea-
 sons.

Ministers could not pretend igno-
 rance of the unprincipled man-
 ner in which the French had seized
 on Savoy. The Sardinian mini-
 ster complained of the aggression,
 and yet no stir was made about it:
 the courts of Europe stood by and
 saw the outrage, and our ministers
 saw it. In vain therefore had the
 honourable gentleman exerted his
 powers to convince us of the in-
 terest he took in the preservation
 of “the rights of nations;” since,
 at the very moment when an in-
 terference might have been made
 with effect, no step was taken, no
 remonstrance made, no mediation
 negotiated, to stop the career of
 conquest: it was then the minister
 boasted that he was prevented by
 a sense of neutrality from taking
 any measures; but the fact was,
 this country at that time was de-
 cidedly against any interruption
 being given to the French in the
 regulations of their own govern-
 ment. From this neutrality the
 English would never have departed,
 but from the hypocritical cant set
 up to arouse their jealousy and

alarm their fears, and which was
 very different from the great prin-
 ciple of political prudence which
 ought to have actuated the councils
 of the nation on the first step of
 France towards external conquest.
 When the unfortunate Louis, in a
 letter delivered by M. M. Chauvelin
 and Talleyrand, entreated us to me-
 diate between him and the allied
 powers of Austria and Prussia, we
 ought to have accepted the offer,
 and used our influence to save Eu-
 rope from a system which then be-
 gan to be manifested. Mr. Fox
 professed his doubts of the sensi-
 bility which could be so indifferent
 at the proper moment of action,
 and was inclined to think that the
 germs of ambition were then rising
 in the mind of the honourable
 gentleman, who might entertain
 hopes, like others, that something
 might be obtained out of the ap-
 proaching confusion. What but
 some such interested principle
 could have made him forgive the
 truly honourable task by which his
 administration would have displayed
 its magnanimity and power? Had
 we declared to France, that we
 would mediate, with candour and
 sincerity, but at the same time
 made known our apprehensions;
 had we told them openly that we
 would not trust to their assertions,
 because their language was contra-
 dicted by facts; reminded them of
 the Bourbon principles in which
 they were educated, and which
 they had put in practice by seizing
 Savoy; had we expressly stated
 what we considered as an attack on
 the balance of Europe, and what
 securities we deemed essential to
 general repose, we should have
 acted both with wisdom and dig-
 nity; and not having done so, we
 had no reason to talk of the vio-
 lated rights of Europe.

Mr. Fox said, that if he understood the true precepts of the Christian religion, as set forth in the New Testament, there was no rule or doctrine by which we could be justified in waging a war for religion: the idea was subversive of the very foundations upon which it stood—"peace and good will amongst men." Yet this sacred name had been too often grossly used as the pretext for the most unprincipled wars. The conduct of the French, he must repeat, was not justifiable towards foreign nations; they had given great cause of offence, but certainly not to all countries alike. Ministers, in their eagerness to throw odium upon them, had made an indiscriminate catalogue of the nations they had offended. Without investigating the sources of their several quarrels, without entering into the long detail, he would merely mention Sardinia as one instance which had been strongly insisted upon. Did the French attack Sardinia when at peace with them? No such thing: the king of Sardinia had accepted a subsidy from Great Britain, and Sardinia was a belligerent power. Several others might be adduced; but though in the majority of them the French might be culpable, was this a moment to dwell on their enormities, to waste our time and inflame our passions by criminating and recriminating upon each other? If this war of reproach and invective was to be countenanced, might not the French complain, with equal reason, of the outrages and horrors committed by the powers opposed to them? And if we were not to treat with the republic on account of the iniquity of their former transactions, ought we to connect ourselves with other nations equally criminal? If it

was necessary to be thus rigid in scrutinising the conduct of an enemy, ought we not to be equally careful in committing ourselves to an ally who had manifested the same want of respect for the rights of other nations? If it were material to know the character of a power with whom we were to treat for peace, surely it was more material to know that of allies whom we were to pay for assistance, and with whom we were to enter into the closest bond of friendship! What had been the conduct of these our allies to Poland? Was there a single atrocity of the French in Italy, in Switzerland, in Egypt, more inhuman than that of Russia, Austria, and Prussia towards Poland? What had there ever been worse in *their* violation of solemn treaties, in the plunder and devastation of unoffending countries, in the horrors and massacres perpetrated upon the subdued victims of their rage in any district they had overrun—what could have been worse than the conduct of these three great powers in the miserable and devoted kingdom of Poland? Yet these all had been or were our allies in this war for religion, social order, and the rights of nations! But we *regretted* the partition—Yes! and united ourselves to the actors;—in fact, by acquiescence confirmed their atrocities!—But then they were our allies; and, though they divided Poland, there was nothing perhaps in the *manner* of doing this which stamped it with peculiar infamy. The hero of Poland might be merciful and mild, "as much superior to Bonaparte in bravery, and in the discipline which he maintained, as in virtue and humanity." He was animated by the purest principles of Christianity, and restrained in his career

career by the benevolent precepts which it inculcates. Let unfortunate Warsaw and the miserable inhabitants of Praga speak! What were the deeds of this magnanimous hero with whom Bonaparte is not to be compared? He entered Praga, the most populous suburb of Warsaw, and there he let his soldiery loose on the unarmed and unresisting people: men, women, and children, nay infants at the breast, were doomed to one indiscriminate massacre. And why? Because they dared to join in a wish to meliorate their condition as a people, and to improve their constitution, which had been confessed by their own sovereign to be in want of amendment. Such was the hero upon whom the cause of religion and social order was to depend; whom we praise for his discipline and his virtue, and whom we hold out as our boast and dependence, whilst the conduct of Bonaparte unfits him to be even treated with as an enemy!

But the behaviour of France towards Switzerland, a country so dear and congenial to every lover of liberty, raises universal indignation. But let it be observed, that the Swiss were advised to depart from that neutrality which was their chief protection, and join the confederacy against the French. Lord Robert Fitzgerald, then the minister of England to the Swiss cantons, was instructed in direct terms to propose to the Swiss to infringe on the line of safety which they had laid down for themselves, and tell them, that in such a contest neutrality was criminal. What was our language to Tuscany and Genoa? Mr. Canning, indeed, had denied the authenticity of a letter which had been ascribed to lord Harvey; but was it a fable that lord Harvey entered the closet

of the grand duke, and required him to determine in a quarter of an hour to dismiss the French minister, and order him out of his dominions—menacing that, if he did not, the English fleet should bombard Leghorn? Upon the grand duke's complaint of this indignity, lord Harvey was recalled. But did not ministers persist in the demand which his lordship had so ungraciously enforced? and was not the duke forced to dismiss the French minister, and driven himself into an unwilling war with the republic? Afterwards, it is true, he made his peace, and was treated unjustly by them. But we, who had violated the respect due to peaceable powers, had no right to be scrupulous; and these instances not being confined to the French, but having also been perpetrated by every one of the allies, and by England as much as by others, we had no right, either in personal character or from our own deportment, to refuse treating with them upon this ground.—“The French had behaved illeverywhere; they seized on Venice, which had manifested symptoms of friendship to them.”—He must acknowledge this was an abominable act—far was he from being the apologist, much less the advocate, for their iniquities. But candour required that we should remember the excuse they made for their violence, namely, that their troops had been attacked and murdered. The perfidy of the French to the Venetians was not worse than the conduct of Austria: if the one seized on the territory of Venice, the other agreed to receive it. But this we were told was not the same thing; it was within the rule of diplomatic morality. The emperor took it as a compensation, and considered himself not responsible for the guilt by

which it had been obtained. Much had been said of our allies; Russia was one of them. Did France attack Russia? Had the magnanimous Paul taken the field on account of personal aggression? How bad he displayed his abhorrence of French principles by his own conduct! He said to Denmark, "You have seditious clubs at Copenhagen: no Danish vessel shall enter the ports of Russia." He held a still more despotic language to Hamburg; threatened to lay an embargo on their trade, and forced them to surrender up men who were claimed by the French as citizens; menaced them with his own vengeance if they refused, and subjected them to that of the French if they complied. Respecting Spain, he sends away their minister from Petersburg, and then complains of *his* minister being dismissed from Madrid. This is one of our allies; and he declared the object of the war with him was, to replace the ancient race of Bourbon on the throne of France, and he does this for the sake of order and religion, so admirably enforced by his own example!

Are we for ever to deprive ourselves (continued Mr. Fox) of the benefits of peace, because France has perpetrated acts of injustice? With the knowledge of these acts we had treated with them twice, and yet the honourable gentleman refused to enter into negotiation with them now. But he then treated with them "because the unequivocal sense of the people of England was declared in favour of peace." The majority in the house spoke a different language. It is then acknowledged that the unequivocal sense of the people *may be spoken by the minority*, and that it is not by the test of numbers that an honest decision is to be ascertained. This house

decided against what the minister *knew* to be the sense of the country; but he himself acted upon that sense against the vote of parliament. The negotiation went off (as we were informed) upon the question of Belgium; but he now asserted it was because the French advanced a principle incompatible with all negotiation. Why did he not acquaint the people of England that this was the reason? Why, on the contrary, did he publish a manifesto, immediately on the rupture, declaring, "that whenever the enemy should be disposed to pacification, nothing should be wanting on our part to the accomplishment of this desirable object?"

And after this, why did we not wait till the enemy evinced such dispositions of peace, instead of renewing our overtures at Lisle? Not that this conduct was blameable, but that it was an argument against the present assertion of an *incompatible principle* having been urged by the French before. It was a proof that ministers did not think as Mr. Pitt affirmed they now thought, but yielded to the sentiments of the nation against their own judgment. The party who refuses to negotiate is the party disinclined to peace. This they themselves set up as their own test: try them by it. An offer is made: they rashly and rudely refuse to hear it; have they or have they not abided by their own test?

An honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) was astonished that any one could attribute the present scarcity to the war: but did not the war by its magazines, and yet more by its expeditions, increase consumption? Corn, at this very moment, was sold in France for less than half the price it bore here; and, was it not for the war, and its prohibitions, a part of that grain would be brought

brought to this country, which would necessarily be relieved by their abundance.—But to return to negotiation. Our minister confessed that he thought the evils of war would be fewer than those of peace, only provided that he could establish a new and solid system of finance in the place of the old exhausted funding system; and to accomplish this, it was necessary to have the unanimous approbation of the people. To procure it, he pretended to be a friend to negotiation, though he did not wish success to it. With these views, contrary to his declarations in the house, he entered into it, in which, as the world believed, he failed in his object. No such thing—he completely succeeded; for his end was not to gain peace, but to gain over the people of England to a new system of finance; that is, to the raising a great part of the supplies within the year; to the triple assessment, and to the tax upon income; and this point he obtained by affecting to be a friend to peace, which he was not, and by opening a negotiation which he did not wish to succeed. In all this he asserted he was sincere; for he negotiated fairly, and would have obtained a peace, if the French had shown dispositions for it; but he rejoiced that their conduct was such, as to convince the people of the necessity of concurring in his designs, and granting the supply, which was essential to their posture at the time. To that house it was not honest, to make them counteract the sense of the people; nor was it honest to the country, to act in a disguise. This transaction resembled one in a most profligate reign; that of Charles II. when the sale of Dunkirk might probably have been justified by the same pretence: he also declared war against France,

and did it to cover a negotiation by which, in his difficulties, he was to gain a *solid system of finance*. But the ministers say, “they have not refused to treat:” in one case they would immediately enter into a negotiation; “the restoration of the house of Bourbon:” though they deny this to be the *sine qua non*. Now, if we put one case, declaring that upon this alone we are willing to treat immediately, and say that there are other possible cases which may induce us to treat hereafter, without mentioning what these cases are, we actually state a *sine qua non* of immediate treaty. Suppose I have an estate to sell, and I declare my demand to be 1000*l.* for it; I will sell the estate immediately for this sum; there may indeed be other terms upon which I might part with it, but I say nothing of them: the 1000*l.* is the only condition I state now; and will any one assert that I do not make it the *sine qua non* of the immediate sale? Thus ministers declare that the restoration of the princes is not the only possible ground; but they state no other, and, by confining themselves to this one point, make it in fact, though not in terms, a *sine qua non*. Mr. Pitt had however pointed out some cases in which he would treat with the French:

1st, If Bonaparte should conduct himself so as to convince him that he had abandoned the principles which were objectionable in his predecessors, and was actuated by a more moderate system. How was this (said Mr. Fox) to be ascertained in war? The very nature of it was not to allay, but inflame the passions; nor was it by continued irritations that the virtues of moderation and forbearance were to be nourished.

2dly, If, contrary to the expectations

tions of ministers, the people of France should evince a disposition to acquiesce in the government of Bonaparte, did the right honourable gentleman mean to say, that because it was a usurpation the people would not acquiesce in it? or because it was a system of military government? Cromwell was an usurper, and in many points might be found a resemblance between them. The sincerity of Cromwell might be questioned on several occasions; but would it not have been madness in France and Spain to have refused to treat with him on account of his usurpation? These are not the maxims by which governments are actuated. They do not inquire so much in what manner power may have been acquired, as in what place it resides. But of Cromwell it may be said, that the splendour of his talents, the vigour of his administration, the high tone with which he addressed foreign nations, and the character which he gave to the English name, induced the people to acquiesce. And was not Bonaparte a man of great abilities? Had he not by his victories thrown a splendour even over the violence of the revolution, and conciliated the French people by the high language which he held to other nations? Were not the French, then, as likely to be contented with his government as the English had been with Cromwell's? And if they should be so, the minister might find Bonaparte as insincere as himself in the proposition made; and he in his turn might come forth and acknowledge "he had now no occasion for concealment; that though in 1800 he had offered to treat, it was not because he, but the people of France wished it; and his old resources being exhausted, and there being no means of carrying on the war with-

out a new and solid system of finance, he pretended to negotiate, that the assent of the French people might be unanimous, as then he could procure it; and, having obtained his point, he would throw off the mask, and reject our offers with scorn." Even if this should not be the case, would not the very test required (acquiescence of the French in his government) give him an advantage ground in the negotiation which he did not now possess? Was it certain, nay was it probable, that, when he found himself safely established on his seat, he would treat on the same terms as now? Could we reasonably expect it? These were the considerations he would press upon ministers against the dangerous experiment of waiting for the acquiescence of the people of France.

The other two emergencies which would induce the honourable gentleman to negotiate with Bonaparte, were, "if the pressure of the war should be heavier upon us than we could continue to bear, and if the allies of this country should be unsuccessful in stirring up the French against the chief consul." This was fairly telling Bonaparte "that we had engaged a number of allies, and our combined efforts should be used to excite insurrection in France; that we would strive to murder him, or procure his banishment, and stir up civil war in his country; if we succeeded, well; but if we failed, we would condescend to treat." Was this a political language for one state to hold to another? And what kind of peace could we procure in such a case? Could we suppose that Bonaparte would grant to baffled insolence, to humiliated pride, to disappointment and to imbecility, the same terms we might obtain at present? Mr. Pitt could not forget

forget what he had said on a former occasion :

— potuit quæ plurima
virtus
Esse fuit, toto certatum est corpore
regni.

He would then find it necessary to repeat his words with a very different application; to acknowledge that our efforts had been vain, our strength exhausted; our designs impracticable, therefore we sued for peace!

The house were called upon that night to support the ministers in refusing a frank, candid, and respectful offer of negotiation, and to countenance them in continuing the war. Now suppose, instead of this question, they had been pleased to address his majesty with thanks for accepting the overture, and opening a negotiation; would not the gentlemen on the opposite side have voted as cordially for such an address? If the ministers had breathed a spirit of peace, the benches would have resounded with rejoicings, and with praises of the wisdom of those measures likely to restore tranquillity. He appealed to their consciences, whether they would not have upheld an address directly the reverse. One exception he would make, the earl of Fitzwilliam, whose integrity he respected, though he lamented his opinion; and who, he verily believed, would feel himself bound, by the previous votes he had given, to object against all treaty. Alas! how was the character of that house of commons degraded, which, after supporting the minister in his negotiation of 1796 and 1797, and in his *solid system of finance*, would again vote with him, notwithstanding their inward conviction that he was wrong, in the same measures, or bring themselves to join him in any measures,

however opposite to the former! But Bonaparte had declared the two governments of Great Britain and France could not exist together, and deputed Berthier and Monge to make known this sentiment to the directory after the treaty at Campo Formio. And had not Mr. Pitt declared the same thing in that house? If we were to bring up all the idle speeches of the French, and they were to repeat ours, there would be no end to these reciprocations of animosity; and were we to proceed for ever in shedding blood about words? Our own history was replete with instances of the ill consequences of despising proffered occasions to make peace. At Ryfwick we accepted the terms we had refused five years before; and the same peace which was concluded at Utrecht might have been obtained at Gertruydenburg. The peace of 1763 was not accompanied with securities, and it was no sooner made than the French began as usual with their intrigues. What security did the honourable gentleman himself exact in 1783? He well knew, that soon after it they formed a plan, in conjunction with the Dutch, to attack our India possessions, exciting the natives against us, and driving us out, as they were desirous of doing now; only with this difference, that the cabinet of France entered into the project in a moment of profound peace, and when they imagined us to be lulled in perfect security. After making this peace, Mr. Pitt went out, and he came into office. Suppose (continued Mr. Fox) we had taken up the jealousy which the right honourable gentleman evinces now, and objected to ratify the treaty he had made, because we could see no security—pleading that France only withheld for a respite to attack us again in some important part of our dominions—

nions—would he have supported us in our refusals on such pretences? Upon his present reasonings he ought; the tone he now assumed would have led us to suppose it; yet here was little doubt but at that time he would have justly remarked, It was the interest of France to make peace; if it continued her interest, she would keep it; and if not, break it again. Such was the state of nations, and the only security on our part was vigilance.

Much had been said of the short-lived nature of military despotism; yet, such was the government erected by Augustus Cæsar, which endured for 600 or 700 years. Indeed, it was too likely, wherever it was established, to be durable; nor was it true that it depended on the life of the first usurper. Half of the Roman emperors were murdered, yet the tyranny continued; and this, it was to be feared, would be the case in France. What difference would it make in the quality of their military establishment, or in our relation to that country, if Bonaparte were removed? That this house should express such abhorrence of this frame of government was somewhat singular, when it had so recently affirmed it to be the system peculiarly suited to the exercise of free opinion, and which had been so happily established over Ireland. The persons and the property of that people were left in many districts to the entire will of military commanders; and this was held out as advantageous to the Irish, at a time when they were to discuss, with unbiassed judgments, the most interesting question of a legislative union. Notwithstanding the existence of martial law, so far from thinking Ireland enslaved by it, we had pronounced it the best period, and most favourable circum-

stance, under which she could declare her opinion! And those who spoke thus of military despotism in Ireland, had little reason to rail at it in France. The minister thought that the change of property in France would not form an insurmountable barrier to the return of the ancient proprietors; property being so much depreciated that the purchasers would easily be brought to restore the estates. But surely this was impracticable: it was the character of every such convulsion as that which had ravaged France, that an indescribable load of misery was inflicted on private families, and the heart sickened at the recital of their sorrows. Revolutions did not imply, though they might occasion, a total alteration of property; but the re-establishment of the Bourbons did imply it—and this was the great difference. If the noble families had foreseen the duration and extent of the evils which were to fall upon their heads, there is no doubt but they would have taken a very different line of conduct. But unfortunately they fled their country; the king and his advisers sought foreign aid; a confederacy was formed to restore them by military force; and, as a means of resisting this combination, the estates of the fugitives were confiscated and sold. However compassion might deplore the case, it was not a thing unprecedented; the people had always resorted to such means of defence. Now the point was, how was this property to be got out of their hands? The purchasers of national and forfeited estates were said to amount to 15,000,000 persons; what possible hope could there be of compelling so large a number to deliver up their property? Nor did he know that it would be justice; or whether it would be a means of restoring

restoring tranquillity to a country, to divest a body of one million and a half of inhabitants of their possessions, in order to reinstate a much smaller number.

Louis the XVIIIth published a manifesto at Mittau, assuring his friends that he was about to come back with all the powers which formerly belonged to his family. He did not promise the people a constitution which might conciliate their minds; but stated his intention of introducing the ancient regime, to which they naturally attach a Bastile, lettres de cachet, gabelle, &c. The noblesse, for whom this proclamation was made, would naturally expect, if the monarch was to be restored to his privileges, that they also were to be reinstated in their estates, without any compensation to those they considered as usurpers. And was this likely to induce the people to wish for the restoration of monarchy? There might be a number of Chouans in France, and others dispersed in certain provinces, who retained an attachment to royalty; but if Bonaparte should attempt some similar arrangement to that of Henry IV. when he quelled the insurrections of the Hugonots, and conciliated that party by granting them important privileges, and elevating them to high posts in the government—should Bonaparte pursue this conduct, who dare pretend to say, he would not succeed? The French would not be likely to forget the revocation of that edict; one of the memorable acts of the house of Bourbon—an act never surpassed in impolicy, injustice, and atrocity, by any thing which had disgraced jacobinism.

A successful campaign led us to cherish the hope of now placing this *most* worthy family upon the

throne; but this was not the first campaign which had been successful, yet our endeavours were unaccomplished. The situation of the allies, with all they had obtained, was not comparable at this time to what it was when we had taken Valenciennes, Quesnoy, and Condé; the minister could not say the prospect was brighter now than it had been then; we had only recovered a part of what we had lost. One campaign was successful to us, another to the French; and thus, animated by the passions of revenge, hatred, and rancour, we might proceed from year to year, prolonging human misery; and all this upon speculation! We must keep Bonaparte for some time longer at war, as a state of probation. We must *pause* till the bowels of Great Britain be torn out, her best blood spilt, her treasures wasted, till we had fully made the experiment! Oh that ministers would place themselves in the field of battle, and there learn to judge of the horrors which they prolonged! Was this the system calculated to establish order, to restore humanity, to endear religion? May the Supreme Being deliver us from it! and enlighten our understandings, that we may no longer consider war as the natural state of man, and peace as a dangerous extremity!

Mr. Fox ended this speech, of considerable length, with observing, that if we had been desirous that the negotiation should have included the allies, we should have told Bonaparte so; but the fact appeared to be, that we were apprehensive of his agreeing to the proposal: the people of England were friends to peace, although, by the laws lately made to restrain the expression of their wish, public opinion

opinion could not be heard as heretofore. It was afflicting to see the strides of arbitrary power, whereby liberty of every kind, both of speech and writing, was abridged, and to observe in Ireland the rapid approaches to that military despotism which we now made an argument against peace with France. Could

the public opinion be now collected, it would sue for negotiation as much as in 1797; and it was only by public opinion, not by a sense of duty, or the inclination of their minds, that ministers would ever be brought to give us peace.—Ayes for the address, 260—Noes, 64.

CHAP. IV.

Union with Ireland. Measures supposed to be adopted by the Ministry to promote that Measure. Its Introduction to the Irish Parliament. Opposed strenuously by Mr. Grattan and others. Duel between Mr. Grattan and the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer. Opposition unsuccessful. The Articles of Union finally carried in both Houses of the Irish Parliament. Submitted to Discussion in that of Great Britain. Debates on that Subject—In the House of Lords—In the House of Commons.

THE proceedings of the British parliament relative to an union with Ireland were rendered abortive by the spirit, or the precipitancy, of the Irish legislature. They opposed with violence, and they dismissed with contempt, a proposition which was a sentence of death upon themselves; and the British ministry found too late, that they had been deficient in address, or perhaps too parsimonious in their arrangements, to secure a measure which embraced a variety of conflicting interests. With his usual tenacity, however, the British minister determined to persevere. Though rejected by the Irish parliament, a series of resolutions were adopted in that of Great Britain, as a basis of the proposed union; and the lord lieutenant of Ireland closed the session with a hope that the measure would be reconsidered, and adopted in such a manner as might be most conducive to the happiness and prosperity of both nations.

Of the means which were employed in the course of the recess to facilitate the intended arrangement, it is scarcely the time as yet to speak with either certainty or safety. The conciliatory spirit, and the popular character of the lord-lieutenant, in the course of a political tour, might make some proselytes; and some seats in the Irish parliament were vacated by persons who had pledged themselves to oppose the union, and filled by others less hostile to that favourite measure. At the meeting of the Irish parliament considerable activity was displayed by the partisans on each side for the purpose of procuring signatures; and at a very early period, the table of the house of commons was loaded with petitions. The business was formally introduced, on the 5th of February 1800, by a message from the lord-lieutenant, in which his excellency stated, that he had it in command from his majesty to lay before both houses

houses of legislature the resolutions of the British parliament, and to express his majesty's wish that they would take the same into their most serious consideration, &c. After a long and spirited debate the ministry prevailed, by a majority of 43, for taking his majesty's message into consideration on the Wednesday following. The great abilities of Mr. Grattan, which had been voluntarily cast into obscurity, were once more brought before the public on this interesting occasion. In a debate which took place on the 17th of February, on proposing the first article of the union, he opposed the measure with such a degree of vehemence, that the chancellor of the exchequer accused him of associating with traitors, and of disaffection to the government. The reply of Mr. Grattan was so pointed and severe, that the chancellor conceived himself under a necessity of resenting it by a challenge. Five shots were exchanged, and the chancellor (Mr. Corry) was wounded in the arm. The question however was carried by a majority of 161 against 115, and as the discussion proceeded, the numbers of opposition appeared to diminish. The last struggle, as it may be deemed, was made on the 13th of March, when sir John Parnell moved to petition his majesty to call a new parliament, in order that the sense of their constituents might be more fully ascertained; but this motion was overruled by a majority of 46. In the mean time the business proceeded with little opposition in the house of lords, and on the 24th of March that house adopted the whole of the articles of union with few alterations. On the Friday following both houses waited on his excellency with a joint address to that

effect, which was afterwards transmitted to Great Britain, and no time was lost by the ministers in submitting the measure anew to the British parliament. As the principal arguments which were advanced in the Irish legislature were repeated in that of Great Britain, we have confined ourselves to this short summary of the proceedings in the former, as we can with more conformity to our general plan report them more at large as they were stated in our own parliament.

On the 2d of April the duke of Portland delivered the following message from his majesty to the house of lords. "George R. It is with the most sincere satisfaction that his majesty finds himself enabled to communicate to this house the joint address of his lords and commons of Ireland, laying before his majesty certain resolutions which contain the terms proposed by them for an entire union between the two kingdoms. His majesty, therefore, earnestly recommends to this house, to take all such further steps as may best tend to the speedy and complete execution of a work so happily begun, and so interesting to the security of his majesty's subjects, and to the general strength and prosperity of the British empire."

The message being read,

Lord Grenville moved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, thanking him for his gracious communication. Which was ordered. His lordship then moved, that the papers be printed, and taken into consideration on Monday the 21st instant. Which was also ordered.

On Monday April 21, the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, on the address and resolutions

of the two houses of parliament of Ireland, being read, lord Grenville rose, and said, he should immediately move, that the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house on the said resolutions; after which, he should take the liberty of suggesting the form and extent of the proceedings necessary on so important a subject.

Earl Fitzwilliam submitted it to their lordships, whether, from the nature and importance of the subject, it would not be more consistent to suspend the discussion of the resolutions till after they should have undergone the consideration of the other house of parliament. His lordship meant not to call in question the right of the house to take up the question in the first instance; but he well knew there were many points of a delicate nature, chiefly commercial, that might occasion some respectable members of the other house of parliament to call for further information, and perhaps give rise to various necessary alterations.

Lord Grenville said, that in proposing that their lordships should resolve themselves into a committee of the whole house, to take the resolutions into consideration immediately, he was warranted by a variety of precedents. However, to convince the noble earl and the house that no inconvenience was likely to arise from it, he would immediately explain what his intentions were, if the house should be agreeable to the words of his motion, and consent to form itself into a committee. In that committee, he should merely propose the first, second, and third resolutions, after which he did not wish to call upon their lordships to proceed further for the present; but would then move that the chair-

man report progress, and ask leave to sit again on a future day; and as soon as the house was resumed, and the said report made, he should then move to adjourn the committee for a few days, not intending to call as yet for the further discussion of the resolutions. He meant afterwards to wait till the house of commons should have gone through the resolutions, and sent them up with their report upon them, explaining the grounds of such alterations as they might think proper to make in them.

The earl of Radnor expressed a wish to be informed of the strict parliamentary line of proceeding, should any alterations be made in the resolutions by either branch of the legislature.

Lord Grenville said, the necessary mode of proceeding would be for that house to take the report of the commons into consideration, as well as their alterations; and, if any difference of opinion should arise, to state the difference to the other house by message, in order that they might both agree.

Lord Fitzwilliam expressed himself satisfied with what had fallen from the noble secretary.

Lord Grenville then moved, that the house do immediately resolve itself into a committee of the whole house.

Lord Holland rose and said, painful as it was to him to detain their lordships, by inducing a debate where it was evident no debate would have taken place unless he had risen to provoke one, still he could not avoid taking upon himself the unwelcome office of addressing their lordships, even against their inclination. He assured them, however, he would not have put himself in so unpleasant a situation, if it were not that he rose to speak

to the principle of the union. He did not mean to deny, that the sister kingdom had long stood in a situation which required some means to be adopted to place it on a more eligible footing; he took the liberty to contend, that the union was not the remedy adequate to the occasion, nor were the good effects that might probably result from it forty or fifty years hence, as the parliament of Ireland were taught to expect, a proportionate price to satisfy that country for the immense advantages she was called upon to surrender at the present moment. To render the remedy applicable as a compensation for the purchase in so great a bargain, present benefits equal in value ought to be immediately made over to Ireland. He was aware the original pretext for the measure was the attempt made to separate both kingdoms. On that point of view, it was a most serious consideration, whether the union might give a real increase of strength to that kingdom, to government, or whether it would or would not conciliate the affections of the people of Ireland? The complaints of the protestants and the catholics were well known: would the union secure the redress for them? Much reliance had been placed on the salutary effects that had resulted to Scotland from her union with Great Britain; but, without discussing whether the beneficial advantages of an increased commerce, an extended system of agriculture, an enlarged scale of manufacture, had been derived by Scotland as an immediate consequence of her union, or had gradually increased from other causes, it was sufficient to remark, that forty years had elapsed before Scotland had reaped any of the essential benefits which at this time she enjoyed. He therefore

maintained, that speculative ideas of distant advantages were but visionary and delusive, when set in competition with invaluable rights and the glory of independence.

His lordship next adverted to the solemn assurance which his majesty's ministers had given in both houses, that, although in their judgements an union of both countries was most desirable, yet, that it should not be accepted unless it were the pure and spontaneous offer of the parliament of Ireland, uninfluenced by corruption or menace. He would, however, appeal to the feelings of any individual, whether it was doubted that corruption and intimidation had been practised to obtain a majority in support of the measure in both houses of the Irish parliament? The prejudices of the Irish protestants and the catholics of Ireland had been played upon, and both the one and the other had been taught to expect a full gratification of all their wishes, provided an union took place. But why, said his lordship, was an union necessary for that purpose? Might not the Irish parliament administer all that was necessary, without merging into the British senate? It had been argued that the members of the Irish parliament were not capable of conducting the affairs of that kingdom; it had been said that they were open to corruption. If they were open to corruption, would they not strengthen the hands of the crown against the interests of the people, and become the ready tools of ministers, to assist them in any designs they might hereafter wish to practise against the constitution? All the evils which the union would necessarily bring upon Ireland would, it was said, be more than compensated by the influx of commerce: for his part, he had his doubts whether such commercial benefits

benefits would ever arise. He was certain, however, that a long interval must elapse before Ireland could reap any benefit: on the other hand, the evils she must experience were immediate and pressing. After some more general remarks, his lordship concluded by saying, that should their lordships go into a committee, he would hold it his duty to attend there, however ineffectual his efforts might be, to render the details of the measure as palatable as he could to the people of Ireland, and as little destructive to the constitution of Great Britain.

Lord Grenville expressed great surprise at being called upon that day to support the general principle of a question which had been repeatedly, recently, and almost unanimously recognised by both houses of parliament. He observed, that in the whole course of his parliamentary experience, a public question had not been so amply or so ably discussed as that very one of a legislative union with Ireland: he therefore concluded that it was unnecessary that he should trouble their lordships at length upon the subject. With respect to what his lordship had asserted, that corruption and menace had been practised, the fair way would be to have brought proof of either, if such an evidence could have been obtained. With regard to the sense of the people of Ireland, he knew not how that sense was to be obtained, but through the parliament of Ireland: through that medium, he said, it had been conveyed to this country; and he spoke the sincere and honest feelings of his heart, when he solemnly declared, he believed the people of Ireland had spoken their real sentiments, respecting the proposed legislative union with Great Britain, through their parliament. With respect to the great danger

that was held out by the noble lord, as likely to result to the British constitution, he saw no such danger, nor did he believe that the infusion of a certain number of members from Ireland into our house, would tend to strengthen the hands of the crown against the rights and privileges of the people, or enable ministers to exercise a greater share of undue influence. On this his lordship spoke at some length, and contended that the precedent of the union with Scotland had, in all points, been as closely followed as the different nature of the two cases would admit. The noble lord had viewed the subject in a very narrow light with respect to the benefits that were likely to result to Ireland from an union, as not being probable to arise to Ireland immediately. For his part, he had ever considered that, in looking at a matter of such magnitude as the legislative union of two great countries, a wise and enlightened politician would consider it in two distinct points of view—the one, the immediate necessity that demanded it—the other, the great and general benefit that would gradually and ultimately be secured from it to the two countries so united as an entire empire. His lordship next made some observations with respect to the catholic question, and remarked, that from the very first day after the business was ever discussed, to the present moment, no such idea was ever heard of as that thrown out by the noble lord: on the other hand, all seemed to agree, whatever difference of opinion there might exist respecting the measure in other points of view, that the catholics' claims could best be discussed and settled by an imperial parliament, and that without the least inconvenience or cause of uneasiness to the people of Ireland. His lordship con-

contended, that relief could more safely be granted to the catholics of Ireland by an imperial parliament than by the parliament of Ireland.

Lord Holland rose to say a few words in reply; when the lord chancellor left the woolsack to request the noble lord to suspend offering what he had further to say, as he would have an opportunity of urging whatever he had to advance after the question was put for the house to resolve itself into a committee.

The earl of Derby said, he believed no noble lord was entitled to question the *right* of a peer to *reply* to any arguments against what had fallen from him in the course of his speech.

[Many of the noble lords exclaimed "*wholly irregular—totally contrary to order.*"]

Lord Holland said, it was always painful to his mind, after having spoken at length, to have occasion to trouble them a second time; and he should not have spoken at all that day, if he were not aware, that if he had permitted the house to go into a committee, he might then have heard it urged, on his attempting to speak to the principle of the union, that the house were engaged in the detail of the articles, and that he ought to have spoken before they went into a committee, if he had wished to say any thing on the principle. Nevertheless, though he had a right to explain, he would not resist the sense of the house.

Earl Fitzwilliam, the lord chancellor, and lord Grenville, said each a few words relative to the standing orders of the house, after which the question was put, "that the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house."—Contents 82—Non-Contents 3.—Lord Grenville then moved the three first

resolutions; [vide the public papers] and they were severally agreed to.

The chairman was then directed to report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

The house resumed, and the chairman made his report.

Lord Grenville then moved to adjourn the committee to the Friday following, which was ordered.

On Friday, April 25th—the order having been moved and read for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the fourth article of the union, and that the lords be summoned—

Lord Grenville rose, and pleaded an apology for not going into the consideration of the fourth resolution as he had intended, as particular reasons had rendered it inconvenient; therefore he would call their lordships' attention to the seventh resolution, and postpone the fourth. His lordship said, the seventh was one of those resolutions sent over by the parliament of Ireland, with the conditions on which that parliament was willing to unite with the parliament of this kingdom. The resolution was divided into eleven propositions; upon each, he said, it was necessary for him to say a few words. His lordship then read these eleven propositions, and explained respectively, as he proceeded, the principles upon which they were severally founded, and the objects they were meant to provide against. Having gone through the whole, lord Walsingham (as chairman of the committee) read them to the committee, and put a question on each proposition.

When his lordship came to the third proposition, earl Fitzwilliam rose, and expressed his approbation of government availing itself of

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such

such a measure as the general income tax; yet he observed there was a wide distinction between heartily approving of a tax being adopted as a temporary measure, and holding it as a permanent general tax, for such the words in the proposition evidently did. His lordship said he would never give his consent to make such a tax as the income tax a permanent and general tax, or even to let words pass in a resolution of that important nature, without endeavouring at least to have them omitted, and less objectionable words substituted in their place. His lordship then moved, that the words "or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country, estimated from the produce for the same periods of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed on the same descriptions of income in both countries," be left out, and other words, mentioning other general taxes on the amount of income, be inserted in their place.

Upon this motion a long conversation took place. Lord Holland and the earl of Caernarvon supported the amendment. Lord Grenville, lord Hobart, and lord Auckland, strongly objected to it, and contended that the whole amendment was founded on a false construction of the original words of the resolution.

Lord Grenville was of an opinion that the proposed amendment of the noble earl was totally unnecessary, as the criterion was not to depend alone on the amount of income, but on the amount of any taxes payable at the time; so that it made no sort of difference whether the income tax should exist when such a comparison should be made; but even if the income was to be the criterion, there could not be a fairer

one to judge of the ability of any country to pay taxes.

Lord Holland contended that a tax on income, such as was adopted in this country, could never be the criterion of ability, and his assertion was proved by fact. A tax on the income of every individual was proposed in parliament and agreed to. This tax was estimated to produce a given sum, but it produced very little more than half the estimated sum; measures were still to be taken to render it more productive; therefore he wished to know how it could be a fair criterion. Lord Hobart said the parliament of Ireland had adopted it as a fair criterion, and therefore it was unnecessary for the parliament of England to make any alteration on the subject.

The earl of Caernarvon said, the reason assigned by the last noble lord (Hobart) in vindication of the words objected to by his noble friend had effectually convinced him of their great impropriety, and that they had a secret and dangerous tendency. The income tax, from the mode of its collection, was the most offensive to British feelings, and even to the liberty of the country, and had neither been proposed nor received, but as a temporary expedient. The noble lord had told the house, that the prophetic existence of this tax in the propositions must not be considered as an artful hint of the minister, but as a voluntary pledge of Ireland to its acceptance, and as the stipulated terms of union proposed by Ireland; this his lordship reprobated in the most severe terms, and seriously regretted that the union with Ireland (a measure to which he was cordially a friend) should be contaminated and embarrassed with subjects so foreign

foreign to its nature. Friend as he was to the union with Ireland, and unwilling as he was to let his fears and alarms upon the subject deter him from its adoption, yet he wished they had not brought forward the present articles out of their regular order, as they might then have had the benefit of hearing at the bar information from manufacturers, and others conversant in the trade of Great Britain. Without such information he professed himself unable to form any opinion. His lordship next made some remarks on the union with Scotland, and contended that the case was very different with respect to Scotland and England, as Scotland and England had no debts to prevent an entire union of interests. In the present moment, Great Britain had a debt of 460 millions, paying seventeen millions of interest, and Ireland twenty-five millions; from which he contended that it was impossible to expect, under such circumstances, a complete union of advantages and burthens should take place. After making some more general remarks with respect to the situation of Ireland, he concluded by saying, that he trusted that the resolutions would have the fullest discussion, and that they should not be considered as unalterable because they came from Ireland.

Lord Auckland said, he could not see the propriety of the opposition now started. If noble lords reconsidered the passage now quoted, they would find the words carried the remedy with them; it was there stated "a general tax, if such should be imposed."

After this the amendment was negatived.

Earl Fitzwilliam then proposed another amendment, and said it was the essence of the British constitution,

that every tax was to fall upon those who had agreed to impose it, or on their constituents; but the taxes which the imperial parliament might hereafter impose on Ireland could not be felt by British representatives. He therefore moved, that, for a certain time after the union, the taxes imposed on Ireland should be agreed to by the Irish members only, and those on Great Britain by British members only.

Lord Grenville made a short reply.

Lord Holland supported the amendment, which, however, was negatived.

The earl of Caernarvon objected to that part of the article which stated that the surplus accruing from the revenues of Ireland, after paying the several charges to which the country might be liable, should be applied to local purposes.

Lord Grenville made a short reply.

Lord Caernarvon said, he should object to the clause, if it were only for its obscurity.

Lord Grenville replied, that the obscurity, if any, did not arise from the words of the clause, but from the complication of objects.

This produced a short conversation between lords Grenville, Auckland, and Darnly, when the clause was read and agreed to.

On Monday, April 28, the committee was again resumed for the purpose of taking into consideration the resolutions of the two houses of parliament of Ireland.

Lord Grenville then rose, to open the fourth resolution to the committee, going through the several propositions contained in it, in detail, and explaining the principles of each, and commenting upon them. His lordship said, that it necessarily arose from the nature of

the case, that in uniting the legislatures of the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, a certain portion of Irish members should be infused into the British house of commons; that one hundred had been fixed on, and those apportioned, as stated in the resolution then upon their lordships' table, viz. two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the university of Trinity-College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable towns and boroughs. Here his lordship remarked, that in respect to the union with Scotland, in the present instance, the number of members from Ireland was proportionably greater, because Ireland had peculiar pretensions to indulgence and allowance, when she was called upon to give up her separate legislature. With regard to the twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, who were proposed to have seats in that house, they were to hold their seats by the same tenure with their lordships, viz. for life, which, he observed, was an evident improvement on the scheme of the union with Scotland; and, as it was intended that twenty-eight Irish peers should be chosen by the members of their own body, there could be little doubt but that those noble lords, who were most distinguished by their talents, and were best acquainted with the political interests of their country, would be the persons returned to sit in that house. His lordship observed, that by continuing those peers for life, there would be no room for that cabal and intrigue which might otherwise be inseparable from frequent elections. In the peerage of Scotland it might so happen, though probably not during the lives of any of their lordships, that so many

would be extinct as not to leave more than two lists of candidates. This, however, could not happen in the Irish peerage, as a provision was made, that it should never be reduced below one hundred, which would then leave nearly four lists of candidates. The remaining peers would still, after all, enjoy all the privileges of peerage, but not sit or vote in that house, nor perhaps have the privileges of parliament, with the exception of such of them as should be elected, into the house of commons, who, by that election, lost all their privileges, retaining only their rank. This union differed from that with Scotland in respect to spiritual peers, of which the latter had none; but at the same time that it was necessary the church of Ireland should be represented, it was also desirable that persons who had the extensive care of dioceses should be as much resident in them as possible; and therefore it was proposed that two Irish bishops should be returned to the house of peers by rotation. His lordship next observed, that it was provided in the resolution, “that any person
“holding any peerage of Ireland
“now subsisting, or hereafter to be
“created, shall not be thereby disqualified from being elected to
“serve for any county, city, or
“borough in Great Britain, in the
“house of commons of the united
“kingdom; but that, so long as any
“peer of Ireland shall so continue
“to be a member of the house of
“commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage,
“nor be capable of being elected to
“serve as a peer on the part of
“Ireland, or of voting at any such
“election; and that he shall be
“liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as a
“commoner,

“commoner, for any offence with which he may be charged.” This provision, his lordship conceived, could not be complained of, because it was a voluntary matter, and it must depend on the consent of every Irish peer, if he chose, for the sake of being returned to a seat in the house of commons, to submit to the stipulated privation, and forgoe the privileges of peerage.

Lord Mulgrave objected to that part of the fourth resolution relative to the peers of Ireland being permitted to sit in the house of commons of the united parliament, and be deprived of the privilege of peerage, and liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as commoners. This part his lordship reprobated in the strongest terms, as calculated to create infinite confusion, by blending peers of the realm with commoners, at once vitiating the blood of the nobility, and degrading those of high birth from their rank in society.

In those few words, said his lordship, was couched as much mischief as it was possible to combine in so little language; and he should esteem himself unworthy of his rank and privilege, and ungrateful for the favours of the crown, if he did not oppose a scheme that went to the degradation of the peerage. Could any thing be more monstrous than to see a peer one day bringing down bills to that bar from the house of commons, and the next day sitting and taking a part in the deliberations of their lordships? The provision in some respects was even futile; as an Irish peer had only to resign his other privileges in order to become a commoner, and resign his seat in the house of commons to become a candidate for the peerage. His lordship endeavoured, by several

comparisons, to show the inconsistency of the proposition, and quoted Blackstone in support of his opinion.

The lord chancellor left the woolpack, and expressed much surprise at what had fallen from the noble lord. He asked if any of their lordships, at any time of their lives, estimated so highly their nobility of blood, as to think it at all vitiated by their mixing as legislators with the gentry of England? The noble lord had said, that it would be a degrading thing to see an Irish peer of the first rank come to that bar as a member of the house of commons decorated with ribbands, whilst the youngest Irish baron sat among their lordships. For his part he saw nothing degrading in it, and it had fallen to his lot, when the junior baron of that house, to walk down to the bar to receive messages from the eldest son of the premier duke of England, (the duke of Norfolk) and from Irish peers of higher rank than himself; but he never felt any embarrassment in so doing. What then was there in the superior nobility of Irish peers, that they should feel more degraded by being members of the house of commons, than the eldest sons of British nobility? His lordship, after a few more observations of a similar nature, concluded by saying, he should vote for the words as they stood at present in the resolution.

Lord Mulgrave made a short reply: he said he had not stated that the blood of peers and commoners was different, or that they were two distinct species of men. What the noble lord had said with regard to the eldest sons of British peers now sitting in the house of commons was altogether inapplicable and inconclusive.

The earl of Caernarvon said, that he should have much less occasion to take up their lordships' time, after the objections so fully stated by the noble lord, (lord Mulgrave) to one part of this new system of representation, which had artfully been proposed, as if the interests of Ireland had dictated it. He had listened to the noble secretary of state with all the attention his arguments deserved; and if the subject which he fortified by his opinion could be supported by argument, no person could more effectually establish it. The noble lord set out with expressing his satisfaction, that in so arduous and important an undertaking as that of an union with Ireland, a precedent, such as that of Scotland, presented itself as an example, which proved, that so material an alteration could be effected without danger to the constitution of the country: that the benefit of an union between disjointed parts of the empire might be acquired without trenching upon the principles, or altering the frame of the constitution, which had so deservedly met with the admiration of all writers on the subject: he added an axiom certainly indisputable, but ingeniously worded, to confound all ideas of true representation. He laid it down as indisputable, that both branches of the legislature, lords and commons, represented the public interest; and he might, with equal truth, have added the third branch, and indeed every individual in public office. He should not concede, that the house of commons was less exclusively the personal representatives of the commonalty, less peculiarly their political organ and voice, less the depository of their privileges and rights; nor that the upper house consisted less of an hereditary

peerage, associated to the heads of the church in fixed and undeviating succession; nor that the king was less the supreme sovereign, in whom the legislative and executive power united. That this well-poised government had all the advantages of which human infirmity is capable is certain; and had, as the noble secretary observed, drawn the admiration of all writers. The system of union proposed between Great Britain and Ireland subverted this admirable fabric, and confounded all the principles by which it had been so long sustained. The commonalty of Great Britain were no longer to be a distinct body, represented solely by delegates from their own body, but in a manner contrary to every principle of the constitution. He reprobated, in the strongest terms, the fabricators of this system, and contended that they must have had some private reasons for wishing the subversion of our happy constitution. His lordship, however, most earnestly wished the completion of the union with Ireland, from the persuasion that the strength and prosperity of the empire would be increased.

Lord Grenville said a few words; after which the first proposition of the fourth resolution was then read.

Lord Radnor also made some verbal objections to it, which were answered by Lord Grenville.

Lord Mulgrave moved, that these words—"And every Irish peer, sitting in the house of commons, shall be deprived of his privileges as a peer, and shall be liable to be sued as any commoner of Great Britain," be omitted. The house divided upon the question, that these words do stand part of the resolution, when there appeared—

Contents 52—Non-contents 9.

Lord

Lord Darnly objected to that part of the resolution which regarded the limitation of the peerage.

The house then divided on that proposition of the fourth article, which says, "that his majesty shall be at liberty to create one Irish peerage for every three that become extinct."—Contents 50—Non-contents 7.

The other propositions were read and agreed to without a division; and all further proceedings postponed till Friday, May 2, when the house having, on the motion of lord Grenville, resolved itself into a committee,

Mr. Plumer, as counsel for certain petitioners against the commercial resolution, which permitted the exportation of British wool to Ireland, addressed their lordships at considerable length, setting forth the danger which that staple manufacture would incur from repealing the prohibiting acts against the exportation of raw materials. The house after this agreed to the resolution, and the report was ordered to be received on Monday, May 5, when the order of the day being read for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house on the resolutions of the two houses of parliament,

Lord Grenville called the attention of the committee to the fifth article of the resolutions, viz. that the church of that part of Great Britain called England and Ireland shall be united into one church. His lordship explained the operation and tendency of this article, after which the question was put and the whole resolution agreed to.

Lord Grenville next called their lordships' attention to the sixth article of the union; and pointing out that all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the

growth, produce, or manufacture of each country to the other, should cease and determine from the first day of January, 1801; and that the articles should thenceforth be exported from one country to the other, without duty or bounty, &c. When his lordship had gone through the articles that were enumerated, as intended, he took occasion to say, that the little objection that had been offered on the part of the commercial and manufacturing interests to the proposed articles of union was a strong proof of the enlightened views of those concerned in those interests; and that they considered the union as a wise and beneficial measure to both countries.

Lord Grenville observed, indeed, that one branch of manufacturers well merited the attention of the legislature, and was of considerable importance in the scale of our commerce, viz. the dealers in wool, and the manufacturers of cloth and coating. These manufacturers had presented petitions, and had been heard by their counsel at the bar of that house. But learned and able as the counsel were that were heard at the bar, and well informed as the witnesses appeared to be, he owned they had left no impression on his mind sufficiently powerful to show that there ought to be any alteration in the resolution then under consideration. The two great objections endeavoured to be established were, first, that there was not wool enough in Great Britain to supply the increased demand of the manufacturers; the other was, that the manufacturers would pass over into Ireland under circumstances so advantageous. With regard to the first of these objections, he had always understood that the supply

of the raw material uniformly increased in proportion to the increased demand of the manufacturers of the raw material, however the witnesses examined at the bar contended for the contrary. In order to be satisfied on the subject, he would refer their lordships to the amount of the quantity of cloth manufactured, consumed at home, and exported in the last year, as stated in the papers on the table. In his opinion there was no ground whatever for any apprehension on the score that Ireland would be a powerful rival in the manufacture of an article, the raw material of which was chiefly produced in this country, where the manufacture was established. His lordship concluded by moving that the resolution stand as it was.

Earl Fitzwilliam said a few words upon the subject. He denied that Great Britain and Ireland stood, in respect to manufactures and commerce, in a relative situation sufficiently equal to fit them for a perfect union; and contended that, after an union, the manufacturers in Ireland would have great and material advantages over the manufacturers of Great Britain: here the manufacturers would have to carry on their manufactures under a weight of enormous taxes. In Ireland the taxes were by no means so great. After a few more remarks, his lordship moved an amendment, to continue the export of wool and woollen manufacture to Ireland under the present duties.

Lord Auckland called the attention of their lordships to the full consideration of all that concerned the manufacture of wool, and its exports to Ireland. His residence in Ireland, in an official capacity, had, in a particular manner, occasioned him to make himself thor-

roughly acquainted with the matter. His lordship took a very extensive view of the subject; and said, that the witnesses, though intelligent men, must be convinced, by reflexion and argument, that they had given in several parts of their evidence answers perfectly inconsistent and contradictory. In proof of which, his lordship stated the different prices of wool at different periods, observing that it had risen from 5s. to 11s. and 10d.; and that it was a well-known fact, that when wool was low in price, the flesh of the animal was proportionably dear; and, on the contrary, when wool was high in price, mutton was proportionably cheap. His lordship then compared the exports of Great Britain and Ireland, in various articles; and showed, that even if it were true that Ireland did so suddenly reap all the advantages that the woollen manufacturers apprehended, that she could only possess herself of one-fifteenth of our whole manufactures, while she supplied this country with a large importation of highly and essentially useful articles, such as butter, meat, skins, &c. &c. With regard to the low price of wages in Ireland, it was a mistake, he said, with respect to the wages of manufacturers. Men who could do any thing in manufacture might almost have their own price in Ireland. The labouring class, indeed, who worked in the fields, and did other drudgery, were certainly paid less wages than labourers in this country. After a few more observations relative to the trade with Ireland, his lordship concluded with saying he should give his negative to the noble earl's amendment.

On the question being put, the amendment was negatived.

Earl

Earl Fitzwilliam next proposed another amendment, viz. to take off all the duties on the export of wool to Ireland, to make the whole resolution consistent with itself. The amendment was negatived, and the whole resolution agreed to as it stood.

Lord Grenville then moved the eighth and last resolution, which was agreed to.

Lord Grenville said, he should move that the report should be immediately received, in order to be printed; and he should propose, that it be taken into consideration on the Wednesday following, and that the lords be summoned.

On that day, therefore, (May 7th,) the order of the day for taking into consideration the report of the committee of the whole house, to whom the resolutions of the two houses of the Irish parliament were referred; also the report sent up by the house of commons, with their resolutions, and an address to his majesty on the subject being read,

Lord Grenville said, that he had a variety of alterations and amendments, chiefly verbal, to move in several of the resolutions, in order to make the measure clear and distinct. His lordship said, he would move them one by one, as the words they referred to occurred in the course of the clerk's reading them.

When the clerk read the first article,

The earl of Caernarvon submitted to the house, whether, considering the first article in the same light as the title or preamble of a bill, it would not be adviseable to postpone the consideration of it till after they had gone through the remaining resolutions, as other noble lords, as well as himself, had strong and weighty objections; the

result might therefore be, that all the resolutions, excepting the first, might be thrown out, and then there would be no occasion for the first to be voted at all.

Lord Grenville replied, that voting the first resolution would not pledge any noble lord to vote for any one or more of the remaining resolutions; and that whatever objections might be entertained, noble lords might make them.

The earl of Caernarvon said a few words.

The duke of Clarence also thought it would be more convenient to postpone the consideration of the first resolution till the other resolutions were disposed of.

The first, second, and third resolutions were then voted with few or no amendments.

In the fourth resolution, lord Grenville moved several alterations; and when the house came to the proposition: "That any person, holding any peerage in Ireland, now existing, or hereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the house of commons of the united kingdoms, unless he shall have previously been elected as above, to sit in the house of lords of the united kingdom; but that so long as such peer of Ireland shall so continue to be a member of the house of commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor of being capable of being elected to serve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any such election; and that he shall be liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as a commoner for any offence with which he may be charged."

The earl of Caernarvon said, he could not help calling their lordships' attention, before it was too late, to the fatal consequences of such a legislative union with Ireland. He was prepared to welcome an union with Ireland on the wise principles of the Scotch union, corrected, as it seemed to be intended, by peers elected *for life*, and not exposed to apprehensions for their future elections, influenced by the crown. The interest of England, Scotland, and Ireland, required that the principles on which the Scotch union was framed should in every other point (except the periods of election) be followed; but the united interests of the three nations had not had sufficient weight to counterbalance the secret motives which had operated to the subversion of the constitution, in some most essential points, under the mask of a necessity which did not exist, and under the pretence of conciliating Irish interests, which were clearly repugnant to the means employed. His lordship contended, it could not be for the interest of the Irish peerage, that the body of the Irish peers should be perpetuated by subsequent creations, for the sole purpose of preventing the honours of posterity ever merging completely into the British peerage, with an hereditary seat in the legislature. It could never be the interest of Ireland at large, that subsequent creations (which would probably fall more on English favourites than on native Irish residents) should transfer the elections from the original peerage to their numerous English colleagues of subsequent creation. The commonalty of Great Britain would no longer be represented solely by delegates from their own body; peers of Ireland,

he said, would sit in the house of commons with Irish commoners, partaking of the same privileges, and of different interests; and, as Irish peers, would represent British boroughs. This new principle, said his lordship, established *for ever* (not for a time, as in the Scotch union) an *elective body of peers*, in a house whose constitutional principle is that of being an hereditary and permanent barrier between the crown and the sudden impulse of popular and elective prejudices. On this his lordship dwelt at considerable length. After which he concluded by moving to leave out the whole of the proposition.

Lord Hay (earl of Kinnoull) observed, that, with regard to the question under consideration, it certainly appeared to him to be a violent infringement of the constitution, and extremely liable to great danger, at a distance of time, when the government was not in such good hands as at present, to suffer peers of the realm to sit in the house of commons; he, therefore, should think it his duty to join with the noble earl in his motion, to omit that part of the resolution which enabled peers to sit in the other house of parliament.

Lord Romney said he had, in the committee, divided for the resolution as it stood; but, from what he had that day heard, he really thought the danger of the constitution so great, that unless his noble relation (lord Grenville) would assure him that the Irish parliament deemed the proposition absolutely necessary, and would not agree to the union without it stood a part of the article, he was inclined to vote with the noble earl for his amendment.

Lord Grenville said, that, in the formation of so great a measure as the

the union, it was impossible to proceed a single step without trenching upon the constitution. - However, the true policy was, to violate it in no greater extent than absolute necessity required. In the present case, the union with Scotland was the precedent studiously kept in view; but were that measure now to be brought about, with how much greater force might not this noble relation exclaim against the violation of the constitution from the measures which that union involved? By the union of Scotland, the hereditary peerage of that house was broken in upon, and an elective and representative peerage introduced and mixed with them; and yet all the great statesmen who carried that measure into effect thought it the most expedient means of putting it in execution. In the proposed union with Ireland, that error was corrected, because the twenty-eight peers of Ireland, once elected from among their own body, were to hold their seats by the same tenure as their lordships did, viz. for their lives. With respect to the English gentry who had been favoured by his majesty with the honour of an Irish peerage, in proportion as the situation of the peers of Ireland, who were to sit in that house by election, was improved, and rendered preferable to that of Scotch peers, so was the situation of the English Irish peers deteriorated, because the English Irish peers stood no chance of being elected to represent the peerage of Ireland, and it would be hard to exclude them from all exercise of legislative functions. His lordship then said, he wished every noble lord, who felt and meant to support the same objection as had been started by his noble relation, would hold in his mind, that it became in-

dispensably necessary, on principles of justice in framing the union, to take care that such Irish peers as were not chosen representative peers of Ireland, and thence entitled to seats in that house, should not be utterly excluded from the possibility of becoming legislators, but might have the chance of enjoying that honour, if they chose to accept it on the conditions provided in the article.

Lord Romney expressed himself fully satisfied with the explanation given.

Lord Mulgrave supported the earl of Caernarvon's amendment.

Lord Somers said he was perfectly satisfied with the explanation of lord Grenville; he therefore should vote for the resolution as it stood.

The earl of Fife supported the amendment.

Lord Holland spoke in favour of the amendment.

The lord chancellor made a few observations; after which, he said he should vote for the resolution as it stood.

Lord Bolton said, he thought the words of the proposition, if well examined, came very near the option suggested by the noble lord near him (lord Romney), and that the being enabled to sit in the house of commons was a privilege that the English Irish peers ought to have, as it was not likely that they would be chosen to represent the peerage in Ireland, as that honour would probably be confined to those ancient peers of Ireland who had local interests and connexion in Ireland by their long residence there. His lordship said, he would support the proposition as it stood in the resolution.

Lord Hobart said, that not to agree in this resolution would be throwing a very unjust censure on the

the Irish parliament, by supposing that they had not given the subject every possible consideration.

The earl of Caernarvon in explanation said, the noble secretary had certainly misconceived his objections, if he supposed them answered by saying he might as well have urged them against the Scotch union, which he professed to approve as against the present which he condemned. If this was, he said, intended as an ingenious insinuation without argument, to prove the union of Scotland and that now proposed to be similar, and to infer it from a supposition that the arguments he used against the one operated equally against the other, it was certainly a mis-statement of his objection: the noble secretary had not fairly, he said, answered a single objection made; he might indeed oppose arguments by assertions, and support them by a majority, but posterity would judge the principles he had supported, and the country might avenge the injuries brought upon the constitution. Here his lordship made some very pertinent remarks, and said the representatives which were to come over from Ireland would not find the constitution they had renounced, nor that which had been the pride of this country: they would be received as persons who had bargained for the destruction of our constitution by the surrender of their own; or, said he, we must condole with them as having been mutually defrauded of our most valued rights.

Lord Clifton (earl of Darnley) observed, with regard to the part of the resolution that had been objected to, viz. the proposition respecting Irish peers being allowed to hold seats in the house of commons, that he did not so much disapprove of that, as of the subse-

quent proposition empowering his majesty to continue the creation of new Irish peers.

The earl of Hillsborough (marquis of Downshire) approved of the amendment of the noble earl, and thought the resolution in all its parts highly unconstitutional.

The house at length divided on the amendment. — Contents 48 — Non-contents 12.

A debate then arose on the next proposition respecting the continuing of the Irish peerage, which was strenuously objected to by the earl of Caernarvon, lord Holland, the earl of Radnor, and others.

The earl of Caernarvon said, he doubted whether the prerogative of the crown was entitled to create English gentlemen peers of Ireland.

The earl of Radnor moved to leave out the proposition.

Lord Holland said, when the twenty-eight Irish peers should come into that house, the ancient hereditary peers who sat in it would be a minority, and the influence of the crown enormously increased.

The house then divided on the amendment. — Contents (for the words standing as they did) 42 — Non-contents 9.

Earl Fitzwilliam proposed the insertion of words, importing that of the 100 Irish members who sat in the house of commons place-men should be liable to the same disqualifications as English place-men were by law liable to. This motion was objected to by lord Grenville, who had a provision to that effect.

Lord Hobart said, the Irish place and pension bills rendered the amendment proposed by the noble earl wholly unnecessary.

The lord chancellor observed that the amendment would enable
more

more Irish members holding places to sit in the house than it would exclude.

The amendment was then negatived, and the question was put on the whole article, and it was agreed to. The fifth resolution was then moved and agreed to. While the house were on the consideration of the sixth,

Earl Fitzwilliam moved an amendment to prevent the exportation of wool. The house divided—Contents (for the words standing) 40—Non-contents 4.

Lord Grenville then moved the seventh, and was moving verbal insertions, when

The earl of Caernarvon said another day should be given for the reconsideration of the many amendments that had been moved and inserted by the noble secretary.

Lord Grenville said, he did not wish to press any thing that was disagreeable. He understood they could be printed as amended early in the morning: he therefore would go through the remainder that night, and move that the house meet at eleven the next day to reconsider them, and vote the address.

Having gone through the whole, lord Grenville moved that the same amendments be made in the resolutions of the house of commons, and that the two reports so amended be re-examined, and the address taken into consideration the next day, which was agreed to.

The following day, May 8th, the order of the day being read, lord Grenville moved, that the house concur with the commons in the resolution as amended by their lordships, and also in the address, and that the blank in the address be filled up with the words—"lords spiritual and temporal."

Lord Bolton stated to the house the many important advantages that would result from the measure of the proposed union, not only to the general interests of the empire, but to the kingdom of Ireland in particular. He said he spoke with the greater confidence on the subject, as he had some years ago been enabled to form a tolerably correct opinion of the internal situation of Ireland from the official situation which he held in that country under a noble duke (the duke of Rutland). During that noble duke's administration of the government of Ireland, the commercial propositions were sent over, amended by the British parliament, and brought forward at the first convenient and suitable opportunity; and he had the honour to move them in the Irish house of commons. Those propositions their lordships well knew had failed, though obviously beneficial to Ireland. From the moment the commercial propositions had failed, it became evident to the ablest statesmen in that country, that matters of a political nature could not stand upon their then footing, and every year had proved the necessity of drawing the two countries closer together, and cementing their interests. The union, his lordship said, after the fullest investigation that he could give it, appeared to him admirably calculated to answer all the purposes requisite at once to tranquillize Ireland; and, by introducing industry, and increasing civilization in that country, would tend to add to its opulence and its power. His lordship concluded by saying that the resolutions and the address had his hearty concurrence.

Earl Fitzwilliam said, nothing but a sense of his duty could have induced him to oppose the measure,

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at the same time that no man was more ready to admit that a perfect and complete union was of all things the most desirable to his mind; yet he felt himself bound to look at, and examine, whether the articles proposed, as the grounds of that union, carried in them sentiments of unison, or whether they did not contain principles and seeds of disunion and separation. To form a real union with Ireland, there ought to be a free and open participation of advantages of every description between the two countries. His lordship contended that this was not the case in the present instance. In the commercial article there were innumerable clogs and shackles put upon the commerce of Ireland. In the financial article, the taxes and contributions of the people of Great Britain and Ireland are distinct and different in an essential degree. In the article of a legislative nature, a direct and violent infringement was made on the constitution of this country—an infringement pregnant with the greatest danger. His lordship said, there had been no satisfactory reason given as yet, why it was necessary to remove the seat of legislature from Dublin to London. During the late unfortunate rebellion in Ireland, the government, backed by the parliament of Ireland, were able to suppress the rebellion; why then, said his lordship, after such recent proof of the advantages of a resident parliament, was the kingdom of Ireland to be deprived of reaping again the same advantages, should any such occur? After some observations of the same nature, his lordship concluded by signifying his dissent from the measure.

Lord Camden made some remarks upon what had fallen from earl Fitzwilliam, relative to the great

advantages which the executive power of Ireland received from the parliament of that kingdom, from which the noble earl had argued the impolicy of removing it. After speaking in the highest terms of respect of the parliament of Ireland, he remarked that they had not always enjoyed the confidence of the country; from this consideration, his lordship thought the union of the Irish parliament with that of Great Britain would be of the greatest advantage. It had been said, that Ireland would suffer much in her consequence and independence by the measure. If, in the consideration of this question, he did not think the interests, feelings, and consequence of that country were amply considered, if he did not look to the most beneficial consequences to Ireland from that measure, it would not have had that cordial support from him which he would now give it. The union proposed they should be completely admitted into all the discussions and deliberations in which the imperial parliament was concerned. With respect to the catholic question, he begged to be distinctly understood as giving no opinion upon it; but so far he would say, that he thought even a non-acquiescence in these claims from the imperial parliament would be considered by that body of men as the effect of their deliberate judgment; on the other hand, a similar conduct in the Irish parliament under the present circumstances would be construed into prejudice and pique.

The marquis of Townshend spoke at considerable length in favour of the measure. Among other advantages which, his lordship said, would result from the union, the industry that it would introduce would necessarily carry civilization

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with it, and give security to property; the consequence of which would be, the more constant residence of the landholders and men of property. Another good effect, his lordship said, he hoped would follow the union; as men of property became resident on their own estates, they would turn their attention to their true interests, and get rid of their middle-man, as he was called, who was compounded of an attorney and an exciseman. His lordship added other arguments in favour of the union.

The earl of Westmorland rose merely to give his testimony in support of the measure. His lordship enumerated several of the objections which had been urged against the union, and combated them. In this measure he saw the removal of the causes of the present unfortunate state of Ireland, and he desired any man to look at the state of that country, and the frame of that government, either under the restrictive act of George I.; under the septennial bill, which passed in lord Townshend's administration, or since the famed constitution of 1782;—and if he could draw political effects from political causes, he would see in it nothing but the seeds of disorganization, discontent, and disorder. His lordship pointed out the disadvantages resulting from the present state of connexion between the two countries; and insisted that by the manner in which the government of Ireland is necessarily conducted, no one uniform system could be maintained. Another point urged by his lordship was, that this great kingdom had not more voice in the imperial concerns than the parishes of Paddington or Fishguard, and asked if any great country would be satisfied in such a state? Another ground of

dissatisfaction was alleged to be the restrictions on the catholics; but he should not trouble their lordships at large upon that question: from the best observations he could make, the restriction on catholics sitting in parliament had not in the smallest degree tended to produce the disturbances in that country; and in this opinion he was confirmed by every rebel and traitor that had been examined upon the subject. His lordship next adverted to what had been said by noble lords, who wished a complete union like the union with Scotland; he was sorry to differ, and thought this union more complete than the Scotch union. In the Scotch, the revenue was similar, the laws and ecclesiastical establishments permanently and perpetually different. In the union proposed, the laws and ecclesiastical establishment are similar, the revenue (and that only temporarily) different. After a few more general remarks, he concluded by supporting the address.

Lord King spoke against the union.

Lord Clifton (earl of Darnley), before he entered upon the general question before the house, hoped they would permit him to repeat those objections to a particular part of the plan of union. His lordship said he was very ready to admit that in a great and complicated arrangement of this nature a deviation from established principles might be absolutely necessary. In so difficult and complicated an arrangement he was well aware of the impossibility of steering clear of all objections which might be made upon constitutional and other grounds. The objections, his lordship observed, which had been made in this country, had neither been formidable in point of number,

ber, nor urged with any degree of correctness or success. One of the most prominent objections was, that the influence of the crown would be considerably increased by the addition of one hundred Irish members to the present house of commons. In answer to this, it might be fairly stated, that as no union could take place without the introduction of some representation for Ireland, no possible plan that could have been devised would have been so consonant to popular principles, and so little likely to give any thing like undue influence to the crown, as that before the house, which selects from the present Irish house of commons all the members for counties, with the addition only of a few for the principal cities and towns, and which, together with the election of peers for life, secures the independence of the Irish representatives as completely as the nature of the case would admit. His lordship next adverted to the objection which had been made on this side of the water, that which came from the woollen manufacturers. However, it did not appear that their alarms were well founded, or that Ireland was likely soon to deprive them of their great and flourishing manufacture by the free importation of English wool. Upon this subject his lordship dwelt at considerable length. Another grand objection which was urged was, that an union with Great Britain would be a surrender of Irish independence. In the first place, he said, it would be necessary to consider whether the boasted and favourite independence be real or imaginary. Ireland was, he observed, always treated as a subordinate, and even as a conquered country; the consequence was, that Ireland took every opportunity of

manifesting her impatience under the yoke, and in the American war seized upon the opportunity of extorting from Great Britain a participation in the advantages of her commerce. However, they did not stop here, but proceeded further to claim, and finally to obtain from the British government their boasted settlement of 1782: upon this his lordship made some very pertinent remarks, nearly the same, however, as were urged in the commencement of the debate.

Lord Holland said a few words in answer to lord Camden, with respect to what his lordship had asserted, viz. that the parliament of Ireland had not the confidence of the people. This, he observed, was an extraordinary declaration to come from the noble earl, after he had acknowledged his obligations to that very parliament. The noble earl had given no proof, however, that the parliament of Ireland had not the confidence of the people.

The earl of Hillsborough (marquis of Downshire) reprobated the measure, as fraught with every possible mischief to Ireland. In 1782, indeed, up to the year 1785, an union would have been very desirable, but from that time down to the present their commerce and prosperity had increased so rapidly, that an union was no longer necessary. His lordship observed also, that each of the resolutions was full of the most irreconcilable contradictions, differences, and inconsistencies: in one of them, the British constitution was grossly violated and broken in upon, and in the same resolution the prerogative of the crown was limited and struck at. Another objection to the measure was, it was directly against the sense of the Irish people; and no union, if it really deserved that name,

name, ought to be forced on any country against its will. He should therefore give it his decided negative.

Lord Grenville made a short reply. He said, that no consideration should induce him to go at large into the discussion of a measure to which he had already spoken so frequently. However, he would advert to one particular which had fallen from the last speaker, relative to the state of Ireland from the year 1782, when they had been told that an union was desirable, and asked if there had been no factions, no disturbances in the kingdom? On the contrary, had it not been exposed to the utmost peril and hazard from its internal factions and commotions? But his lordship had said, an union might be desirable up to 1785, but no longer. Had nothing then happened since that period, to show the necessity of adopting some measure for cementing the two kingdoms, with a view to the safety and security of Ireland? His lordship next adverted to his majesty's declaration in 1782, that something remained to be done. Lord Hillsborough spoke in explanation, and observed that an union would have been desirable much earlier than 1782, viz. in 1768, when the octennial bill took place.

The marquis of Townshend observed, that the opposers of the octennial bill were the very persons who opposed the union at this time.

The question being put, the house divided.

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It was then moved, that a conference be presently held with the commons, in order to deliver back the address and resolutions, and inform them that the house concurred with them upon each, but desired their concurrence in the amend-

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ments they had made. The same was ordered, and the duke of Portland, earl Spencer, the earl of Liverpool, the bishop of Rochester, lord Napier, lord Auckland, and others, were appointed managers.

A message was accordingly sent down to the commons, who resorted to the painted chamber; where a conference was held, and the duke of Portland reported what had passed; and as soon as the managers returned, the house adjourned to one o'clock the next day.

On Tuesday, May 9th, a message was received from the commons, that they had agreed to the amendments made by their lordships in the address and resolutions; and it having been previously arranged that the address and resolutions should be carried to his majesty by a deputation from both houses, the lord steward (earl of Leicester) and lord Walsingham were deputed on the part of the house of lords; and the secretary at war, the hon. Dudley Ryder, the hon. Silvester Douglas, and lord Hawkesbury, on the part of the commons.

Upon sending to St. James's, it was found that his majesty had set off for Windsor. The deputies therefore were under the necessity of setting out for that place.

The proceedings in the house of commons were nearly similar to those in the house of lords; but as some arguments of a different nature were adduced in that place, we shall, in conformity with our general plan, give a short summary of the debates on a subject of such great importance to both kingdoms.

It was the 21st of April before the house of commons proceeded to take into consideration his majesty's message, and the resolutions of the two houses of the Irish parliament;

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all of which being moved for and read,

Mr. Jones rose to speak, when the speaker informed him, that it would be on the question of his leaving the chair that he might make any observations or opposition he thought proper.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, as the present was a question which arose out of a measure proposed by the house originally, and afterwards particularly recommended to his majesty, in which recommendation the house had expressly pledged themselves, that if the propositions should prove agreeable to the people and parliament of Ireland, they would then follow them up with such after proceedings as should be deemed necessary for the securing, on the most solid foundation, the happiness and prosperity of the whole empire: he therefore hoped that the honourable gentleman would not think of making any opposition to the speaker's leaving the chair. That was a motion made only for the purpose of the house resolving itself into a committee of the whole house, that each member might have an opportunity to deliver his sentiments upon the subject.

Mr. Jones made a few observations in explanation; after which the question of the speaker's leaving the chair was put, and carried without a division.

The house then resolved itself into a committee of the whole house; Mr. Silvester Douglas in the chair.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose and said, that the sentiments of both houses had been so clearly and so decisively expressed in the vote which had been given on this important subject, during the last session of parliament, that he felt it unnecessary to renew the arguments advanced and acceded to with re-

spect to the advantage, expedience, and necessity of the measure: he, therefore, should only trouble the committee so far as to recall to their minds the magnitude of the question which was then submitted to their consideration, and to remind them, that it was not one partial consideration which claimed their attention, but a consideration in which the dearest and most essential interests of both countries were most intimately connected. The great object was to communicate to Ireland a fair participation in the resources and prosperity of Great Britain, by transferring to it a share and just proportion of that capital and industry which, he said, had raised this nation to its present power and opulence.

He trusted the committee would feel no difficulty in agreeing with him, that it was not any separate, detached, or limited arrangement to which they were bound to direct their attention, but to the aggregate and collective system of incorporative union in all its branches and relations: he, therefore, would not trouble the committee any further, than by taking a short review of the propositions respecting the union which had been agreed to by the parliament of Ireland, and which were founded upon the resolutions that had already passed both houses here. In the first article of the union which presented itself, there was nothing new but the date and regulation of formal notice. In the second, respecting the succession of the imperial crowns of both kingdoms, the terms, he said, were precisely the same as in the resolution which passed that and the other house: and the third merely related to the united representation of both countries, and the title which it was to take. The other arrangements were

were unquestionably of a more important nature, and might be divided into five leading branches—the legislature, the church, commercial regulations, contributions to the exigencies of the empire, and the courts of justice. In looking at these various articles, he would request gentlemen to compare them with the resolutions to which they had already agreed. They would recollect they had agreed that the united kingdom should be represented in one and the same parliament, and that the number of members representing Ireland should be fixed by the parliament of that country. They were now, he said, by his majesty's message, put in possession of the discussion of the Irish legislature, and were required to give their opinion on the article relative to the share which Ireland was to have in the component parts of the parliament of the united kingdom. The first question to which he would call their attention was, to inquire whether the resolution of the Irish parliament, on the article of representation, was such as they ought to sanction. He admitted the difficulty of obtaining grounds sufficiently clear and conclusive to enable them to decide what the exact number ought to be. Yet as a number was to be absolutely fixed, it followed, they must adopt some principle as the basis of their determination, and he knew of none superior to that which had been resorted to in the legislature of Ireland. The principle established by them was founded upon a comparative statement of the population of both kingdoms, as well as the revenue of both. The number of members fixed for the counties and two principal cities was sixty-eight, and those for the most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs, were regulated at thirty-one, who would be selected without partiality. Hav-

ing adverted to the article respecting the number of representatives for the commons of Ireland, on the ground that they could afford no cause of suspicion as to any increase of the influence of the crown, he next adverted to the arrangements respecting the house of peers and the members to be returned, and said, as the members for the commons of Ireland were nearly double in number to those of Scotland, the same rule would be observed with the peerage, which, therefore, was to consist of thirty-two members. It was also understood, that such peers of Ireland as might not be among the twenty-eight temporal peers should be allowed to sit in the united parliament until elected. Such a measure, in his opinion, could not be thought unconstitutional. With respect to the article providing for the security of the church, he should only observe, that no danger was likely to assail it, when incorporated with our own. With regard to trade and its alteration, when it could be done without giving a shock to existing capital, it ought to be extended to all the empire.

The next article, and the only one consisting of minute details, related to apportioning the shares of the revenue of each country respectively. He said it was a circumstance much to be wished, that the finances of both countries were so nearly alike, that the system of both could be identified; but, as from the different proportions of debt, and the different stages of civilization and commerce, and the different wealth of the countries, that desirable object was rendered impracticable, at least for some time to come, it therefore became an important question, Would they defer the advantage of the union, because they could not at once carry it to the extent they could wish? Or would they defer

it until, by the increase of the debt of England, through the means of the sinking fund, the two countries had so far approximated to each other that an identity of finance might be established in the first instance? The next articles which remained were such, that he thought no objection could be made to them; they related merely to the purposes of agriculture, and some charitable institutions. The only one which he thought necessary to trouble the committee with related to the preservation of the courts, civil, military, and maritime, except as they might hereafter be regulated by the imperial parliament. After some general observations upon the whole, he concluded by proposing the articles voted by the Irish parliament for the adoption of the committee.

Mr. Grey said, it was not his intention to follow the right honourable gentleman through the reasoning he had adduced in support of the measure; he should chiefly confine himself to state what was neglected to be urged last year, to object to the principle of the measure, and the time in which it was brought forward. It was stated in the message of the lord-lieutenant, that the only ground on which the measure could pass was a change in the opinion of the public. And it was afterwards stated, in a speech of the lord-lieutenant, to the Irish parliament, and more clearly and positively in the speech of the minister, that five-sevenths of the country, and all the principal commercial towns, except Dublin, had petitioned in favour of the union. The way in which it was attempted to be made out that five-sevenths of the country had petitioned for the union, was by saying that nineteen counties had, and that these counties constitute

five-sevenths of the surface of Ireland. That petitions were presented from several different counties he would not deny; but by what means were they obtained, and by whom were they signed? The lord-lieutenant, who, besides being the chief civil magistrate in the kingdom, is commander of a disciplined army of 170,000 men, who is able to proclaim martial-law when he pleases, and to establish the arbitrary trial of a court martial, in his progress through the kingdom procured these petitions, which he said were signed by few names, and those by no means the most respectable. Fortunately, said Mr. Grey, there were many petitions on the other side, which were not obtained by solicitation, and at illegal meetings, but at public assemblies, of which legal notice had been given. Twenty-seven counties had petitioned against the measure: the petition from the county of Down was signed by 17,000 respectable independent men; and all others were in a similar proportion. Upon this Mr. Grey spoke at some length, and begged the attention of the committee while he adverted to some of the favourite arguments of the unionists. Their grand source of argument, he said, was the experience of the benefits derived from the union with Scotland. He had attended to that point, and he could say, after the most mature deliberation, that he could see no analogy between the circumstances of the Scotch union, and those which called for a union with Ireland, nor could he apprehend that the same consequences would follow from them. In the union between Scotland and England there was no physical impediment: the relative situation of the two countries was such, that the king himself could administer the executive government in both; and

and there was no occasion for a separate establishment being kept up in each. The great difference, said Mr. Grey, between Scotland and England, was not between people and people, but between parliament and parliament. The Scotch had prohibited the importation of English goods into Scotland; they had established a trading company, which interfered with the colonial arrangements of England, and nearly embroiled her with Spain; they had refused to limit the succession of the crown; and had even enacted, that it should not descend to the same person with the crown of England. An act was about to have been brought into the English parliament to render all Scotsmen aliens, and another to fit out a fleet to attack all Scotch vessels they should fall in with. Here, Mr. Grey observed, there was no alternative but union or war. The next observation Mr. Grey made was relative to the catholics of Ireland, he said it were to be wished that the catholics should be distinctly informed what advantages they were to expect. If the privileges held out to them were sufficient to conciliate their support to the measure, he did not see the wisdom of insinuating to them vague hopes of future benefits. "Indeed," said Mr. Grey, "we know that the keeper of the king's conscience in the sister kingdom had given it as his opinion, that the claims of the catholics of Ireland could not be granted by his majesty, without a violation of his coronation oath." If the union should take place, notwithstanding the general disapprobation of the people, he wished that it might tend to strengthen the connexion between the two countries, as much as he believed in his conscience that it threatened the only solid bond of connexion, that

of affection and kindness; and that it must prove injurious to the real power of the state. Mr. Grey concluded by moving, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to direct his ministers to suspend all proceedings on the Irish union, till the sentiments of the Irish people respecting that measure could be ascertained."

Mr. Johnston spoke in favour of the measure at some length; and concluded by saying, that he cordially concurred in the vote that had been proposed by the right honourable gentleman.

Colonel Loftus wished to set an honourable gentleman (Mr. Grey) right with respect to his observation; viz. 'that many English officers were introduced into the Irish house of commons, without their having any connexion, either by property or otherwise, with Ireland.' He instanced general Craddock, and other officers, as exceptions to that assertion.

Mr. Grey spoke in explanation, and said, when he observed that a general and several officers of the staff had been introduced into the Irish parliament without its appearing that they had any connexion with that country, he confessed that he alluded principally to general Lake.

Doctor Lawrence spoke against the measure.

Mr. Sheridan said, that it appeared now to be fairly understood, that the chancellor of the exchequer had brought the question to this issue, that the measure of the union should be persisted in, because it was courted and sanctioned by the general and independent assent of the Irish people; and that, as this point was ascertained or disproved, the measure should be persevered in or abandoned. But where was

the proof that the union had that general approbation, that independent assent of the Irish nation? A number of addresses and declarations were mentioned as a proof; but where were those addresses? The addresses against were easy to be found. If the measure was to be carried thus, he had no hesitation in saying that it was an act of tyranny and oppression, and must become the fatal source of new discontents and future rebellions.

Mr. Dundas said a few words in answer to what had been asserted; viz. 'that the measure was contrary to the consent of the Irish people.'

Mr. Tierney had no objection to the measure, if it could be proved that it was the choice of the Irish people. But, from the information he had received, he had not the smallest doubt but the sense of the people of Ireland was against the union. But it was alleged that the sense of the house of commons of Ireland was in favour of union. Now, what was the fact? Why, the last year there were but 105 against the project of union, whereas the minority amounted this year to 120 members. Was this a proof of the policy and justice of an union? That in the house of commons in Ireland, 120 was against the measure, a number bearing the same proportion as 233 in the British parliament. Now, would not any man say, that if he saw such a minority as 223 against the right honourable gentleman, the minister was defeated?

Lord Carysfort considered the measure wise, politic, and advantageous to the two countries; and observed, that there was a great balance of the whole property of the nation in favour of it. The property of the lords who voted for the union was as ten to one more than that of those who voted against

it. There was not 120, but 138 members for the union in the commons, including the two tellers and the speaker.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that it had been said last year, when the parliament was against the union, "reject it;" and they tell us, said he, this night, appeal to the people. He never could consent to such doctrine. There might be occasions, but he hoped they would ever be few, when an appeal to the people was the just mode of proceeding on important subjects; but the present was not a fit moment to appeal to the people of Ireland. Besides, the people of Ireland had concurred in it.

Mr. Grey made a short reply, and said it was entertaining to hear the minister refuse to appeal to the people, though all the world knew the minister did at one time appeal to the people. The early idol of his ambition was now also abandoned.

Lord Sheffield said a few words in corroboration of the facts adduced by lord Carysfort, after which the house divided on Mr. Grey's motion.—Ayes 30—Noes 236.

The three first propositions were then moved and carried without a division.

The house being resumed, Mr. Douglas brought up the report of the committee, and the house adjourned till the next day.

Tuesday, April 22, when the house having resolved itself into a committee, the chancellor of the exchequer said, in consequence of the arrangement made the preceding night, the discussion of the fourth article was to be deferred till Thursday. The article, therefore, to which he would call their attention was that which respected finance—that stated the contribution which Ireland

land was to pay. As he had mentioned before the policy and fairness of the provisions of the article, he would not further trouble the committee. If any gentleman wished for information or explanation, he was ready to give him all in his power.

Doctor Lawrence said, that it was of the utmost consequence, that the system which should be adopted should not operate unequally. The standards which had been assumed were by no means a just criterion of the respective wealth of the two countries. The amount of exports and imports only showed their mercantile wealth, and nothing could be inferred from their consumption of exciseable articles.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that when he opened that part of the subject the preceding day, he had admitted the impossibility of finding any one certain criterion of the wealth of the two countries. The utmost that could be done was to adopt the most reasonable; and it was a great confirmation of his opinion, that he had adopted the most reasonable, since the learned gentleman, with all his ingenuity and attention to the subject, had not been able to offer another. The exports and imports proved the best criterion of mercantile wealth, and in aid of that criterion the home consumption was added. The demand must be in proportion to the population and wealth.

Doctor Lawrence thought it would be better to wait till the circumstances of the two countries would allow their finances to be completely consolidated. He then read a motion, which he said he might afterwards make; viz. that after the words "twenty years," there should be inserted, "and the contributions to be paid by each

"nation shall be imposed by its own representatives."

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he was surprised to hear such a dreadful remedy proposed for such a trifling inconvenience. What danger, what possibility, was there of Ireland being oppressed, since the proportion of what she should pay was already fixed?

The solicitor-general said it was rather difficult to imagine, that the British parliament would conspire to lay taxes upon Ireland for the purpose of easing themselves. For, if they were thus to affect the trade of Ireland, by selecting any particular object of taxation, each member would deeply affect himself; whereas, for two pounds he would lay upon Ireland, he must impose seven pounds on Great Britain.

Mr. Banks would not have risen to oppose the resolution then before the committee but from a conviction that the measure was impolitic. In his opinion, the effect of such an union as was proposed would be to disturb the settled system of the commerce and revenue of Ireland, without benefiting either kingdom in any marked degree. He observed also, that the same advantages, the same commercial immunities and distinctions, might be given to Ireland by a treaty of amity and commerce, as were held out by the present measure.

Dr. Lawrence wished to suggest the propriety of not taking the income tax as a criterion for the mutual rates of taxation of both kingdoms. Taking it in that light was hinting that this tax was to be perpetual.

The chancellor of the exchequer made a short reply, and asked what other tax could be selected as a better criterion? As to the perpetuity of the income tax, he must differ

differ from the learned gentleman; that tax, in his opinion, was the best criterion that could be adopted in the present instance. He did not hope that it might be perpetual, though it might sound harshly, because it was not wise for a country at war not to adopt such a system as might tend to relieve its accumulating burthens under such emergencies.

The question was then put on the seventh article, and agreed to. After which the house was resumed, and the further consideration of the articles deferred till Friday, April 25, when

The chancellor of the exchequer rose and said, he was not aware, after what he had stated on a former night, that it would be necessary for him to spend time in explaining or showing the propriety of the fourth article. However, there was only one alteration he proposed to make in the printed resolution, which was, that after the words "it shall be lawful for the present members of the Irish house of commons to be returned to the united parliament," there be inserted these: "Provided always, and be it hereby enacted, that not more than twenty of the members so returned shall hold any place or pension under the crown: that, if the number be greater, those above that number, who most lately received their office, shall resign it; and that no person in office shall be eligible for Ireland, as long as there are twenty Irish members who already hold offices."

Mr. Grey said, there were several amendments he wished to move to this article; however, he would defer moving them till the report should be brought up. There was one particular which he could not

help now strenuously opposing, viz. the extension of the number of Irish placemen who should sit in the house to twenty. Thus one-fifth of the whole might hold places. According to the noble lord's statement, there were only fifty-two placemen at present in the British house of commons, which did not constitute one-tenth part of the whole. Mr. Grey then moved that the number be limited to ten.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that though the number of places held by members of the British house of commons did not exceed fifty-two, there was a much larger number tenable. This, he observed, was a pretty clear proof of the moderation of the crown, and that it would never abuse the confidence intrusted to it. There were two points which he would wish to lay down: that it was not proper to make it part of the union, to fix definitely the number of places to be held by the Irish members; and that it was not proper to leave the matter altogether undetermined, as such a number might be held by them as might influence their decision on the final arrangement. He had wished to make the limitation rather higher than was necessary, because he thought it would be improper to reduce any who had performed services to their country to the disagreeable alternative of either resigning their employments, or ceasing to represent their constituents. It had been stated on a former night, that great corruption must have been practised towards those who voted for the union in Ireland, as, out of these, there were 116 who held offices under government; on this occasion he could not help correcting an error so very gross. The honourable member had doubled the number of Irish members

members of every description who held offices; and, of these, only 48 voted for the union.

Mr. Grey said, he believed the former statement to be very much within the fact.

Mr. Banks said, he felt considerable alarm at the introduction of 100 Irish members into the British house of commons; and particularly that so many of them as twenty should be allowed to hold places or pensions. These twenty, he said, we might count pretty surely upon voting with the minister; and many would be connected with them by blood, by friendship, by civility, or by interest. He thought the most proper way would be, to allow only the same proportion of placemen amongst them as there now was among ourselves.

The secretary of war observed, there were two questions: 1st, What should be done finally to prevent the over influence of the crown? the 2d, What temporary regulations should now be made for that purpose? The first, he said, it was impossible to discuss then; the second he should have thought it much better to have left unsettled.

Mr. Harrison wished to know, whether the twenty members who were to come with places on their backs would be at liberty to accept others on this side of the water?

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that as many Irish offices were tenable by British members of parliament, it would be very unfair not to permit British offices to be held by Irish members. An honourable gentleman had said, that all those places which were to return members were close boroughs. He allowed that several of them were; but he never said nor thought they were a grievance. They were the principal places in Ireland, and

ought to be preferably represented.

Mr. Buxton thought the union would trench more upon the prerogative of the crown than the rights of the people.

Dr. Lawrence remarked, that as the population of Great Britain was estimated at ten millions, and that of Ireland only at three, Ireland ought not to be allowed to send so many members as 100, while Great Britain sends only 558.

Mr. Wilberforce said, that as the resolution was to pass, he should rather vote for it as it was, than make any specific alteration in it.

Mr. Grey's amendment was then negatived without a division, and the fourth resolution was agreed to by the committee. The house was resumed, and the report brought up.

Mr. Tierney asked, when the report would come under consideration.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that on Thursday he hoped he should be able to bring forward the report on the resolution now agreed to by the committee.

Mr. Grey said, that, on the report, he should certainly move several amendments.

The chancellor of the exchequer begged to know the nature of them.

Mr. Grey said, the first point he should move would be the same amendment on the report that he had done in the committee. The second, to extend the franchises of such towns as return members after the union. The third, as to peers being chosen for life. The fourth, as to the power of his majesty in the creation of peers after the union.

On the 28th of April, the house again resolved itself into a committee, when

when Mr. Douglas took the chair, who called upon the counsel, attending in behalf of certain petitioners, to come forward; upon which Mr. Law and Mr. Plumer appeared at the bar.

Mr. Law stated, that nearly three millions of the inhabitants of this country were directly or collaterally concerned in the woollen trade; that a capital of no less a sum than that of twenty millions was engaged in it; and that, if the resolutions now proposed were to pass into a law, this immense property might be nearly annihilated.

The whole of the witnesses examined, confirmed, by their evidence, the decrease and scarcity of wool for some years past in this kingdom, and the borders of Scotland.

The chancellor of the exchequer asked the counsel if they had many more witnesses to be examined; and, being informed there were, he moved to report progress, and ask leave to sit again. The house was resumed—the chairman reported progress, and the speaker informed the counsel, that next day, at two o'clock, they must attend the house for the further examination of the witnesses.

On Tuesday, April 29, the house went into a committee, and proceeded to the examination of the witnesses.

John Willis, agent to Messrs. Willington and Parks, of Stroud, Gloucestershire, stated, that he had been in the habit of buying wool for the last eighteen years; he supplies the manufactories; could not procure so much last year; and declared he never found such difficulty before; he imputed the scarcity to the number of inclosures, and the increase of the woollen trade. The quantity had been decreasing these five years; thinks, if more wool

could be procured, it might be wrought in the country.

The diminution, he thought, arose not from temporary causes, but from such as were likely to make scarcity permanent, because the increased demand arose from causes that would be permanent.

The rest of the witnesses spoke nearly to the same effect.

Lord Hawkesbury thought it unnecessary to go into any farther examination of the witnesses; and the witnesses having withdrawn,

Mr. W. Smith complained of the haste in which the examination was conducted; he thought a more full investigation on such an important business necessary; and moved for the last witness to be recalled.

General Lascelles thought the examination perfectly regular.

The house divided on the motion of Mr. W. Smith.—Ayes (for the motion) 39—Noes 50.

Mr. Plumer then summed up the evidence, and commented upon each. The committee was ordered to sit again the next day; and on Wednesday, April 30, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day, for the house again to resolve itself into a committee.

Mr. Tierney wished to know whether the right honourable gentleman still intended that the report of the committee should be brought up and considered on Friday. He thought it would be highly improper to hurry a business of such importance through the house with such rapidity.

The chancellor of the exchequer answered, he could see no reason for delay; and said the report should certainly be brought up on Friday.

Mr. Tierney begged that the business might be put off till the next week.

The chancellor of the exchequer,
on

on the contrary, insisted that it was proper to begin the discussion as early as possible. Besides, so great an attention had been given to the witnesses, and to the statements of the learned counsel, that every member of the house must be conversant with the subject. He therefore thought it was better to discuss the question while the evidence was fresh in their memory than to wait till the impression it had made should be effaced.

Mr. Tierney said, that if the discussion of one of the resolutions should not end till a late hour, he would not move for the consideration of another that night.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that any member could prevent a new question after ten o'clock.

The house then having resolved itself into a committee, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the two resolutions relative to the law and the church, which were agreed to.

Mr. Wilberforce said, that the witnesses who had been examined the preceding day had complained that their evidence had been inaccurately reported; and moved that they be called to the bar.

Mr. Hustler was called in, and stated several points which had been misunderstood by their clerk.

Colonel Elford complained that the proceeding was irregular.

Mr. Dudley said, it would be hard and unjust, if a witness had been misrepresented, not to allow an opportunity of rectifying these mistakes.

Mr. Wilberforce said a few words in reply to colonel Elford.

The speaker said it was an established practice to admit a witness to the bar of the house of commons to explain the evidence he had there delivered.

After some conversation be-

tween Mr. Brogden, Mr. Wilberforce, and the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Hustler was again called in, and finished his explanation.

Mr. Law was then heard, and a conversation took place relative to this evidence.

On Thursday, May 1, the chancellor of the exchequer again moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee, &c. which being done, the question was put for the speaker's leaving the chair.

Colonel Wood wished to know if any future opportunity would be afforded to express his objections to the general measure.

The speaker informed him, that if he had any objections to make relative to any of the resolutions, he would have an opportunity of stating them, when the report of the committee came to be considered.

The house then resolved itself into a committee.

Mr. Brogden said he rose merely to advert to the evidence of Mr. Gott, and to correct what he understood a misrepresentation of it. The house seemed to consider him as having stated, that the saving of a number of hands in the woollen manufacture in that part in which machinery was used, by the introduction of machinery, was as one to fifty; and the saving of the whole manufactory was as twenty-five to 100. But as the witness now stated it, the saving in those parts in which machinery was used was only as twenty-five to 100, and the savings upon the whole was as thirty to seventy. He therefore moved that Mr. Gott be again called to the bar, and examined upon the subject.

Mr. Wilberforce said he intended to have made a similar motion.

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The chancellor of the exchequer did not wish to oppose the house getting every information possible; but thought Mr. Gott was not the man to whom to apply for this information. Besides, the question about the number of hands saved by the machinery was not a material point in the discussion.

Mr. Brogden expressed himself satisfied.

Mr. Wilberforce expressed a desire of calling in some witness to explain this point, as he considered it of importance.

Mr. Hobhouse was of the same opinion.

Mr. Wilberforce desired particularly to call one witness; which was opposed by lord Hawkesbury, as the evidence was regularly closed, when the counsel summed it up at the bar.

Mr. Wilberforce said, he only wished the house to have fair grounds, from which to draw fair conclusions.

The question was then put and carried for calling in the witnesses.

Mr. Standiffe White, cloth clothier, near Wakefield in Yorkshire, declared, that he was engaged in the woollen trade before the introduction of machinery, and stated that, from the whole process, from the natural state of the wool to its being made into cloth, the saving was as seventy and one-third to 154. The saving was principally owing to the carding and scribbling, as four people were able to do as much as forty-three before this machinery was introduced.

The witness having withdrawn,

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he would not then enter at length into a discussion of the proposition before the house. He rather wished to learn what impression the evidence had made upon the

other members of the house; and if there was any difference of opinion, to hear the objections which could be urged, before he should enter upon its defence.

Mr. Peel observed, that the resolutions had assumed a very different shape from what he expected. He had heard with attention the evidence adduced by the petitioners against the article for allowing the exportation of wool to Ireland. But there was another branch of manufacture of not less importance, viz. the cotton manufactories, which, he said, employed as great a number of hands as the woollen. Mr. Peel said, he only meant to observe, that any thing that would affect the prosperity of the cotton manufacture ought to be seriously considered. The evidence which had been given at the bar of the Irish house of commons seemed to him to imply, that their greatest objection to the union arose from apprehensions respecting the protecting duties on our cotton trade. In 1785, he appeared at the bar of the British house of commons, to express his fear that the free intercourse then projected with Ireland would injure our cotton manufactures. He had, however, since that time changed his opinion; and he believed now, that the intercourse then allowed had, under protecting duties for trade then imposed, contributed to the prosperity of this country, and proved the salvation of Ireland.

Mr. Peel next observed, that he expected that some of the articles would have been different, but he would not therefore oppose the grand measure. For his own part, the regulation respecting the cotton trade would materially affect his interests, but these, he said, he never would bring into competition with the general good of the country:

country: on these grounds, therefore, he would support the measure.

Mr. Wilberforce entered at some length upon the subject. He said, the honourable gentleman had stated, that the commercial arrangement in the articles of the union was highly partial to Ireland in the instance of the cotton manufactory, and that he was likely himself to suffer materially from that partiality; but such was the sense he entertained of the measure of union, that, rather than endanger it, he would wave the claim of himself and his brother manufacturers. He had not the least doubt of the sincerity of the honourable gentleman in thus sacrificing his own interest to the general well-being of his country. He could not help observing, that the honourable gentleman, by the blessing of Providence, had attained to a situation of the greatest opulence; but he said, the body of men he was going to speak in behalf of was of a different description, scarcely able to sustain the heavy burthens which the necessity of the times had compelled them to lay upon them.

The learned counsel had justly stated the great magnitude and importance of the interests which now claimed the attention of the house; but it was not merely for the interests of a single manufacture that he was contending, but the well-being of Ireland as well as of Great Britain. If Ireland should be made an integral part of the British empire, the prosperity of Great Britain would be her prosperity; and as a part interested in the well-being of the whole, she could not but suffer, in consequence of any injury sustained by such material branch of our commercial system; she could gain nothing but what she might

equally obtain by other means: she might lose that which could not otherwise be compensated. At present Irish wool was importable into Great Britain, but British wool not exportable to Ireland. All that the woollen manufacturers desired was, not to continue things upon this unequal footing, but that each country should henceforth enjoy the use of all the wool it might produce. On this he made several general remarks. He observed, that the British woollen manufacture was now such as to require more wool than Great Britain produced, and therefore whatever Ireland might take from us would be taking the means of employment from our manufacturers. Wool, he said, was peculiarly circumstanced: it was an appendage to another article of more value to the farmer than itself. The farmer, therefore, would naturally look to the carcase more than to the fleece, for his reimbursement; a very minute difference, he said, in the price of meat was a source of far greater gain or loss to him than ever so great a difference in the value of wool. The high price of wool, therefore, would not have the same effect in increasing its production, as it would in increasing the produce of mines, or fruits of the earth, or any article which was not connected and dependent on another, as wool was.

Mr. Wilberforce then took notice of the evidences which had been examined, and remarked what Mr. Rawdon and Mr. Hustler had said, and particularly the former, who had stated that he was unable to supply himself with the wool he wanted, and added, that he had been under the necessity of returning orders for the manufactured article, from his not being able to procure

procure the raw material for the fabrication of it. Wool, he said, had long sold at a higher price in Ireland than in England, which would operate as a strong inducement to its exportation. The freight of wool from many parts of England was considerably less to Ireland than to many manufacturing parts of Yorkshire.

Mr. Wilberforce likewise remarked to the committee, that Ireland had by no means been inattentive to the encouragement of her woollen manufacture. Premiums had been offered, institutions formed, and other measures adopted among them. After going on to a considerable length, he concluded by saying, that he did not consider himself, on this occasion, as the advocate of one, but of both of those respectable bodies of landed and commercial interests; for, in truth, their interests were the same; and if he had not been conscious of detaining the house too long, he might have enlarged on the benefits which the agricultural parts of his own, and other counties, derived from the increased population and prosperity of the manufacturing district.

The chancellor of the exchequer followed Mr. Wilberforce through most of his arguments. He said, however warmly he might feel in favour of the liberal principle which ought to exist in the event of an incorporate union between the two countries, viz. that there should be a free and commercial intercourse between them; and however anxious he was for the full application of that principle, still if he was convinced, either by the evidence which had been adduced at the bar, or by the speech of his honourable friend, that there was any reasonable ground for apprehending those con-

sequences, which had been predicted to that great limb of the prosperity of Great Britain, (he meant the woollen manufacture) he certainly would not hesitate to deviate from that principle of the propriety of the adoption of which he was now so firmly convinced. But after the most minute investigation which he had been able to make upon the subject, he was satisfied, that to permit the exportation of the raw material to Ireland might gradually, in the course of time, be productive to Ireland, but even upon the principles of the petitioners themselves could not cause the least mischief to the manufacturers of England. If the effect of permitting the exportation of the raw material to Ireland should be, as had been stated, that of transferring any portion of manufacture to Ireland, it would only be gradually, and in the course of a great number of years.

The chancellor of the exchequer added, that his honourable friend had contended against permitting the exportation of wool to Ireland, because the effect of it would be to transfer the whole of the manufacture to Ireland; and in another part of his speech he objected to it, because, he said, it would be highly injurious to England, without being productive of any great advantage to Ireland. The committee must see, that both these arguments could not be founded, because, in the question of the transfer of a manufacture, it was impossible (supposing the demand to continue) that England should lose without Ireland gaining in the same proportion. In order to form a correct estimate, how far this manufacture could be the subject of transfer, and how far this article had a tendency that way, it would be necessary to consider in what markets Ireland could rival us.

There

There were but three markets in which she could rival us—in her own, by supplying as much of the manufacture as was necessary for her own consumption, in foreign markets, or in our own markets. Upon this the chancellor argued with great ability, to show that in none of these she could supplant us.

The next question was, with regard to the principle on which this article was founded, viz.—the propriety of permitting the free communication of a raw material from one part of an united kingdom to another. As a general principle, this had not been denied; but his honourable friend had stated, that it was applied only to this article of wool; but this statement, he said, was not correct, for the principle was not applied to the article of wool alone. The policy that grounded all these articles was to make the intercourse between the two countries, with respect to raw materials, and the whole of the trade between the united kingdoms, as free as possible. With respect to the comparative price of the raw material in the two countries, he begged to inform gentlemen, that at this moment the price of it was somewhat higher than it was in Ireland.—His honourable friend had not adverted to this in the course of his speech, but had merely stated, that some time ago it was cheaper in England; but it appeared from concurrent testimony, that its price had been regularly increasing in England for the last ten years. It had been stated, that the growth of wool could not be increased, and that particularly that of fine wool was confined to a few spots, and to a particular breed of sheep. Now the fact appeared in evidence, from some of those gentlemen who were called in as witnesses in favour of the peti-

tioners, that in Hampshire, by the introduction of South Down sheep, the breed had considerably increased. It had been contended, that the practice of inclosure tended to diminish the quantity of wool: the fallacy, he said, must be obvious upon the first view, that whatever had a tendency to the multiplication of sheep must have a tendency to an increase of the growth of wool; since wool, like every other article, must depend, in a great measure, on the encouragement that was given to its production. But, to say no more upon the subject, he would ask the committee to consider another, and to examine what was likely to be the effect of the union, in the view of the operation of the capital. It must, he said, appear to any man, that the effect of a redundancy of capital in Ireland would be to improve the infant agriculture of that country. Who could doubt, he said, but that that which had happened to Scotland after the union would happen to Ireland after the union; that although, by this allowance of importation into Ireland, we conveyed a part of our wealth to Ireland, yet that we should be amply repaid by the increase which it would create in the agriculture of that country? After enlarging upon this subject, he concluded by saying, that he was going to vote for that article which was before the committee, from a full sense of public duty; and regretted that so large and useful a class of men as the petitioners should be of a contrary opinion.

Mr. Wilberforce rose in consequence of the chancellor of the exchequer having said, that he (Mr. Wilberforce) had stated two contradictory propositions. He wished to be understood, that he asserted only, that whatever advantages Ireland derived

rived from the exportation of wool into that kingdom could only be derived from what Great Britain suffered by such diminution of her natural produce.

The chancellor of the exchequer contended that this argument was not conclusive.

Mr. Henry Lascelles conceived a great advantage would result from the union to England, but a much greater to Ireland. He was, however, of opinion, that Ireland could be sufficiently benefited without this sacrifice, which we were called upon to make of the native produce of the wool, by exporting it out of the country. On those reasons he would agree with the amendment.

After some more desultory debate, the question was almost unanimously called for.

The committee divided on Mr. Wilberforce's amendment. Ayes 53—Noes 153.

A conversation then took place on receiving the report. The chancellor of the exchequer proposed the next day.

Mr. Tierney was for some delay, and proposed Monday.

The chancellor of the exchequer, however, moved, "that it should be received the next day." Mr. Tierney moved an amendment, "that it should be received on Monday."

The house divided on the amendment—Ayes 13—Noes 58.

On Friday, May 2, the question being put for receiving the report of the committee on his majesty's message.

Dr. Lawrence stated, that he would not oppose the bringing up of the report; but felt it his duty to move, that the consideration of it should be postponed to that day six months.

Mr. Douglas then brought up the

report, and the resolutions were read a first time.

On the question for reading them a second time,

Dr. Lawrence said, he would trouble the clerk with reading the fourth article of the act of union; which being done, the honourable member proceeded in a long detail of argument to show the impolicy of a union with Ireland at the present crisis. In calling the attention of the house to the general outlines of the treaty, he adverted to the reports which had gone abroad respecting the reason of his opposition to it. It had been said, that he opposed it in consequence of his being disappointed in an expected preferment in the line of his profession. To this the doctor said, he never solicited government upon that point, and probably that he had not done so arose principally from his entertaining those sentiments which he had all along expressed respecting the measure. In the articles with Scotland, (with a few exceptions which sunk into nothing in the comparison) there was a complete communication of advantages, and identification of circumstances; but was there any part of the arrangement with Ireland to which this character applied? In arranging the proportions of contribution, important errors had been committed: we were to pay off our debts, while she would continue to run in debt. How was the house to proceed in cases of controverted elections in Ireland? Were the necessary witnesses to be brought over to this country; or was a committee to be sent over thither with full powers to determine questions both of law and fact? By the arrangement relative to the spiritual lords, it would sometimes be in the power of the government to influence the decision of the upper house; for

for, at the period when four were to go out and four to come in by rotation, it was possible that they might procure eight votes in favour of any measure they were anxious to carry. The peerage of Ireland was put on a totally separate footing from that of Great Britain. By the standing orders of the house no peer could interfere with the election of the commoners. Was an Irish peer, then, to be stripped of the privilege of his peerage from the moment he became a candidate for the house of commons? Or at what period was he to change his character, so as to render it legal in him to put himself in competition with the other candidates. The doctor made several other remarks nearly to the same effect; after which he concluded by moving, "that the farther consideration of the subject be postponed till that day three months."

Mr. Morris vindicated the conduct of ministers on the present occasion; and declared that the learned doctor's arguments tended only to corroborate more strongly the necessity and wisdom of the union.

Mr. Dudley Rider said, he wished gentlemen would seriously reflect, whether the imperfections of the union would materially interfere with the great benefits expected from it. As to the measure in a commercial view, whatever objections were made would easily be obviated by the wisdom of the imperial parliament.

Mr. Banks said, it was putting the question to the fairest issue possible, to determine whether it would be for the advantage of the empire to decline those propositions, or to accept them with all their imperfections. The incidental questions respecting commerce, revenue, and representation, were in themselves

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of considerable magnitude; but at the same time of small moment, when compared with those respective situations which made it improper for Ireland to coalesce with us, and for us to coalesce with her. The Irish members would come here in the first instance on terms of equality in point of qualifications, and every other respect as the representatives of Great Britain; and would take the usual oaths of allegiance and abjuration, which, he said, must operate as an exclusion of Roman-catholic members. But it had been stated, that the union would promote the commerce and agriculture of the country, and by that means considerably improve the condition of the people: If this was a benefit, he said he would ask, Did the Roman-catholics ask it? or were they even willing to receive it when voluntarily offered? After enlarging upon this and other topics, he concluded by saying, that, under the present arrangement, the mass of the Roman-catholics had nothing to expect, though every exclusion should be removed by the united parliament.

Colonel Wood and sir R. C. Glynn supported the general principle.

Sir William Young replied to the last speaker.

Mr. Nicholls spoke in favour of the measure; and the question being called for, the house divided—For the amendment 26, against it 208.

The first resolutions were then read and agreed to. The house adjourned till the Monday following. On that day, viz. May 5,

The order of the day being read, on the question that the fourth resolution be read a second time,

Dr. Lawrence moved a very long

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resolution

resolution relative to the representation, altering, in some degree, every part of it as it then stood.

The chancellor of the exchequer opposed the amendment.

Mr. Grey supported the latter part of the honourable gentleman's amendment; he meant that part which required the Irish members to vote separate on questions where taxes were to be laid upon Ireland, and the same as to the English members. He also supported the amendment relating to the creation of peers. Mr. Grey then moved a resolution, by way of amendment, to be inserted, viz. "Provided that, by an act of parliament of Ireland, the right of voting should be regulated according to the population and wealth, in such a manner as to secure the people a full, fair, and free representation in parliament," which was opposed by the chancellor of the exchequer.

Mr. Grey then moved his second amendment: "That if an act should pass in England to reduce the members of the British house of commons, the Irish house of commons should be reduced in the proportion that one hundred bears to the whole number of the house of commons of Great Britain."

The chancellor of the exchequer also objected to this.

Mr. Grey then said, that the other amendment he had to propose was merely provisory. He then moved—"That nothing contained in the articles of union should be understood to bar the right, or limit the competency, of the united parliament, to reduce the number of Irish members, provided there should be a reduction of those in the English house of commons."

The chancellor of the exchequer said, it was absurd to think of li-

mitting future parliaments, and this subject in particular certainly ought to be left to the discretion of the united parliament. The amendment was negatived without a division.

Sir William Dolben moved an amendment to the following effect: "Provided that his majesty, and his royal successors, be empowered to demand from each peer, before his appointment, a settlement out of his own lands, to be unalienably attached to the said peerage during its existence."

The chancellor of the exchequer objected to this amendment as totally unnecessary.

Sir William Dolben did not give his amendment to the speaker: no question arose therefore upon it.

The fifth article was agreed to without an amendment.

On the motion that the sixth article be agreed to, Mr. Tierney moved, that the clause respecting the exportation of wool be re-committed. He said he must still be of opinion, that a duty of ten per cent. should be laid upon that exportation. This, he contended, would prevent the pernicious effect of any sudden shock upon the woollen trade.

The chancellor of the exchequer made a short reply.

Mr. Wilberforce promised to support the motion of his honourable friend (Mr. Tierney).

After a few words from Mr. Estcourt, Mr. Hobhouse, and Mr. Lascelles, the house divided—Ayes 19—Noes 111. The resolutions on the other articles were then agreed to, upon which

The chancellor of the exchequer congratulated the house on the wisdom, and almost general unanimity, with which the different articles had been

been discussed and agreed to. He therefore moved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, acquainting his majesty, that the house had proceeded through the great and important measure of a legislative union, which they had the satisfaction to see was nearly in strict conformity with the principle laid down in his majesty's message.

Mr. Tierney wished for some further delay, as an honourable friend of his (Mr. Sheridan) was anxious to deliver his sentiments on the important measure.

The chancellor of the exchequer objected to the delay, as the honourable member (Mr. Sheridan) had had various opportunities of delivering his sentiments upon the union.

Mr. Hobhouse said, he could see no inconvenience from delaying the address for a few days. He therefore moved, that the address be adjourned till Tuesday.

Mr. Jones said a few words. After which the motion for the address was put and carried without a division; and a committee, consisting of the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. secretary Dundas, and the secretary at war, &c. was appointed to draw it up.

The chancellor of the exchequer brought up the report of the committee appointed to draw up the address, which was read and agreed to.

The chancellor of the exchequer then moved, that copies of the said address, and of the resolutions they had passed, be communicated to the lords, in a conference to be demanded for that purpose.

The chancellor of the exchequer then finally moved, that a conference be desired with the lords, to consider

of the most effectual means for confirming and strengthening the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, which was ordered, and the house adjourned. The rest of the proceedings we have already detailed, as far as the house of lords co-operated in the resolutions and address: A bill to the effect of the resolutions was soon after introduced, which, however, produced no debate till the 24th of June, when

The chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day for the third reading of the union bill, which being done,

Mr. Tierney said, that he wished to introduce a clause, embracing one of the objects sought by the resolutions. What he alluded to, was the number of members intended to compose the united parliament, which, being not less than 658, could not fail to cause much inconvenience; he wished, therefore, that a clause should be added to the bill, enabling the united parliament to reduce the number, if that should be deemed expedient.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the clause mentioned by the honourable member was new matter, and could not be even entertained for discussion without creating great delay. The bill was therefore passed without further debate, and sent to the lords; and on Wednesday, July 2,

The speaker went to the house of lords, accompanied by several members, to hear the royal assent given to the bill for a legislative union with Ireland; and, being returned, he acquainted the house, that his majesty had been graciously pleased to signify his royal assent to the said bill.

CHAP. V.

Debates on the Dutch Expedition—In the House of Commons—In the House of Lords.—Debate on the Bavarian Troops—In the House of Commons. On the Subsidies to German Princes. On the Suspension of the Habeas-Corpus Act.

IN the intervals of the important business which we have already mentioned as occupying the attention of the British parliament, several debates incidentally took place on other topics. One of the most important of these respected the late unfortunate expedition to Holland. This subject was introduced into the house of commons by Mr. Sheridan on the 10th of February. He began by remarking, that, upon the extraordinary meeting of parliament on the 24th of September, a bill had passed to enable ministers to prosecute this expedition; and though he then disapproved of it, as a dangerous violation of our great constitutional defence, the militia system, he did not think it proper, in the peculiar circumstances in which we were placed, to oppose the measure. We had received accounts of the battle at Berghen; our troops were in a critical situation; and, seeing no other means by which re-inforcements could be procured, he was unwilling that any thing should be left undone which might lead our gallant army to suppose they were for a moment abandoned by a British parliament. On that occasion, indeed, he presumed ministers acted upon the most authentic information of the favourable dispositions of the Dutch. But he then stated that the executive government incurred great responsibility. Hav-

ing done this, it would be shrinking from his pledge, did he not now endeavour to make them answer for the confidence which they had obtained, and for the course which they had pursued. When the news arrived of the total failure of the expedition, (a failure so disastrous, so disgraceful, so humiliating to those by whom it was planned, while no blame attached to the officers and men,) the universal clamour was, that an inquiry should be instituted by the house into the causes of this ignominious event. The minister did every thing in his power to prevent any investigation, whilst the disgrace was recent, and the feeling of the country warm: parliament was adjourned, inquiry rendered impossible, and the resentment and mortification of the public were left to die away, or to be diverted by fresh occurrences.

It was, however, a question which in the highest degree interested the glory of the country. As members of the house they were called upon to investigate a transaction which had been attended by the most disastrous consequences—a waste of blood and treasure. In treating on this subject, he should not found his arguments on private information, but on the recorded accounts of ministers themselves in their own gazettes. The lord-lieutenant of Ireland (marquis Cornwallis) had indeed informed the Irish parliament,

ment, that the expedition to Holland had prevented an invasion of Ireland. He had spoken as if the main object of our policy had been, not the deliverance of the Dutch from the yoke of France, not the restoration of the house of Orange to their rights, not the protection of religion, or the defence of social order, but the capture of a few Dutch ships of war!—as if for such an acquisition we had subsidized the mercenary magnanimity of Russia, drawn forth our military strength, and drained our financial resources. What other advantage had we gained in fact from this famed secret expedition? Secret it had been called till the term became ridiculous—never had there been an undertaking conducted with such ostentatious mystery—never did an object attract such universal notoriety; and the only thing concealed yet was, the favourable disposition of the Dutch towards us; a secret so well kept indeed, that to the present hour it had not been discovered.

But some gentlemen on the opposite side were of opinion, that this capture was not the only advantage we had gained: it was an expedition of discovery, and not altogether unsuccessful in that view; and indisputable it was, that these notable discoveries had been made; first, that no reliance could be placed on the chancellor of the exchequer's knowledge; secondly, that Holland was a country intersected by dykes, ditches, and canals; and, thirdly, that the weather was not so good in October as in June: this information, however, had been purchased dear, if we considered the number of lives which had been lost, and that the tenth of every man's income had been squandered. Nor did he rate the

acquisition of the Dutch ships very highly: we had taken possession of them in the name of the stadtholder: were they to be manned with the mutinous crews who surrendered them, and employed in the name of the stadtholder? If so, they were no addition to our navy. Nay, it was of the most perilous example. He trembled to see a deliberating navy in the face of the naval force of England; a navy deciding upon the cause of their country, instead of fighting her battles. It was dangerous to behold mutiny recommended to our seamen by any example. He wished to see the spirit of Blake prevail, who told his sailors, that it was their duty to fight for their country in whatever hands the government might be. This was sound reason, these were safe maxims, nor was it wise or politic to encourage any other. If ministers promoted a spirit of mutiny amongst the Dutch navy, they ill understood the interests of their country; they departed from an universal principle of right to serve a particular purpose, and, for a partial advantage, introduced a most dangerous precedent. We knew, by fatal experience, that artifices might be successfully employed to delude even our own sailors into a conduct which the nation disapproved; and what were the means employed to produce the revolting spirit of the Dutch, to which we owed the capture of their fleet? Were they such as could be avowed and justified? Suppose admiral Story had resisted this spirit of mutiny and disobedience, and acted as De Ruyter would have acted in his situation—endeavoured to maintain his authority, and perished in the attempt—would we have permitted our seamen to welcome the Dutch sailors, imbrued with the blood of

their admiral and officers? would we have sanctioned the deed, applauded the perpetrators of it, and allowed our seamen to have been their allies and associates? It was only the want of vigour in the officers which prevented this catastrophe; but the example was the same, and a flagrant violation to the principle of discipline.

He could as little enter into the importance of our acquisition in the fleet as approve of the mode of its having been obtained: when we took into consideration the whole of the case, weighed what we had lost, and what we had gained, we should find a fearful balance against us. The result of the late expedition had thrown discredit on our councils, and dishonour on our operations: we could not again attempt to restore the house of Orange: the confidence of their enemies was confirmed; the hopes of their partisans were overthrown; nor could he conceive how any man would contend that the result had in any degree repaid our sacrifices, or realised our expectations.

That the object of the expedition, so far as it aimed at the rescue of Holland from the dominion of France, and the restoration of the stadtholder, was a legitimate British object, he readily admitted: in proportion, however, as this was wise and good, was the criminality of those to whose misconduct its failure was to be attributed. If, by their negligence, their ignorance, and their presumption, we had failed in an undertaking so dear to every English heart, the value of the prize only augmented the mortification of our disappointment.

That the house of Orange had strong claims upon the gratitude, nay upon the justice, of Great Bri-

tain, he did not deny: they deserved the hospitable asylum which they enjoyed in this country. Their expulsion from their hereditary authority in Holland was in a great measure to be ascribed to their deference to British councils, perhaps their devotion to British ministers. To re-inflate them, therefore, was an honourable motive for our interference.

At the same time he could not agree in the opinion, that we had any claims to the attachment of the Dutch. It was long since any cordiality prevailed between the two countries. The French faction had been increasing from the time of the American war; it possessed a powerful interest in the United Provinces; and, during that contest, the Dutch complained bitterly of our aggressions. In answer to their complaints, we represented them in our speeches and proclamations as a dull and stupid people, who must "*be stunned into their senses.*" By such treatment the influence of France was established; besides which, the Dutch, in the mere view of promoting their interests, might conceive that a connexion with that nation would be more beneficial than with ours. At the breaking out of the present war, the Dutch, against their own wishes, nay, against the remonstrances of many friends of the house of Orange, were compelled to abandon their neutrality, and take a share in the war.

We had engaged them in the contest, but were not able to protect them in the moment of difficulty: from being our allies they became our enemies. But, previous to this change, what were the symptoms of cordiality when we were endeavouring to protect Holland? Did not our troops leave that country

try complaining of the people, and irritated by their reproaches? After the success of the French invasion, was our conduct calculated to increase the number of our well-wishers? Was it right, when the stadtholder had taken refuge in this country, to consider him as sovereign of Holland; (which he never was) and require his consent to the seizure of so much Dutch property? Were such measures conciliatory? had they promoted the interest of the stadtholder? What had been the conduct of our ministers in the negotiation at Lisle? it was broken off because the French would not permit us to retain the conquests we had made at the expence of the Dutch, who had been involved in our quarrel by our obstinacy and violence. And must not the Dutch have considered us as gross hypocrites, when we lately affected such a zeal for their interests, which we rendered so completely subservient to our own, whenever they came to the proof? These were circumstances which could not fail to produce a powerful impression on the cool and calculating Dutchman. But on entering on the expedition for their deliverance from the French we employed means to efface the prejudice excited against our disinterestedness: we issued proclamations fraught with delightful visions of future happiness under their ancient government: we addressed them not as a phlegmatic considerate people, but as religious fanatics or warriors in chivalry. Not one word did we say of Good Hope, of Ceylon, or Trincomalé; and wherefore religion was dragged in he could not understand. The French did not interfere with the religion of the Dutch; nor indeed did they seem in any country where their

arms had prevailed to have prevented religious worship; but least of all had they temptation to interfere with the poverty and simplicity of the religious institution of the Dutch. What influence then could such topics produce in Holland? Every thing which could have no effect had been urged, and every thing omitted which could have engaged them in our favour. We advised them to forget and forgive the past: Would they not consider it as meant that *they should forget they ever had colonies, and forgive us for taking them?* The minister understood very little of human nature, if he expected such proclamations could have any success. Instead of all these fine reflexions upon religion, social order, and their former government, if he had said, we will give you back all your colonies, the argument would have been understood, and the effect might have been favourable. In effect, we bid them "be a nation without trade—be a province dependent upon England through the stadtholder. These are the blessings we promise you, and which you must co-operate with us to obtain." Mr. Sheridan said he had adduced these proofs, to evince that ministers had not well calculated on the temper and views of the Hollanders; that they had no reason to flatter themselves with the support of that country, nor did they pursue the course to obtain it. It was to the last degree arrogant and presumptuous to involve this nation in the expence of such an armament upon vain speculation. Mr. Pitt should not have put his theories to so costly an experiment—he ought to have acted in matters of such high moment and extensive concern upon authentic information and practical grounds.

After submitting to the sacrifice of so much blood, and so many heavy burdens, we were entitled to plain dealing from the ministry. Was it their intention to establish the old government of Holland, had their plans been successful? He confessed he had his doubts upon the subject. A noble statesman had lately represented that government as feeble, inefficient, incompetent to its own defence and to any useful exertion, from the want of unity in its executive authority. Was it then for the re-establishment of this imbecile form, incapable of self-defence or arduous assistance, that our lives and treasures were to be wasted? or was it to inspire the vigour of despotism for our own purposes? If so, an usurpation was intended, and he hoped the stadtholder would have been an unwilling usurper. Could we imagine that ministers concealed their design? If they did not communicate it to the partisans of the house of Orange, they were guilty of a shameful fraud in inviting them to contribute to the restoration of the old government, while, in fact, they were to risk their property and lives also for a new constitution? If they actually did make known these intentions, was it likely the Dutch would agree to changes which violated all the forms and principles to which they were so strenuously attached? After the differences which had subsisted between us during the whole of the American war, after the experience of the campaigns on the continent, after the views of domestic parties, after having forced Holland into the war, and indemnified ourselves for the continental conquests by the possession of her colonies, and after the grounds of just suspicion against us relative to the commercial rela-

tions and political establishments of Holland; had we any reason to infer a welcome reception? And if their consent was absolutely necessary to render the expedition favourable, ministers were unjustifiable in having undertaken a plan so fatally important, without a due attention to the circumstances on which its success depended. Expectations had been formed of inducing Prussia to enter into the common cause against France; but in June 1799 all idea of seducing her from her neutrality was given up. Seventeen thousand Russians, however, were to be employed in our enterprise; and the emperor Paul agreed that some of his own ships should transport the forces to England, upon condition of his being allowed ample indemnification for fitting out the vessels in question for another expedition. The army went to Holland as a friendly country. A summons was sent by general Abercromby to the Batavian commander, in a style of haughty menace, which proved it was not the production of that gallant officer. His conduct on every occasion, his upright and manly proceedings in Ireland, evinced him to have been incapable of it. The answer of the Batavian officer was spirited. What a contrast indeed between the presumptuous tone with which we addressed the enemy at the beginning, and the ignominious escape for which we were compelled to stipulate at the end of the campaign! Ministers had said that they could not make peace with the French; but by fatal experience, as well as by the testimony of our officers, we knew they could observe an armistice. But did general Abercromby find the Batavian troops disposed, like the sailors, to surrender without a blow? Did he not meet with the
most

most vigorous resistance, even before any Frenchman appeared in action? and our first success was purchased by the loss of a great number of our brave countrymen. How did it happen, that, after the landing was effected, no attempt was made to follow up the advantage? Was our general prevented by his orders, or by the want of necessaries? The fact was, that the army was left destitute of the means of moving forward; and such was the want of arrangement, that they had no baggage waggons. They were first cheered with the hope that certain ships then in sight contained them; but afterwards were told the waggons were in some ships and the wheels in others. The want of means of conveying the bleeding troops from the field of battle obliged them to have recourse to Dutch schuyts. Through ignorance of the roads of Holland, the waggons which were afterwards employed proved useless. The heart recoiled to think one British sailor had perished through such cruel neglect; and no personal consideration ought to shield those persons from inquiry, in the various situations of contractors, purveyors, &c. to whom these and similar misfortunes were to be attributed. Ministers had intelligence of this disastrous engagement: they were apprised of the resistance of the Dutch troops, and of the backwardness of the inhabitants to assist our cause; yet, with all these facts in their possession, they made his majesty come down to parliament, and express his sanguine hopes of the ultimate success of the expedition. If, then, ministers were aware of the true state of our affairs in Holland, a more flagrant deception of parliament never was practised by any administration. After the action of

the 2d of October the army moved forward. This was represented as a great victory. Alkmaar was said to have opened its gates, as if this had been done by the inhabitants, and a proof of an amicable disposition; but the truth was, a lieutenant and some troops having accidentally advanced near the place, found it without means of defence, of which he immediately gave information, and the town was occupied by our men. His royal highness stated in his dispatches, that it had given him the command of an extent of country, and that the people would have an opportunity of declaring themselves. And what was their decisive declaration? The army attempted to advance, an engagement took place, in which we claimed the battle; but so little advantageous was the success, that in the evening the retreat was ordered, the army returned to its old position at Schagen Brug; and this retreat was ordered so precipitately, that 400 women and children were left behind. These the French treated with great propriety; nay, these cruel and perfidious enemies actually clothed the children, and sent them back with the women to the British head-quarters. Thus, instead of the deliverance of the Dutch, of which we had indulged such sanguine expectations, the army were compelled to enter into a capitulation for its escape. And painful it was to reflect, that the inducement we held out to the enemy to agree to this armistice was a threat to destroy for ever the means of commerce of that very people whom we embarked to save. Nor was there any doubt but that we should have proceeded to this cruel alternative, if the French had not agreed to our treaty. England was much humiliated on this occasion,

sion. Her disgrace had been augmented by every circumstance belonging to the expedition. Not that he imputed any blame to the duke of York. His royal highness was not responsible for the plan, which so much influenced military operations, and which must have been accommodated to the views and representations of ministers. But the duke, not being a member of the cabinet, had no means of verifying the calculations on which the cabinet had resolved on the expedition. It was not saying too much, to say, that, at so critical a moment, the commander-in-chief ought to have been of the privy council. And in saying that he was a proper person to advise his majesty as a member of it, respecting every thing which such an enterprise required, he only repeated what the public voice had declared of his royal highness's attentive, honourable, and meritorious government of the army, since he had possessed the chief command. But, being unacquainted with the true state of Holland, our army left it with sentiments of indignation against the Batavians, by whom they conceived themselves injured and deceived; with detestation of their allies, to whose misconduct they imputed their disasters; and with increased esteem for the enemy, whom they had been taught to abhor.

Such was the transaction which the house was called upon to investigate: never was there a case which presented stronger grounds for inquiry. An opinion had gone abroad, that parliament reposed a blind confidence in ministers: the idea that the minister had nothing to fear from the controuling vigilance of parliament ought either to be confirmed or removed. It would

be no advantage indeed to show that the administration of this country was in the hands of convicted incapacity; but it would be a far greater evil to prove that ministers were too powerful for controul; that error was exempted from inquiry, and misconduct secure from censure. The present case ought to afford a salutary caution to the house, not to give implicit faith to representations made against France; and not to pursue that system of exploded impolicy which had produced such fatal mischief and indelible disgrace. We were fighting for the restoration of the house of Bourbon, and nothing else. This was the *sine qua non* to immediate peace. The French must institute a government which our ministers shall approve, and then submit to prove its stability. In the mean time this stability was to be ascertained by employing every hostile means to effect its overthrow. Bonaparte must evince by facts that he was sincere; while it was the policy of ministers to employ every effort to disturb his authority, and every insult to provoke his resentment. But if no enlarged view of policy, no dictate of constitutional jealousy, could move a British house of commons to institute the proposed inquiry, they owed it to the reputation of the army, whose honour had been cruelly attacked abroad, though it had never been censured in this country. Let any Englishman read the report published in the Petersburg Gazette of the different actions in Holland, by general D'Hessen, and say whether we were not called upon to vindicate the character of a British army. Should its military fame be branded in the face of all Europe with impunity? Did we esteem so little the reputation of our brave soldiers and gallant

lant officers, as to allow the aspersions cast upon their renown, by that libellous letter of general D'Hessen, to remain uncontradicted * ?

Mr. Sheridan concluded his speech with saying, that we owed it to the spirit of the troops, to the honour of the living, and the memory of the dead, to bring to public view the authors of this our national disgrace.

Mr. Dundas began by observing, that it was not his design to enter into the detail of all the honourable gentleman's arguments; but to consider wherein the late expedition to Holland failed, and to what the failure was owing. Some mistakes had been made on the supposed alliance between Austria, Russia, and Great Britain. He admitted that

we wished the aid of Russian troops, and that we thought it essential: he would himself go further, and say that it was essential to the interest of this country and Europe to keep up a good understanding with Russia; and if in any part of the inquiry proposed by the motion there was likely to be a disquisition which might tend to lessen the cordiality subsisting between Great Britain and Russia, or create jealousy between the armies, it would be a strong reason with him for opposing it. Our object in the expedition was threefold: first, to rescue the United Provinces from the tyranny of the French; secondly, to add to the efficient force of this country and diminish that of the enemy, by gaining possession of the Dutch

* *Letter of Major-general D'Hessen from his Head-Quarters at Zyper Schleusen. (From the Petersburg Court-Gazette of October 22.)*

"I humbly acquaint your imperial majesty, that, on the 4th of September, I arrived from Yarmouth with the first division of troops before the Texel. We disembarked immediately in row-boats, and landed all our troops on the 6th at the Helder, though in a violent gale of wind. General D'Hermann was arrived before me, and was at the distance of thirty-five wersts from the Helder towards Alkmaar. By his orders I joined him on the 7th; and on the 8th, in the morning, at 4 o'clock, we proceeded in three columns, and attacked the enemy with a bravery only characteristic to your majesty's subjects. We drove him from three strong intrenchments, took all the batteries with the bayonet, and entered three strong villages, with the town of Berghen. We had already taken fourteen pieces of cannon, about 1000 prisoners, and killed upwards of 2000 of the enemy. However, all our ammunition being exhausted, we could no longer carry on offensive operations against a numerous enemy, who employed all his forces against us, who forced the right wing of our allies who intended to attack at the same time, but who, for causes unknown to me, were two hours too late, which considerably injured the victory which we had already gained. Lieutenant-general D'Hermann was made prisoner.—I cannot conceal from you, most gracious sovereign, that the troops of your majesty are in want of the most necessary articles. I will not, however, pretend to say that this is owing to the want of care of our allies, but rather to their late arrangements, when, contrary to the first plan, they landed all the troops, their own as well as ours, in a crowd, so that it was impossible the small tract of ground which we occupied could furnish us with provisions, and we are under the necessity to wait for supplies from England. We were in want of sufficient artillery and horses, and the troops were not yet recovered from a violent sea-sickness. Our ammunition being exhausted, we had no means of attack and defence but the bayonet; but through the extreme fatigue of our troops, their retreat began in confusion. The commander-in-chief being a prisoner, lieutenant-general Sherebzow killed, and major-general Suthof wounded, the chief command devolved on me. I strove to collect our troops, and retired to our first advantageous position in such a manner that the enemy found it impossible to follow. Our whole loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounts to about 3000 men; but the enemy has lost many more, the prisoners taken by the English and ourselves amounting to above 3000 men, &c."

fleet,

fleet, so as to render it of no use to the French, by whom it was kept with a view of aiding them in a descent on some part of our dominions; thirdly, to divert their pursuits in general; and, by hostile operations in Holland on our part, to defeat their plans in the course of the campaign, whether they chose to remain there or not. These objects were in contemplation, and there was a great probability at that time of their success: two of them did succeed, and only one failed, for which he should assign a sufficient reason.

That it was the policy of this country to rescue Holland from the gripe of France had been admitted by the honourable gentleman himself, who was pleased at the time to compliment his majesty's ministers on the design; though he had wonderfully changed his sentiments, and, in substance, told the Dutch, in his eloquent address that night, "to be aware of the English, who had endeavoured to destroy them in the American war; who had now taken their possessions, but never would restore them; and if hereafter they should remove the French yoke from off their necks, he warned them to beware of such friends." This was his advice as a British senator! He ought to have recollected, that all these atrocious grievances, recapitulated for the purpose of tarnishing the glory of his country, and of which he so kindly reminds Holland, were committed before the year 1787; and yet during that year we had been successful in bringing about a revolution there, which he then highly recommended. Why did the Dutch submit to it? and what was our motive in interfering to accomplish it, but to rescue Holland from the yoke of

the house of Bourbon? Was it more criminal in us to attempt to rescue the same provinces from the French republic? In the one case Prussia did that in concert with Great Britain, which the honourable gentleman applauded: in the other Great Britain attempted it alone, and the honourable gentleman condemned it! It was a maxim adopted by the wisest politicians, from the earliest period of our connexion with Holland, that it should not be under the French. Queen Elizabeth gave assistance to the Dutch to prevent their being overpowered by the Spaniards; and thought, if the Low Countries were not in their hands, the commerce of this country would be materially injured. King William followed the same policy; and it had been uniformly observed since the reign of the house of Brunswick.

There had been some exceptions in the time of king James, under some bad administrations; but no good politician ever doubted of the imprudence of that council; nor need arguments be added to prove, that the rescue of the Dutch from the tyranny of France, whether monarchical or republican in its government, was an object worthy of pursuit.

The next point to be discussed was, the capture of the fleet, by which means we could diminish the power of the French. To him it appeared most surprising that there should remain a doubt of the value of such an acquisition. To what had that fleet been absolutely destined? To invade our dominions! Could it then be termed an inconsiderable advantage to deprive the enemy of the means to attempt it? It was universally affirmed, that if any hostile fleet appeared on the northern coast on Ireland, it could
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only come from the Texel; and an essential service had been rendered to this country by preventing the possibility of it. Besides which, we took nearly 70,000 seamen of the Dutch, all of whom were liable to be employed in the French fleet; and 40,000 tons of shipping belonging to the enemy, which might have annoyed our commerce. This fleet was one grand part of our plan in the expedition; and here it had succeeded: But the honourable gentleman thought this no gain, as the Dutch seamen were not well affected towards the government under which they were stationed; assigning, as a proof of it, that they rose against their officers: but we should have acted a very unwise part if we had not taken care that their dispositions, whatever they might be, should be secured in our ports, instead of the ports of Holland.

Our third object was, to co-operate with our allies against the enemy; and this expedition kept them in a state of suspense respecting the distribution of our force, of which we felt the beneficial effects in various parts of Europe. The house might remember, that the battle of Novi was the most bloody, as well as the most doubtful, between the French and Austrians in the whole campaign, and caused the recovery of Italy from the French republic. Could it have been successful, if the expedition to Holland had not taken place? The advantage gained by the allies was also illustrated by Massena in Switzerland, and to be ascribed to the necessity to which the French were driven, to employ 40,000 of their men to reinforce their power in Holland. This advantage gave decision to the imperial arms at Novi, at Suabia, at Tortona, at

Coni, and at Philipsburg. Two of our objects, therefore, out of the three, had been completely accomplished; and he would now proceed to consider from what causes we had failed in the third.

Had the French followed the plan formerly adopted by them, they could not have prevented our recovering Holland. At the moment our enterprize was undertaken, it was a doubt whether they would place their reinforcements there, or in other parts of the continent: they poured their prodigious reinforcements into Holland, by which means we were unable to rescue it from their yoke: but another part of the result was, that they lost every other point which they contested, in the whole campaign, in every other place.

The honourable gentleman said, that the Dutch were not favourable to our views, and that ministers ought to state to the house the information upon which they formed their plans: but surely there required little argument to prove how highly improper, nay, how essentially injurious it might be to the interests of Europe, were ministers to disclose their sources of intelligence in the most critical period of a war. He did not mean to infer that they had not proceeded on grounds which justified them in acting—it belonged to the house to speak either from the parliament or the public; he, for one, would never advise his majesty to order such intelligence to be divulged: but were he at liberty to give up all confidential communication on this point, he could soon convince the house that the disposition of the Dutch was not unfavourable to us. This led him to another part of his subject—the making known the instructions given to commanders;—would any

any able statesman or reasonable person think it politic to expose the future plans of a war, and the mode of operation, when upon secrecy must depend its success? These were points which the wisdom of parliament had entrusted to the discretion of government, and ministers alone could decide what was proper to be communicated to the public.

Never was a commencement more prosperous than that of the late expedition. Sir Ralph Abercromby sailed for the Helder the 13th of August, and every thing promised the most rapid success: on the 14th came on the most extraordinary hurricane that ever blew from the heavens: it was impossible to land a single sailor on any part of the coast of Holland, and this continued till the 27th; the consequence was, that the enemy knew where our fleet must land, and the troops came in shoals to oppose us: 7000 men were collected; and, as they were superior in numbers, sir Ralph could not land his men to advantage: the ardour of the sailors, and the gallantry of the commander, were never excelled on any occasion. Without any thing but their muskets and bayonets (for they had not the power of bringing with them a single field-piece) against cavalry and artillery, they made their landing good; and by it they secured the Dutch fleet. He stated these things to show how easy it was to censure both soldiers and their generals unjustly upon an event depending on the temper of the elements. It was alleged that the troops had no means to draw their waggons; but they had no waggons, and could not possibly have landed them had they been there:—instantly on their landing

they could not want them; for all they immediately had to do was, to secure a landing place, and a post of communication. Sir Ralph had to consider what position he should take till the 1st of September, when reinforcements should arrive. He judged wisely for the disposition of the army; and the delay arose from causes which no human wisdom could foresee, and therefore could not prevent. Had he been able to land when he expected, he would, according to all probability, have commanded complete success to all the objects of his expedition. The same wind prevented the Russian troops from arriving to reinforce ours: they did not come till the 18th. The duke of York offered the Russian general D'Hermann to delay the attack, if he thought his men were not sufficiently recovered from their fatigues of the voyage; but the general earnestly requested that the attack should be made, with a promptitude and alacrity which reflected the highest honour upon him. But this ardour led him to the field full two hours sooner than the time appointed. The army, however, was gloriously successful till a late hour in the day. General D'Hermann and his troops were in possession of the village of Berghen, and crowned with victory, till his zeal led him beyond a given point, and turned the fate of it. When the attack was made, the French amounted to 7, and the Dutch to 12,000 men; yet, notwithstanding this superiority of force, our troops fought and conquered them with a spirit which immortalised the battle; but the French continually pouring in reinforcements, the duke was advised by general Abercromby, and all the other officers, to accede to the terms of an armistice, which was by that time

time mutually wished. The duke yielded to this advice; and, by so doing, consulted the dictates of reason and humanity.

Much had been said of the disgrace attached to the end of the expedition; but even the French were struck with the gallantry of the troops which fought against them. Our army returned with as much honour as they entered Holland. The duke of York could not be wrong in giving up 8000 lumber of French troops from our overloaded prisons: he did not recede from any one article in which national dignity was concerned: he resisted with firmness and indignation every proposition for delivering up the fleet. The honourable gentleman had attempted to influence the feelings of the house by dwelling on the blood which had been shed, and the expence which had attended the expedition, and had erroneously stated both: the one had been stated as equivalent to the income-tax—six or seven millions; the other as the loss of 10,000 men. There was no occasion to leave this point to conjecture: the expenditure actually amounted to 1,142,000*l.*; and, computing by debtor and creditor, there could, in commercial consideration, be no objection to it. We had a right to consider the ships which were taken, and to state the reduction for the maintenance of a fleet in the North Seas to check a Dutch fleet. If we calculated the value of the latter, the decrease of expence in the former, and the saving in the pay of 10,000 seamen voted less the last year, the balance was greatly in our favour. We gave up the 8000 prisoners, who were annually fed at a great expence, and gained 6000 Dutch seamen to man our fleets. The

objects gained by the expedition were, the ships, the reduction of expence, and the great diversion in the French forces, which facilitated the victories of the combined armies. Without making it a topic of eloquence, he believed he felt as much as any man for the brave soldiers who composed our army; but in war no important objects could be obtained without the loss of many dear and valuable connexions: these calamities arose inevitably from the situation of a great nation fighting for great objects—for an independent empire, and for existence itself! To remove the impression of our having lost 10,000 men, he would state in detail the returns made during the whole of the campaign:

Sick and wounded admitted into the hospitals,	- - - 4,088
Sent home out of these hospitals,	- - - 2,993
The amount of those who died,	- - - 185
And the whole of those who were slain,	- - - 846

Should any gentleman wish to be farther informed, he might satisfy himself by applying to Mr. Young, who superintended the hospital; and, in naming him, he must add, that there was no praise, and no reward, to which he was not entitled. As the returns were made in haste, they were of course subject to some mistakes; and many reported to be dead were afterwards found upon their legs, and well. But it certainly must be cause of satisfaction to every humane mind, to be undeceived in the estimate of lives said to be lost, and to find, instead of ten thousand, the comparatively small number of eight hundred and forty-six. This was a list to excite the sensation of sorrow and regret; but whilst we shed the liberal tear,

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we ought not to unnerve the arm of national defence, or suffer individual loss to weigh against the general good of our country. Upon a review, therefore, of the question, he must strenuously object to all military criticism on any part of military operation; and he felt it his particular duty to resist a motion which could not be productive of any actual benefit, and at the same time might clog and harass the measures of government.

Mr. Bouverie said, that none of these arguments had convinced him of the impropriety of the inquiry. After the constitutional force of the country had been demolished to fit out the expedition, it certainly had failed with circumstances of disgrace to the British name. Was it not the duty of the house to investigate such a business, and ascertain whether blame was to be attached to the projectors of the plan, or to those to whom the execution had been entrusted? An investigation could give no just cause of complaint to our allies, and could only be opposed at home by those who were conscious it would not redound to their own credit.

Mr. Tierney rose, expressing much surprise that such an objection should be urged as the danger of offending the Russians, and exciting jealousies which might injure the cause we had jointly undertaken to support. It seemed to be forgotten that these jealousies already existed: each party ascribed the failure to the misconduct of the other; and inquiry would end groundless recriminations, by fixing the blame where it ought to fall, and thus restore cordiality between them. The Russian general had cast the foulest imputations upon our gallant army, in the face of all Europe; and had written to his sovereign that his men were in

want of every thing; that they had been led to battle when, from sickness, they were completely unable to fight; and that an important engagement was lost, by the English having been two hours beyond their appointed time in beginning the attack. An inquiry was the only means by which these allegations could be disproved, and the honour of our brave countrymen vindicated.

The right honourable secretary had affirmed, that the design of this glorious expedition—(an expedition which had neither been disastrous nor expensive, which indeed had rather been lucrative, in a commercial point of view!)—was threefold.

First, the possession of the Dutch fleet, which, for his own part, he believed to have been a very subordinate object, and of infinitely less importance than it was now represented to have been; secondly, the deliverance of Holland from the yoke of France; and, thirdly, to make a diversion in favour of our allies. This plan was often attended with excellent effects, and might have been of service in the present instance; but surely there was little advantage in saving an Austrian by the sacrifice of a British army.

What were the benefits which resulted to the allies by our landing on the coast of Holland? We were told it operated at Novi: he wondered it had not been asserted as the cause of the capture at Seringapatam. General Massena defeated the Austrians when our troops were on the continent; the battle was fought on the 15th of August, and on the 10th of September there was scarcely a French soldier in Holland. It appears then, that only one object of the three had been successfully pursued; and even here the fleet we had gained we could not employ; it surrendered to us only in the hope
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observing soon under the stadtholder, and the sailors testified the utmost dissatisfaction on being brought to this country in the manner in which they were. "We demand (said he) the reasons which justified the attempt of delivering Holland; but the honourable gentleman shrinks from the inquiry. It would be improper (he tells us) to disclose them, and refers to the prime minister of queen Elizabeth, lord Burleigh, whose conduct he professes to follow." Government was not justifiable in making the attempt; attended, as it necessarily was, without being assured of the good-will of the natives. What objection could there be in laying before the house the favourable intelligence they had procured from the Dutch, if any such existed? Without insisting on the names, let the copies of their letters be produced. This method was successfully practised in the last war, in the affair of Ushant; why then must we have only the assertions of ministers on so important a transaction to England and to Englishmen? There was such a thing as a secret committee; the affairs of the bank had been laid before it, and the most inviolable secrecy preserved respecting the communications. If pressing invitations had been sent us from the Dutch, it was extraordinary that no signs of cordiality appeared, either on the landing of the army, or on their remaining in the country, in prodigious strength, during six weeks: in all this period no one man of eminence declared in their favour. If we were invited to the Helder, we were soon taught what stress was to be laid on these amicable dispositions of the perfidious Dutch, and ought instantly to have given up the enterprise. If the invitation came from other parts of the coast, where the inhabitants would have given us a

better reception, what did we do at the Helder? Let ministers account for their conduct, and exonerate themselves from suspicions, too strong to be removed without proofs, by producing the documents (if any such exist) on which this ill-fated expedition had been planned. It was unconstitutional, nay more, it was an insult on the house, to say this could not be done consistently with the preservation of secrecy. General Abercromby landed on the 22d of August with 10,000 men: he got possession of the Helder: he was reinforced by General Don on the 27th with 5000. Was it not strange that 15,000 men, headed by an able general, and going by invitation, should think it imprudent to advance? Had the Dutch been well affected, why did they not declare themselves?—No French troops were then in Holland to keep them in awe. Their expectations must have been fully answered in the force devoted to their relief; yet no person testified the least attachment to our cause, and from that moment the enterprise was hopeless. There were some questions which only general Abercromby could answer; and on his account, Mr. Tierney said, he wished for an inquiry, as he did not doubt but it would terminate to his honour, and probably prove him to be the first of war ministers; though he could not but remark that most of the expeditions under his auspices had been singularly unfortunate. St. Domingo, where more guineas had been expended and more lives lost than the honourable secretary had been pleased to state, was at last evacuated; Quiberon was evacuated; Corsica was evacuated. But when such an expedition as that to Holland was deemed necessary, why did not the duke of York sail at the same

time with general Don? Why were all our forces sent to one place, and 43,000 men cooped up in a narrow peninsula, where but few could act at a time? It was strange that ministers, who were so fond of making diversions, did not think of making a diversion in some other quarter. This was a point which only military men could determine; and the house was bound to examine officers, that the truth might be made known. Whether his royal highness concluded the capitulation from instructions or from his own judgment, he should (in his opinion) have demanded an inquiry, and this was the only way the disgrace could be transferred from himself, and the gallant officers who served under him. He had no reason to apologise for the liberties he used with the name of his royal highness, although he might one day become his sovereign, for he would not think the worse of that Englishman who was most solicitous for the honour of the British army. We gave up 8000 seamen, whom, it seems, were mere lumber: had his royal highness been of the same opinion, he would not have hesitated in complying with this requisition of general Brune, but instantly have made the surrender of the prisoners. The capitulation had infixed an indelible blot on the national character, and tarnished the sailors' honour: a king's son, commanding 40,000 men, capitulated to a French general who had only 31,000!

In the calculations made by the honourable secretary, the Russian subsidy, which amounted to a million sterling, had totally been omitted; also the levy-money, given to those who volunteered from the militia; and the expence to the nation of the families of those who had been killed or wounded. Per-

haps only 185 died actually in the hospitals; but how many of the wounded died without being brought thither, and not numbered amongst the slain? How many left it uncured? and how few of those would ever again be able to gain their daily bread! The other side of the argument was equally unfair; the Dutch ships are not our assets, we had them only on trust. He questioned whether the number of seamen would be reduced. Lord Duncan kept a very large fleet yet in the North seas, and the expedition had been in every view disastrous; nor would it be the least of its evils that it would involve a British parliament, as well as a British army, in disgrace, if this inquiry was rejected.

Mr. Percival thought the gentlemen on the opposition were very inconsistent, in persisting in opinions proved to be repugnant to the sentiments of the people, of whom they called themselves the organs. They seemed to wish to persuade them that the house was degraded, and, in the votes which were passed, not actuated by any regard to their honour or welfare. It had been conceded, that the object of the expedition was British, tending to the interests of the country; it had been conceded that our commanders and officers were not only unimpeachable, but highly honourable; it had been conceded that one great object had been gained by the Dutch fleet; yet a glaring contradiction appeared—though the fleet was captured, and this capture was of the utmost importance to us, an honourable gentleman had much regretted the means, which he called the treachery of the seamen who manned it; he acknowledged that we could only be successful in the expedition by the co-operation of the inhabitants of Holland, and the favour.

favourable wishes of the Dutch army, yet seemed to forget our object of delivering that country from the French could only have been completed by what he was pleased to call treachery and sedition.

The proposed inquiry was to ascertain if there was any blame imputable for the partial failure of the expedition, and to whom. A secret committee had been mentioned as the best method of obviating any bad consequences which might arise from public discussions; but he much doubted, from the number of members who would sit in it, and a variety of circumstances, whether secrecy would be the result. Another expedient was, to have blanks for the names and places whence the letters were dated; but the whole letters must be left blank, or they would disclose the channels of intelligence, our means of information respecting the country, and all which our interest required we should conceal. The question whether we were absolutely invited to land at the Helder had been repeatedly urged. Might not the invitation come from the interior of the country? The troops must have landed somewhere, and the place must have been left to the direction of those who planned the whole. These inquiries could not be fully answered without making disclosures extremely prejudicial to our own interests and the allies. Much had been said of our capitulation, which, abstractedly considered, was not a very honourable termination of a military expedition: but this was only abstractedly considering it; for we had accomplished two great points out of three: the third was found to be unattainable, and our next object was to effect the return of our troops in the best manner possible. Under these circumstances, there remained

no alternative but that of inundating the country, or of sacrificing a thousand men of the rear guard of our army in the embarkation, which certainly the honourable gentleman would allow (after so eloquently deploping the effusion of human blood) to have been a less humane and honourable expedient than that we adopted, which was to give up 8000 French prisoners.

Mr. M. A. Taylor assured the house that the support he should give to the present motion did not arise from any thing like a party spirit. He anxiously hoped that parliament would inquire into the miscarriage of an enterprise which had disappointed the expectations of the British nation: he was certainly happy that in a degree it had succeeded; but when so large an army had entered Holland, without being able to accomplish any thing like the object they had in view, some solid satisfactory reason should be assigned for so public a disgrace. Parliament should not rest satisfied with the *ipse dixit* of a minister: but Mr. Pitt, throughout his whole administration, would never consent to any inquiry; and if the house did not press it upon the present occasion, it was plain that their inquisitorial capacity was gone.

Mr. Addington observed, that having maturely and dispassionately considered the nature of the proposed inquiry, it appeared to him to rest upon two grounds: first, the propriety of judging any measure by its event; and, secondly, that in consequence of a failure there should be a necessity for investigation. It ought to be recollected, that the worst-concerted plans had often produced the most brilliant success, and the best terminated in disaster. No human being could command success, and no existing government

controul the elements. He concluded with an eulogy on the skill of our generals and the intrepidity of our army.

Mr. Sheridan said, that, after having trespassed so long on the patience of the house, he was induced to make but a few more observations upon the word *disgrace* being considered so objectionable by ministers, when applied to this expedition.

It was indisputable that the mere failure of an expedition was not in itself a disgrace: a town might be besieged and taken, though the garrison had displayed the greatest courage and perseverance. But what included disgrace in a military expedition was, when a country was deluded by promises which were not performed—when a people were tempted by offers of protection to manifest their sentiments—and, instead of the protection held out, the planners of an expedition were obliged to capitulate for their own retreat; and this had been the fact in the present instance. The people indeed did not obey the invitation; but if they had, trusting to the promises of Great Britain, must they not inevitably have been abandoned? The term disgrace fixed upon the men who, without certainty of fulfilling their word, pledged it, and, boasting of their power, committed the nation by their folly and incapacity. Two of the great objects were said to be attained: he denied the fact; two of them were incompatible. If it was one to replace the stadtholder, it could not be one to take away their navy for our own use. But it was a diversion: Holland was the worst of all other places for a diversion, for, by the nature of the country, a very inferior body of troops could successfully resist a greatly superior force. He would agree that it was

a fair thing to call a descent by this name, where, landing on an enemy's shore, we drew great bodies of men from other quarters, and kept them in play; but it was quite another thing when, having landed with the professed object of replacing an exiled authority, and failed of success, we came home, and called it a diversion!—Mr. Sheridan concluded by expressing surprise at the conduct of ministers, particularly upon this occasion. He did expect they would endeavour to render the inquiry nugatory, but not that they would attempt to colour a positive refusal with plausible pretexts! He lamented, for the sake of the army, for the sake of the house, and for the sake of the country, that they thought it consistent with common decency to get rid of the subject by such means.

The house divided: for the motion 45—against it 216.

In our accounts of the financial arrangements of the year, we thought it necessary to notice the subsidies to foreign princes; but as the debate took a more general turn upon that subject, we have reserved it for the present chapter.

On the 14th of February his majesty's message, relative to his negotiations with the emperor of Germany, the elector of Bavaria, &c. being read, lord Grenville moved the address in the house of lords. It would be a waste of time, he said, after the uniform votes of the house on the necessity of prosecuting the war with vigour, to enter into detail on the matter under present consideration. By parliament it had generally been admitted that it was the truest policy of Great Britain to procure the assistance of continental states by subsidising their sovereigns; and it was upon this principle that his majesty had negotiated with

with German princes for a certain number of military forces in the service of the next campaign. These treaties were in such forwardness (though he could not officially state they were concluded) that the principal of them were probably by this time settled, and upon such terms as were highly advantageous to this country. His lordship explained, that as the sending over treaties, and the return of them before their final ratification, took up much time, and as it could not be recovered, its loss would be a national disadvantage, and have an injurious effect on the ensuing campaign; ministers had therefore recommended to his majesty to apply to parliament to authorise them to make such advances provisionally, to the aforementioned German allies, as the respective treaties might require; and, as soon as they were mutually ratified, copies should be laid before the house.

Lord Holland said this measure was founded on the former approbation expressed on the rejection of the overtures of peace from the chief consul: no one had lamented more sincerely than himself the resolution of the house on that point; but, whatever had induced it to approve the continuance of the war, surely a probability of success must have been one of its motives; and as this must depend on the means of carrying it on, was the house merely to sanction discussion without examining whether those means were likely to effect the proposed end? Many lords, even of those who supported the vote which the noble secretary had cited, expressly declared, that in so voting they did not pledge themselves to support the rejection of peace itself. Would any one say, that a subsidy to the emperor of

Germany was what they expected? Did they not collect, from the nature of that demand, and from general report, that a material alteration had taken place in our prospects? Was it not notorious that the two imperial courts acted no longer in concert? When we expected the aid of Russia, we had some reason to suppose that the principal actor in that scene, if he had not exactly the same views, yet went as far as ourselves. If indeed the purport of the present measure was only to exchange Russian for German mercenaries, he thought we should gain by the exchange. We should gain in the first place by knowing that those whom we employed rendered the horrors of war less heart-breaking, less barbarous, than those we intended to employ; and we should gain in point of soldiers; for, notwithstanding the exclusive eulogium which ministers made his majesty speak from the throne in the beginning of the session, the troops of Austria, Prussia, France, and England, were evidently superior to the Russians in discipline, courage, military skill, and in all the qualifications necessary to form a powerful army.

But it was not a mere exchange of troops; we were indeed to subsidise and employ German instead of Russian troops; but were Germans ready to contend for the same objects as ourselves? Did the cabinet of Vienna approve of the principles laid down in our answer to Bonaparte? Did the emperor of Germany think the surest and speediest way of restoring peace was the restoration of the Bourbons? Did he not rather imagine that the sacrifice of the territories of his fellow *hireling*, the elector of Bavaria, would be a shorter measure?

At the same time the statesmen of Vienna, like our prudent ministers, had too much wisdom to limit the possibilities of peace to the success of their favourite projects: they might allow that other events would possibly lead to that desirable end: a slice of Switzerland perhaps—a large portion of Italy—or any other cession of territory, might be amongst the circumstances; and the imperial court did not venture to *prescribe exactly* what sacrifices on the part of France would gratify her ambition, and restore her tranquillity.

She had studiously avoided giving any opinion on the subject, and seemed to feel little anxiety upon it: already she had made one peace with the republic; and was doubtless ready to make another, provided she could make it advantageously. With this view of the coalition, and called upon to put our trust in this particular part of it, he solicited the attention of the house; he begged them to pause—not in a state of war, before they made peace, but before they entangled themselves with new engagements—before they voted away their money, and pledged themselves to an undertaking so difficult in its accomplishment and ruinous in its failure. He earnestly entreated them to examine the object in these two points of view: and, first, in case of success, he would suppose the armies of our allies triumphant in Switzerland, on the frontier towards Italy, on the Rhine, and, in short, in every quarter of the war: were our ministers quite certain that these victories would tend to restore royalty in France, or even annihilate the power and influence of that country? Would they answer for the conduct of Austria? He would suppose a sincere conversion in the cabinet of Vienna,

composed of the same sovereign and ministers as at the time of Leoben and Campo Formio; of the same men who had negotiated with us for a loan, of which they had never paid the interest; who had formed with us the most solemn treaties for the prosecution of the war, and then, without our consultation, signed a peace. He would, however, suppose this extraordinary change to take place, and this extraordinary success to attend their arms: but would our point be gained by it?—Let the house reflect that the king of Prussia was not bound by any oath of allegiance to promote our designs, or render his power subservient to British objects: his duty was that which all sovereigns owe to their situation, to maintain the independence of his country, the welfare of his people, and the authority of his state; and would any man conversant in the interests of continental powers, were he minister to his Prussian majesty, advise that prince to sit tamely by, and see the hereditary rival of his house calmly witness the power most formidable to his own crush and dismember France, which could alone operate as a check to that rival, and protect him from the effects of a long-rooted animosity.

Unless Prussia became suddenly stupid and base, its councils would immediately tend to rescue France from our designs, and defeat the accomplishment of our object respecting royalty.

He would now look on the other side of the picture, and imagine ourselves and our allies defeated, and the armies of Bonaparte victorious. What would then be the resource of ministers? He knew enough of their character not to know they would then have recourse to negotiation—

tiation—to what Mr. Burke happily termed their *mendicant diplomacy*. When thoroughly beaten, they would pretend to have had experience of Bonaparte's government, and then discern speedier means of peace than the restoration of the Bourbons—they would be as mean and crouching in their overtures as they had lately been insolent in their replies. But could they expect the man whom they had treated as the worst of mankind would become clement and moderate because we were defeated, and grant that peace to their supplications which they had disdained to accord to his when they imagined him in adversity?—Lord Holland then proceeded to state the inconveniences of subsidies, and the little faith which could be placed in the promises of courts. We had subsidised, he said, almost every German prince, and almost every German prince had deceived and betrayed us; and this was one of the chief causes which had occasioned the failure of the bank. He therefore hoped that a subsidy was one of the few measures to which parliament would not, without much deliberation, consent; for his own part he could not see large sums sent out of the kingdom (to the diminution of our credit too) merely to purchase for ourselves treachery and disappointment, and to the house of Austria territory and aggrandisement, without the deepest regret; and he conjured the house to weigh well, and determine cautiously, before they again placed their reliance on a cabinet which had betrayed them already; and especially as they were informed, that very night, the chief hopes of our future success were again founded on this perfidious court.

The duke of Montrose rose:—He meant not, he said, to enter into

the variety of topics so amply discussed, but merely to advert to the question, Whether, during a war with France, under singular and unprecedented circumstances, it was wisdom to subsidise the princes of the continent, and purchase troops to harass the enemy near their native country, or to leave them an opportunity to bring the war into the British Channel, and on the coasts of this kingdom?—The history of England proved, by a variety of precedents, that it always had been the policy of Great Britain, when engaged in foreign war, to avail itself of the assistance of auxiliary forces; and as the best statesmen in former periods had uniformly adopted the practice, it was well to walk in the steps so wisely trod by their ancestors.

Lord Grenville begged leave to observe that it was highly improper to introduce the strain of invective used that evening by a noble lord (Holland); that it was a gross violation of parliamentary decorum to treat our allies with such personal disrespect, and to term any sovereign of a foreign state in our alliance an *hireling*. Lest false ideas should be spread by opposition speeches, he desired permission to read to the house a copy of his majesty's speech alluded to, and so grossly misrepresented—as if ministers had praised one ally at the expence of another, or been capable of failing in the due respect to all. The document was the best refutation of the mistake.

Lord Holland declared himself ready to acknowledge inaccuracy in this instance; but lord Grenville might rest assured that he would consult his own judgment solely as to what he should say, or what line of argument he should pursue, in that house. Whatever

he felt (as a peer of parliament) he had a right to speak, and would continue to speak without reserve.

The question being put, the house divided. Contents 28, Non-contents 3.

On the 17th, Mr. Pitt moved the order of the day, in the house of commons, for referring his majesty's message to a committee of the house, to consider of a supply being granted to secure the co-operation of such a force as would be superior to any that we had reason to believe the French could bring upon the frontier.

This motion, he said, proceeded on a principle which had been recently recognised in that house, *i. e.* the vigorous prosecution of the war; a measure felt to be necessary for the safety, honour, and happiness of the country. Those who approved our declining to negotiate with the enemy at this time would not be unwilling to support it; and even those who recommended negotiation, - he hoped, would acquiesce in the present motion. After the brilliant achievements of the last year, it was not for him to say how much was to be expected from the imperial arms. He was aware there had been a supposition that there might not be the same co-operation of both the imperial courts; that the emperor of Russia would not employ his arms against France in conjunction with Austria; but he had stated, on a former night, that there was no cause for such a supposition; and, even if there were, it would be an additional reason for the measure his majesty had taken, and communicated in his gracious message, part of which the committee had heard read; and they would learn with satisfaction that the force in Germany would be greater in the

ensuing campaign than it even was in the last. Mr. Pitt said, he therefore *expected* the concurrence of the committee to any measure likely to promote so desirable an effect.

There were some other points he might be required to touch upon, which he should do briefly. At this period of the year we could not have the treaties ready to be laid before parliament, therefore the house could not judge ultimately on the scheme; but there was enough explained to render it incumbent to enable his majesty to make such advances as to prevent the enemy from taking advantage of delay, and impeding the efforts of the allies. The great object was to give spirit to the campaign at the commencement, and strength at its continuance. As the negotiations between us and the allies were not fully concluded, it was impossible to state the whole force to be employed, or the pecuniary assistance which this country was to afford to his imperial majesty. In the mean time it was proposed to advance first the sum of 500,000*l.*; the total amount would probably be two millions and a half. He therefore moved, "That it is the opinion of this committee that the sum of 500,000*l.* be granted to engage the assistance of the emperor of Germany, the elector of Bavaria, and other German princes, against the common enemy."

Mr. Nicholls wished to ascertain what quantity of corn would be necessary to supply the wants of this country before such a sum of money was sent out of it. The state of the poor in England was alarming; the last crop had been deficient a full fourth in the usual produce; this left two million quarters of wheat to be purchased to make

up the deficiency. Could this quantity of corn be procured from the Baltic? What would be the expense in money at which it could be bought?

He himself thought 12,000,000*l.* was not over-rating the expence. He hoped the committee would pause before they consented to a measure which might interfere with the interests and prevent the relief of our own poor, or, if prosecuted, affect our commercial credit. Were we able to pay away two millions and a half in subsidies to other powers, and twelve millions for the necessaries of life? The subject ought to be adjourned for further consideration. The scarcity of corn was already severely felt; the failure of the turnip crop, and the extravagant price of hay, threatened as great a rise in some of the other necessaries as in that of bread. Gentlemen seemed most zealous for the continuance of war; but he trusted they would not wish it to be continued by any measures which would increase the misery of the poor, or affect the public credit. He adjured them to hesitate before they sanctioned a motion which might increase the evil, or, at least, lessen the means of remedying it.

Mr. Jolliffe supported the minister. He thought no war could be carried on so successfully as by foreign troops. Members of the house had certainly a right to utter their opinions; but this did not justify them in opposing plans of government, and impeding the execution of its measures, when the object of these was sanctioned by a majority of parliament.

The honourable William Bouverie said, the overture for negotiation, to which the last speaker alluded, had been treated arrogantly and insolently; it ought to have been

heard at least. Without pretending to foresee what would have been its termination, or whether peace would actually have been the result, had it appeared that every measure had been taken to secure an honourable peace, the people would have regarded the prosecution of the war as a common cause, and coincided with cheerfulness in every exertion for its success. For himself, he should then have considered the present proposition worthy of support, not that he thought that any scarcity of corn existed in this country to make the nation hesitate in a great national object. Indeed he was convinced there was enough of corn to supply its inhabitants till the next harvest. It was the prerogative of each member to deliver his sentiments on every proposal brought before the house. He was responsible for his vote to his constituents, and (without being superstitious) to his conscience.

Mr. Tierney began with remarking, that though the minority were few, they had a right to be supposed actuated by upright motives; their not coinciding with the many, who had more power and more interest on their side, was no ground for suspecting their principles to be corrupt. The minister, on a former occasion, negotiated in conformity to the wishes of the people; but it was not by the majority of the house that these wishes were expressed, it was by the few, who were found faithfully to deliver the opinions of their constituents. It was asserted that gentlemen had pledged themselves, by voting for the continuance of the war, to vote for supplies necessary to carry it on; but surely a change of circumstances might produce a change of judgment, and those who gave their vote, on being confidently told the differences

differences between the imperial courts were at an end, were authorised to change them on being informed the emperor of Russia would not assist us. He knew it would be said that Russia had not deserted from the object of the war, but only had withdrawn troops on the continent of Europe; but did this power ever furnish a man without being paid for him? Would the emperor co-operate with us except on the old terms, namely, that we should pay his troops, feed, clothe, and send them home again, with money in his pocket, under the name of two months' additional pay?

But let us inquire how far there could be any real co-operation between us and the emperor of Germany. He had avowed to all Europe that his view was totally distinct from the restoration of the Bourbons; and his conduct had proved his object was to increase his power, acquire territorial dominion, and recover the countries he had lost. Had the minister told the house this day the emperor had now got over his difficulties, and avowed a common cause with Russia and this country, there would have been some plausibility in requesting a subsidy; but the case was widely different by his own account, and he firmly believed that our object, notwithstanding the diplomatic *ifs* and *buts*, whenever the subject was brought under consideration, was the restoration of monarchy. For the promotion of this object, he, for his own part, would never consent to vote one shilling of the public money, or even to promote the restoration of any better order in France, however he might wish it. An honourable gentleman had been blamed for introducing the state of corn as extraneous and inapplicable; but surely,

if there was one subject more connected than another with the discussion, it was this: unnecessary or improper it could not be to inquire into the expediency of sending money out of England, to supply the wants of others, whilst we were called upon to turn all our resources to help our own people. The war had continued seven years; during the greater part of that time it had been defended on the principles that it had been *just* and *necessary*, and 200,000,000*l.* had been spent in defence of these words. Of late, indeed, we had heard nothing of them; to be sure it could not well be termed *just*, as its object was to restore the Bourbons: nor *necessary*, because we had refused to negotiate when the opportunity was presented. He proceeded to make some observations on the principle of the proposition: after voting for this sum, after acknowledging the propriety of the plan, larger subsidies would be required, and could not consistently be refused.

Not that he believed any of the 500,000*l.* was intended for the emperor, who would not conform to any of the views of our ministers, or accept the money on the condition of conformity. It had been affirmed, indeed, that the emperor, and the German states, had abundance of zeal and little gold, and we supplied four or five millions; but, at a subsequent period, when he got no supplies from this country, did it appear that his resources were smaller, or his exertions less energetic? Had he not proved that he possessed not only abundance of men, but the means of calling them into action, and supporting them in the field? In the last campaign his successes were the result of his own force and of his own resources;

sources; how then could it be urged with the least plausibility, that, without a subsidy from us, he would be unable to call the men into the field whom he had it in his power to employ? Had we refused negotiation on justifiable reasons, however he might lament the shedding of blood, he should approve of the present measure, because he wished any blood to be shed sooner than that of Englishmen. But when an opportunity of making peace had been arrogantly rejected, we could not be warranted in voting away the lives and properties of the people to continue the contest. Was the object of the minister the destruction of jacobinism? Let us suppose it; what is this jacobin spirit? It is somewhat undefinable—a phantom now only known by the designation given to it: in France it is diminished in power and influence; the late events in that nation had nearly annihilated it: dreaded and deprecated as it had justly been, it must be allowed to have tended to some species of liberty—but this liberty was now totally abolished. If the same measures were pursued which gave it energy, it might yet revive. But in truth he did not think this could be the real object of the war—it appeared to be something hidden in the minds of ministers, which they were afraid to publish, or something which they themselves had not ascertained; and we were called to lavish our blood and treasure in a cause for which no one plain, satisfactory, intelligible reason could be assigned—and he defied them to name it.

Mr. Pitt rose:—He said this observation was the strangest he had ever heard advanced; he did not know whether he could state the object of the war in one sentence, but in one word he could name it—*Security*.

It was also more than this; security against a danger the greatest that ever threatened the world—a danger which never existed before in any period of society—which threatened and had been resisted by all the nations of Europe, and by none with so much success as our own, because by none so uniformly, and with so much energy. Our resistance had not been confined to external force, it had joined internal policy and wise legislative measures to oppose jacobinism in the bosom (he was sorry to have found it there) of our own country.

How was it discovered that jacobinism had disappeared in France? It was now centred in one man, nursed in its school, who had gained celebrity under its auspices, and was at once the child and the champion of its atrocities—*Bonaparte*.

Our security in negotiation was to be this man, who was now the organ of all that was destructive in the revolution. Granting that 200,000,000*l.* had been expended for the words “just and necessary,” it had been expended for the best of causes, to protect the dearest rights, to defend the most valuable privileges, the laws, the liberties, the happiness of our country; and for such objects as much more would we spend, and as much more should we find.

The honourable gentleman had left no ground for controverting his arguments respecting the house of Bourbon, by saying that any attempt at explanation on this subject was the mere unintelligible language of “*ifs*” and “*buts*,” and though he was not particularly partial to the sound of either, he would be much obliged to Mr. Tierney to supply their places. The restoration of monarchy, he would again repeat,

repeat, was a desirable object, because it would afford the strongest security to us; *but* this might not be attainable; and, *if* it were not attainable, we must be satisfied with the best we could obtain without it. Peace was to be wished by this country, *but* negotiation might be attended with greater evils than war; and *if* this was found to be the case, *if* it threatened all the mischiefs we had struggled so long to avert, *if* the contest afforded the prospect of permanent security, and *if* it might be prosecuted with increasing commerce and increasing prosperity, then it was but prudent in us to postpone negotiation at the present moment. These were his *buts* and his *ifs*. This was his plea, and on no other would he desire to be tried by God and his country.

But all the discussion was an attempt to connect the war with the present scarcity, and induce the people to believe the evils which they felt were the result of the former. It was to make them reason (little qualified as they were at all times to judge impartially) at a time when their passions were most interested and inflamed.

In arguing the question, the honourable gentleman was undoubtedly justified in using every fair means of supporting his opinion; but it was not his duty to render this important contest injurious to his country, when he asserted, that, though his friends were few, they had represented the opinions of the country on a former occasion, and now represented it in their expressed desire for peace. If he meant this, in the full sense of his expressions, it was another proof that jacobinism was not yet overthrown, for it was one of its most favourite principles that the few

represent the sentiments of the many; but he himself wanted a little more evidence than had been produced to prove it. On the occasion alluded to, when government thought it expedient to attempt negotiation, he denied that the voice of the majority of the country was for peace: many entertained a hope there might be a chance of security, and wished the attempt to be made; but few now regretted its failure, as a patched-up peace would be attended with greater evils than the war.

The expences were exaggerated in the statement of purchasing corn and provision for the troops which were to be employed. Twelve millions would not be wanted for the continent—we had already obtained a considerable supply, and had resources of a pecuniary nature equal to our requirements. If the war were unjust it should be terminated at once; if just, prosecuted with vigour, though the scarcity was greater. It might with the same consistency be argued, that, in a town besieged, the garrison, though not distressfully pressed by the enemy, should surrender sooner than be reduced to short allowance. If the majority were determined to continue the war, that man did not act like a good citizen who sought to render the issue fatal to his country and favourable to France.

The emperor of Russia had clearly announced his object to be the restoration of French monarchy; in this he differed from us. The emperor of Germany was said to be actuated by the ambition of territorial acquisitions. We might have a third object; but ought not their offers of co-operation to be gladly accepted by England, which had so great an interest in bringing a numerous army (whatever might be

be their motives) against this powerful enemy, to check a principle of destruction which threatened every state and every nation, and had already swept from the earth so many of its inhabitants. Mr. Pitt concluded with reprobating the cruel and dangerous tendency of connecting the war with the scarcity, and, by aggravating the evils of both, endeavouring to prejudice and mislead the public mind.

Mr. Tierney spoke in explanation: he said, if those sentiments and that conduct were his which were imputed to him, he was not only an unworthy member of the state, but deserved to be expelled from society. He should be glad to know at what time, and whether directly or indirectly, he had ever proved himself an advocate for jacobinism, or been found to stir up or mislead the people? In fact, it was ministers who promoted bad principles and their consequences, while the re-establishment of royalty was their object, and security their watch-word. The present question was not whether assistance should be sent to Russia and Germany, even though they had avowedly a different motive from us; but whether we should pay for it: and to send away two millions and a half of English money, when the people of England were in want, was a measure he strongly would oppose. If the enemy were at the gate, then indeed it would be improper to excite a doubt, or start a single objection. But the case was not so: France wished for peace; and though the minister had strangely pleaded that the war might be prosecuted with increasing commerce and prosperity, the house did not meet to augment the wealth of certain individuals: the burdens occasioned by

the war were generally and severely felt; it pressed peculiarly hard on country gentlemen. If the property of the nation had not diminished (which was a great doubt with him) it had changed hands; and was this change no calamity? was it no evil to weaken the vital strength of the country (that of the gentry of England)? Were the estates of those whose ancestors had placed the present family on the throne to be taken from them to re-instate the Bourbons in France? Were these the effects of the minister's boasted system of finance? It would be found, in the end, that his only merit consisted in having so long prevented discontents from bursting out in insurrections. With a view to peace, the French people had established the new government under Bonaparte; and, by refusing to hear his offers, England had augmented his power.

Mr. Wilberforce declared himself reluctantly called up to speak on this important question; which was, that, being at war, whether we should conduct it vigorously or not? and whether that vigorous resistance could not more effectually be made by foreign troops subsidised in our service than by British? He was not so inexperienced in parliament as not to know how subject ministers were to misrepresentation. Under such circumstances he was obliged to justify himself. Did he, or his right honourable friend, deny that the pressure of the war was severe? Surely never. This was misrepresentation; as also to persist in affirming that it was to be carried on for the Bourbons. The reasons of its continuance were just and weighty: no one could calculate with any certainty on the government of France; the most

most ambitious monarch that ever filled a throne would afford better grounds of security than its present usurper, who had been connected with the jacobins, and might, at at the very time of negotiation, bring a powerful force against this country. This was a solid objection to entering on a premature treaty.

He could not but add one remark, that when the chancellor of the exchequer expressed his opinion with that caution which the prudent should use, and qualified it in such a manner as left him free to act as circumstances should require, there was always a tendency in the opposition to impute a meaning which could not be justified. Those who acted with circumspection had more real principle than any who followed up their passions, made broad assertions, and scrupled not to contradict at one time what they boldly asserted at another. The opposition made to the vote of that night was an opposition to the war, on purpose to impede the powers of administration, and force us into a disadvantageous peace. When there was an appearance of security in the councils of France, when she was in such a state as she formerly had been, and not till then, he would vote for negotiation.

Mr. Sheridan said, he expected a warmer declaration from this honourable gentleman, when he recollected his conduct on a former occasion. There was a time, not far distant neither, when Mr. Wilberforce rebuked the violence of the minister, and made a motion for an address to his majesty that the government of France might not be an obstacle to peace when an opportunity should arrive. Now, as he was anxious to escape from the charge of inconsistency, he

ought to state the reasons of this difference in his conduct. The government was then composed of furious jacobins, and yet he wished it not to stand in the way of treaty; now, when it is of a less objectionable nature, he tells us there is no security in any peace! The minister had spoken with great eloquence, but never was it so ill applied; his dexterity had been shown in driving the subject from its basis; he had not dared to assert that we had suffered by the defection of Russia. What that power might still effect, relative to La Vendee, he did not inquire; but relative to the great object, monarchy in France, we were *minus* the emperor of Russia. Was it then to be endured that the minister should ask a subsidy under such circumstances? after such unqualified praise of this magnanimous ally, after having been left by him in the crisis, to demand two millions and a half to subsidise Germany, and assure the house we should then have a better army than we could have had with Russia? If Germany possessed these wonderful forces before, why were they not called into action? and if not, why were we to subsidise their rabble? But who was the person that applied for the subsidy? As to the elector of Bavaria, he might be left quite out of the question. Was it the emperor of Germany? and was there any thing in his character or conduct to incline us to listen to him? He thought not, for two reasons; first, he had applied once on a false pretence; and, secondly, he had failed in performing his stipulated engagement. Now, if to these were added the evidence of facts, that, though bound to this country, this emperor also had broken all faith, and made
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a separate peace, it furnished a rational cause for declining to grant subsidies to such a power.—The minister was offended at our connecting the situation of the country with the present scarcity; but there appeared to him no more objection to state the pressure, in this particular, from the continuance of the war, than to mention the increase of the public debt, the state of our finances, or any other of those reasons so often assigned, without impropriety having ever been objected to them. We saw an opulent commercial prosperity; but over the country we beheld barracks and broth-houses, the cause and the consequence of the poverty and distress of the kingdom; for surely it would not be contended but that amongst the calamities of war were to be reckoned families left without support, and thrown upon charity for subsistence. He was aware that it had long been the habit to brand with the name of Jacobin all who had at any time opposed ministers, resisted the waste of public money, and laboured to restore tranquillity: the Whig Club were said to be jacobins, the Friends of the People were jacobins, and the honourable gentleman had pledged himself never to deal with jacobin France! As to Bonaparte, whose character had been stigmatised by us with fraud and insincerity, he had made treaties with the emperor, and observed them faithfully: with us it was his interest to make peace; and, if once made, could we imagine he had not power to preserve it? and would not the people of France be convinced that an infraction would bring with it a new order of things, and a renewal of those horrors and calamities which they so deeply and recently had suffered? Our ministers affirm-

ed they do not wish to restore monarchy without the consent of the people. Would it not then be better to leave the people to settle the matter themselves? for, if armies were to interfere, could we ascertain that it was a legitimate government, established with their pure consent? Peace must be sought in the spirit of peace. We were not to make it a question who was the first aggressor, or throw the blame on the enemy: such circumstances should be consigned to oblivion. France, in the beginning of the revolution, had conceived many romantic notions: she was to put an end to war, and produce, by a pure form of government, a perfectibility of mind never before realised. The monarchs of Europe, seeing the prevalence of these new principles, trembled for their thrones. France, perceiving their hostility, supposed her existence, as a republic, depended on their overthrow; but who first gave the offence, or with whom the jealousy arose, need not be discussed: the one spoke of exterminating jacobins, the other of destroying kings. From this source the miseries of Europe flowed, and it was waste of time to inquire further on the subject. But, had not France reprobated those principles of jacobinism which created her so many enemies? Violent invectives against regular governments had been publicly disapproved: the abbé Sieyès had written in favour of monarchy, and Bonaparte had condemned the excesses of the revolution in the most pointed manner. He would be as good a friend to this country as any of the Bourbons were, and there could be no period when we could hope for better terms. Should the king of Prussia join France, such an alliance would greatly change the
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the state of things, and from her honourable neutrality (in spite of the efforts of this country) such an event was not unlikely. It ought to be considered, also, that the chief consul would feel no small portion of resentment towards us, arising from the indignity with which his overtures had been treated; nor was it improbable that, to satisfy his revenge, he would make large sacrifices to Austria, in order to contend more successfully with England. Such were his fears and opinions; but, unhappily, he was numbered with the minority; though it should be remembered that there had been instances when the sentiments of the minority were those of the people at large. One particularly came to his mind, when a war was prevented with Russia concerning Oczakow. The minority then told the minister that the opinion of the country was contrary to that of the majority in the house; the fact justified the assertion, and the dispute was abandoned. In the year 1797 the people did not think with the parliament, and strongly wished for peace, which he believed was the case also at present.

Mr. Nicholls rose to answer the accusation brought against him by the chancellor of the exchequer. He said he had himself stated no fact, but had only remarked the conclusions which resulted from the facts stated before the corn-committee. It was there proved there was a deficiency of corn for three months; and that, upon an average, those who consumed wheaten bread consumed a quarter of wheat in a year. If, therefore, the population of England amounted to eight millions, we should need two millions of quarters. Whatever alarm there had been given by this notification

had been already given by the report of the corn-committee.

Mr. Windham inveighed with great vehemence against the opposition, who seemed to wish those principles called the rights of man might be invigorated and flourish, that our present coalition might be broken, and the measures of our government thwarted. They had pleaded the necessity of negotiation, which afforded little prospect of security, and would have the certain effect of consolidating the power of Bonaparte; which would tend to dissolve the existing confederacy, by introducing jealousy among the coalesced powers, and answer the political purposes of our enemy. When France appeared to be in her exultation, did they wish to depress her? Quite the reverse; they opposed the giving supplies to our allies at that time, and sought to cripple ministers in all their efforts. If they would act impartially, they would examine whether there was not some important end to be answered, worthy the trouble and expence bestowed on its attainment. If it could be proved that the money was not likely to produce an effect adequate to its expenditure, or could be laid out more advantageously for the country, administration would be obliged to any gentleman who would point it out. But the minority did not appear decided in their plans: sometimes they would put an entire stop to the war, sometimes would only obstruct it; some would go far to carry it on, but objected to the extensive lengths to which others were led, and therefore endeavoured to paralyse the efforts which they wanted the spirit to approve. Another contradiction was also apparent: they were attached to the republic of France,

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whilst a republic existed, and to individual despotism when fresh circumstances created the change. That the majority of the house should differ from these gentlemen was not matter of surprise. They had accused ministers of having no determinate object of the war; but the explanation of its grounds and its continuance had been so often repeated, that it was unnecessary to speak of either. One question indeed deserved a definitive answer; "Did we fight for the restoration of that monarchy which had ever been hostile to this country, and had been the occasion of our wars and debts?" This was a matter of calculation. The monarchy of France had existed 800 years; and if we considered the evils it had produced to England in that time, we should find them far inferior to those accumulated upon us by the aggressions, plots, and acts of France, in the short course of eight years' revolution. Let us suppose a Bourbon on the throne. Might not better terms of peace be expected from him than from the present consul? Would it not in all probability be more permanent? The condition in which a prince just re-inflated on his throne would feel himself would be a security for the limitation of his views and the fidelity of his engagements. Neither, if his disposition was hostile, would he be capable of acting with the same force as a republic. For some time also he must be dependent on neighbouring nations; and though, in the course of years, the government might degenerate in principle when increased in power, it would possess the character of stability and capacity to respect treaties; while the present carried in its bosom the seeds of its own dissolution, and of disturbance to all other states.

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It had been said, that the character of Bonaparte ought not to come into consideration: but in a negotiation it was incumbent on ministers to delineate to the public the character of the person with whom they were to treat. Nothing could be more important than a candid review of his whole conduct. He had been held up as a hero, and (what was extraordinary) by those who were always declaiming against kings and conquerors, and war, and bloodshed. But, leaving his actions towards other states to speak for themselves, how could we depend on the sincerity of his wishes for peace, when he lately concluded it with Austria only with a view of carrying war into another quarter of the world. And he doubtless was in hopes, by commanding the army of England, to subjugate this country to the authority of France. In the revolution the last murderer was always the hero, and most estimated for the time; and this was the reason there was so much difficulty in defining jacobinism. It was a species of evil, presented to the human mind as Chaos itself: it was the negative of order, founded on the ruin of every thing permanent and dear to man: it robbed the lawful owner of his property, to enrich the worthless; and despoiled the people of their liberties, whilst declaiming on their rights! Yet there were persons, even in this country, well inclined to the government in France, and who would triumph in its establishment. Such were those who wished for peace with Bonaparte, condemning every measure adopted to introduce a better order of things. The temporary scarcity was no reason for not prosecuting the war, though it had been represented as an invincible objection. But topics of this kind were jacobinical; and, by ex-

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citing discontent, impeded the most important proceedings of administration. If the scarcity was of such weight as had been affirmed, we ought to make peace at any rate: but this was erroneous statement; and, by joining together calamities totally unconnected in nature, the very spirit of jacobinism could be traced, of which it was the characteristic to take advantage of the dissatisfactions of mankind, and turn them to its own purposes.

Mr. Tierney exonerated himself from the charge of inflaming the public, or thwarting the measures of government, and thereby injuring the country. Nothing could be further from his wish or his conduct: witness the ample testimony it afforded, when he voted for the supplies through the whole of the war. He opposed the present measure, because he apprehended that the war might be carried on by each party at his own expence. He was against sending money out of the kingdom to support others more capable of supporting themselves than we were, the scarcity considered. As a member of the British house of commons, he neither was a friend to the French republic, nor to the chief consul, but to the political interest of Great Britain; and, should ministers succeed in restoring royalty, he should be as anxious for peace as he was now.

Sir William Pulteney wished the country to understand on what principles he should vote on the subject in discussion. The rejection of Bonaparte's overtures had been dissatisfactory to his mind, and would be so to his constituents. Could any one pronounce what the effect of that negotiation might have been? Perhaps the French would have given up Belgium. As to the restoration of the Bourbons, he totally repro-

bated the idea. If the French chose to reinstate them, without our interference, it would be very different in its effect from that of force; and especially the interference of foreign powers. He was afraid our information was very defective, upon the subject of the tyranny of their yoke under the chief consul, and the opinion of the French people upon it. Ministers took their reports from persons who were exiled from their country, and biased in their judgments. Had we listened to the proposals of Bonaparte, without a cessation of hostilities, it might have had the best effect on the treaty itself. He lamented this great error in administration; and, as he considered the measure before the house as part of the system, he must vote against it.

Mr. William Smith said, that the question to him appeared to be in substance, whether we should pay the powers of Germany for fighting their own battles, or not? These powers admitted they were as much interested as ourselves, and therefore we were to pay them for taking care of their own interest. That the emperor was both able and willing to carry on the war without us had been demonstrated in the two last campaigns. But it was said the negotiation was breaking up the confederacy. He wondered, when ministers used this argument, they did not think of the conduct of our allies to us. What did the emperor do at Campo Formio? What was the emperor of Russia now doing? Truly breaking up the confederacy! The scarcity was a subject which ought not to be brought forward but with a view of some good end; and with this, it was not only justifiable, but a part of duty, to state the real case: it was calling upon the members of the house to survey

the calamitous situation of the country, without which they could not form a just opinion of the necessity of the war. It appeared to him a great misconduct in ministers to give away the money of Great Britain, who were bound to take care of themselves, and fully competent: and it was superfluous, even if the English were not in distress, to pay people for pursuing their own interest.—For the motion, 162.—Against it, 19.

As a further suspension of the habeas-corpus act was thought necessary by the minister, the Attorney-general, early in February, moved for the renewal of the act to enable his majesty to secure persons suspected of conspiring against government, which act would expire on the 1st of March. Since the passing of the late bill, he said, opinions were not changed respecting the machinations of those who were objects of the bill; and if the house thought it a proper measure last year, they must think so now. The country might be in greater safety than it had been some time ago; but whoever would read the whole report of the committee published last year would be convinced there yet existed people in this kingdom who would disturb the peace of it, if any opportunity presented itself. Tranquillity had already been preserved by this act, and its utility was the cause of its continuance.

Mr. Jones conceived the loyalty of the country to be so great as to render the bill quite unnecessary, and he never would consent to place unlimited power in the hand of ministers over the liberties and lives of the whole country: it would be better to repeal the habeas-corpus act at once.

Mr. Buxton believed it was to the suspension of the habeas corpus

that the members of that house owed the liberty of sitting there. The war was carried on against jacobin principles; and as long as these continued, so long must it endure.

Mr. Sheridan said, at no time should he be disposed to vote for this bill; and less than ever when the plea was, not the disaffection in this country, but the dangerous principles in another! So then, as long as any state retained jacobin principles, even should France renounce them, so long must Great Britain be deprived of this grand palladium of her liberties.

Were we not to be satisfied with the loyalty of our own people? Had any thing of a seditious nature been even alleged to have passed to render this suspension necessary? What appearances of treason could be found in the nation? Let ministers make known what had occurred, or even point out the continuance of that spirit of disaffection which the report stated had existed in 1798 and 1799. Not one of the imprisoned persons during that period, though severely treated, had been brought to trial. And how many had been taken up since April 1799? Two; one Irishman, and one Swedish baron. Had ministers then been negligent of their duty, or had there been less cause of alarm? The fact was, they were themselves convinced that no conspiracy existed, and it was cruel to deprive the people of their privileges, because two persons had been committed since April 1799, and neither of these Englishmen! It was also peculiarly unjust that persons should not be brought to trial, and, because sufficient proof could not be produced against them, that they should be detained five years in a prison!

As matters now were managed,

he would recommend it to the people of England to petition the house of commons to repeal the habeas corpus act at once, and give ministers a dictatorial power.

The Secretary of War said, that as the honourable gentleman had always opposed this suspension, he would have been inconsistent with himself if he had not done the same now; but the question was not what Mr. Sheridan, but what the house of commons should think upon the subject? and in the determination of this, another question was involved, whether any such change had taken place as to require different measures from those which parliament had adopted to preserve general safety? Now we were not warranted to say there was no symptom remaining of the mischief so much dreaded, and therefore the bill was necessary. The non-appearance of the evil, instead of being a motive for taking off the restraint, was a cause for its continuance. If it had not broken out, this was the reason; and to repeal the act because it had been efficacious, would be as absurd as it would be dangerous. He believed jacobinism was on the decline, but he hoped the house would guard against it in all its possible forms; its advocates were silent because they were now liable to punishment, but quietness was no proof that there was no existing plot. What was the case of Ireland? A conspiracy was discovered by an accomplice; and if it had not been discovered, the capital would have been reduced to ashes. He did not mean to say that the metropolis of Great Britain had been exposed to the same danger, nor that these considerations made up the strongest reasons for the suspension of the habeas corpus; yet they had weight: and although he believed the great mass of the peo-

ple were loyal, and that the number of the disaffected was reduced, yet this bill took away the power of those men whom nothing but the want of power would render harmless, and he knew the extensive mischief they were capable of perpetrating. As there was no change therefore in their dispositions, he hoped the measure would be supported.

Sir Francis Burdett opposed it vehemently: he was at a loss to comprehend what was meant by jacobin principles being on the decline in England, unless it implied the principles of liberty. He had not language to express his feelings on the repeated suspension of the habeas corpus. If any part of our constitution was preferable to another, it was this act, which, when removed, left very little difference between one government and another. Was not two years sufficient for the imprisonment of those unhappy persons confined in the Cold-Bath Fields, and did not their detention evince a fear in ministers to bring them to trial. He took upon himself to affirm, their innocence was their crime; and its discovery might do mischief. If their guilt existed, was it probable it would not be made public, when its publication would so much strengthen the cause of administration? As a refutation of these assertions, sir Francis demanded they might be tried. The power conferred by this bill had been already placed in the hands of men who abused it; illegal warrants had been issued out; powers not known to the constitution were passed into the hands of Bow-street ruffians upon the warrants of clerks in offices, who, under their authority, went down to Manchester, and dragged masters of families from their own houses at night, amidst the cries of those families;

milies; handcuffed and loaded them with irons; shut them up in Clerkenwell prison, where they were lodged under pain of body and mind. When out of their bands, they applied to the humanity of the jailor for relief, in consequence of the swellings of their legs occasioned by the treatment of these savages. What would the immortal Chatham have said on the recital of such oppression! the thunder of his eloquence would have shaken the house, and the avenues would have been thronged with auditors, whilst he had pointed out wherein the superiority of our country, wherein the excellence of our constitution, consisted. It was in this that the cottage of the peasant was as sacred as the palace of the king; though humbly thatched, it was secure, and an asylum which dared not be violated. He would have raised a storm from which the senators would gladly have screened their heads, and hastened to their homes:—but, now, the character of the house was power and not language, and majorities did not depend on reasoning.

Here the Speaker interposed, calling to order, and condemning the impropriety of these expressions. Sir Francis resumed his speech in reference to the attorney-general, and said he did not forget his predecessor in that station, who had passed to power through the gradation of similar services, and was now in a way to the first place in the kingdom. Sir Francis concluded with declaring he would use his utmost efforts to oppose tyranny and corruption; and though there was cause to complain of 8000 prisoners delivered up on the failure of the late expedition, yet this was not so much to be lamented as the fate of men who were illegally, unjustly, and cruelly confined.

Mr. Canning observed that the baronet's speech was a proof jacobin principles had not ceased to produce their mischievous effects, and that this gentleman should profess his ignorance of them—nay, imagine they were only principles of liberty, gitted as he was with considerable talents and eloquence, was a serious caution to the house not to be imposed upon as this honourable member certainly was, by conjecturing jacobinism to be liberty!

When by this system, aided by the sword, governments were overthrown; when the papal religion, under the most malignant effects of superstition, had not produced half the evils of these principles; was it not our duty to guard against them? England was the only country which had escaped their influence; but factions still were to be found amongst us, and the events on the continent presented many views for their ambitious prospects.

Only two persons having been taken up in two years, was a proof that ministers were not inclined to abuse their trust. The charge of cruelty for arresting people of Manchester at night who were found to be seditious was ridiculous; a warrant might be executed then as well as by day; the officers arrived at night, and sought to secure their prisoners then; the house was opened by legal instruments, and they acted according to law. He admitted that the cottage was as secure as the palace, and the main object of the war was to maintain this equal security. But the French had made one indiscriminate waste of cottages and palaces. Thanks to our parliament, it had not been so with us; nor would it be, as long as we could preserve the higher ranks of society from the infection of jacobinism, and the lower from the seduction

of them. On these reasons he gave his vote to the bill.

Mr. Wilberforce said that ministers were entitled to confidence until it could be proved, from their conduct and character, there were good causes for refusing it. Parliament was to judge by these evidences whether they were inclined to abuse their trust; and would also consider whether the persons who opposed the bill might not be imposed on, and whether they had not been under such imposition when they attested upon oath the characters of men who were afterwards convicted of the crimes for which they suffered. And this testimony had been given in a court of justice; and he thought, if they did not confess they had been mistaken, they should at least refrain from the present discussion. There was another statement which he wished to correct; which was, when the habeas corpus was taken away, all was gone. This was not true; many valuable rights remained; the liberty of the press, even to a degree of licentiousness, and the liberty of speech, remained. Mr. Wilberforce then entered into a defence of the late attorney-general, and expressed surprise that the slightest attack should be made upon men filling the departments of the law. Whatever might be the difference of parties, calumny had never before cast the least reproach on the administration of justice.

Mr. Sheridan observed, so much had been said to which he wished to reply, and as the forms of the house would not allow him to state it as explanation, he moved for leave to bring in a bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus, whenever it should appear manifest *to the house* that it was necessary.

Mr. Speaker said, no provisional order could be made.

Mr. Pitt was of opinion no member could make a new motion for the avowed intention of speaking again on an old subject. He did not doubt but the honourable member wished for an opportunity to reply; but as this desire was so strong, it was a pity he had not asked any of his friends who sat near him to move an amendment.

Mr. Speaker remarked that any member might move an adjournment of a debate in which he had already spoken.

The Master of the Rolls thought the house only gave the right of explaining.

Mr. Sheridan said he would not move any adjournment, though it was evident he had a right; but he challenged Mr. Pitt to debate the whole question with him on their own principles on the second reading. — Ayes 69 — Noes 9 — Majority 60.

The debate on this subject was renewed with fresh acrimony on the 19th of February, on the second reading of the bill, when it was opposed by Mr. Jolliffe, who thought it ought to expire, were it only for a day, rather than, like the mutiny or land-tax bill, be renewed year after year, as a matter of course, and thus become a part of the constitution. If the plea for continuing it were admitted (that no harm had resulted from its suspension), it might affect future generations. He complained that the chancellor of the exchequer had suggested, that all who differed from him were to be classed as jacobins. He exonerated himself from the charge, and said it was illiberal to treat gentlemen thus who were exerting themselves for their country. — He moved for the second reading to be postponed six weeks longer.

Mr. Hobhouse, in a speech of

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considerable length, pointed out the inconsistency of ministers in the arguments used to support this bill. Upon appearance of danger the liberties of the subject were to be suspended; upon disappearance the same suspension was necessary; and thus, whether the state were or were not exposed to danger, an individual might be committed under a warrant from the privy-council, and denied the privilege of demanding his trial.

Traitors, but for this measure, would no longer lurk in hiding places, but on the first occasion rush forward to accomplish the destruction of their country. If this were an accurate statement, the suspension act had only produced a hollow and delusive silence; the suppression of murmur, not the extinction of discontent; and had therefore been *inefficacious*.

Mr. Wilberforce had affirmed that it was our duty to confide in administration. This was convenient doctrine, but it became the house to inquire, whether this confidence would be well placed? Had not their whole conduct hitherto been a system of raising false alarms, and exciting groundless panics to acquire accessions of power? Had they not in the year 1792 suddenly embodied the militia, fortified the tower, and thrown the country into consternation, upon the idea of a formidable conspiracy? and what did it prove to be? A trifling riot at a few places in England and Scotland amongst the labourers for an advance in their wages! In 1794 it was publicly announced that certain political societies were engaged in traitorous plots; many persons said to be leaders in those societies were soon arrested on a charge of high treason: they were tried, and uniformly acquitted; but

it was the fashion to call them still *acquitted felons*, and the verdict of a *willing* jury did not establish their innocence! Mr. Hobhouse animadverted next upon the treatment of the prisoners confined in the Cold-Bath Fields—spoke of the small stone cell, in which colonel Despard had been thrown, without fire-place, chair, or table, and which admitted wind and rain, without light. Was this a proper place of confinement, he would not say for a gentleman of rank in the army, but for any person unconvicted—untried? Was it just to inflict the same kind of imprisonment upon those presumed by the law to be innocent and those on whom sentence of death had been pronounced?

To grasp at illegitimate power by a system of terror had been the leading feature in the present administration. This bill empowered the privy council, or secretary of state, to detain persons after commitment, without allowing them the privilege of habeas corpus; but it conferred no power to commit them without information upon oath, or having recourse to forms requisite before a common magistrate. Many had been sent to prison on a mere warrant of the privy council, without any affidavit being lodged against them, or the facts stated for which they were accused. Was not this a gross violation of the law of the land? and would not a day arrive when ministers would pray for a bill of indemnity to shelter themselves against the punishment they so justly merited? and were these the ministers in whom it was our *duty to confide*?

Mr. Sturges said, he would not trouble the house by detailing the different instances in which the habeas corpus had been suspended,

and the comparative necessity of it at each period; but only call to recollection one of those events which demonstrated that the best government, administered by the best men, might be endangered by the weakest of its subjects. He alluded to the conspiracy against the life of king William, for which some were brought to trial, and others imprisoned. The habeas corpus was not only suspended, but a power was given to his majesty to keep those who had not been tried in custody; at first from year to year, and at length during pleasure. That pleasure continued during his life; on his demise the danger was not considered as extinct, and the same power was granted to queen Anne. Their imprisonment continued during her reign; and on the accession of the present house a similar act passed, which was again renewed by his late majesty king George the Second; and the last survivor of these unhappy persons (Bernandi) died in Newgate in the year 1736, at the age of 82, after an imprisonment of 40 years, without any allowance from government. He did not mention this case to applaud it, but to show what had been done in what was termed the best times. It was not such power which was now solicited; and thinking the power which had been granted had not been abused by ministers, and produced security, he voted for the second reading of the bill.

Sir Francis Burdett opposed it again—affirming that there was no part of the constitution which ministers had not violated, and indeed they had now left nothing but its corruptions.

Mr. Tierney urged to be informed, if there ever was before an instance on which parliament had been called to vote, without any

stated reason assigned for the suspension of our liberties; he challenged ministers to produce it. The report of the committee was said to contain adequate motives; and reference was made to this; but far from satisfactory was such a reference—the parliamentary proceedings were to have referred the papers anew to a committee, and have gained a new report; this former report contained a direct argument against the measure; for, after stating the circumstances, it added, “that it would be expedient to suspend the habeas corpus till the first of March 1800.” No mention was made that it ought to be continued beyond that period; and from a specified time being expressed, it was fair to infer that the committee did not think it necessary. He did not mean to imply any disrespect to those gentlemen who composed it, nor was he willing to suspect abuse of power in ministry; but might they not be deceived into an improper use of it? How could they prove that some of these unfortunate men had not been falsely accused by some under-strapper of the same rank as themselves?

He had formerly voted for the suspension of the habeas corpus, laying aside all party motives, because he thought circumstances authorised the measure; but he did not then imagine any person had been taken into custody without an information on oath: and here he must again urge an inquiry which had never yet been positively answered, whether people had not been committed to custody without an information on oath? If they had been, ministers *had* grossly abused their power, had exercised it cruelly, and with barbarity—to give up men to the mercy of Bow-street runners, to deprive them of their liberty, render

render their confinement as miserable as possible, and refuse them to stand their trial before their country, was treatment which would disgrace our English annals. If the house approved such transactions, he could only console himself by having borne his testimony against it.

Lord Belgrave exonerated government from the charge of inhumanity, because there had been an accidental inattention in the superintendant of a prison. In the two years' discontinuance of this bill, the disaffected had availed themselves of the interval to renew their plots, re-organize their schemes of sedition, and extend their treasons. Undoubtedly it was confiding great authority to ministers, and great responsibility was annexed to it; but it was a power which had established the safety, and was still necessary for the preservation of our liberty, religion, and laws.

Mr. Sheridan professed a respect for the votes of the commons, but not for a committee selected from the minister's friends, who with prejudices on their minds, and a bias from their connexions, were not likely to make a just decision—and their partiality always struck him on the perusal of their reports. To the report of the lords he had the same objection. The attorney-general seemed to pay little attention to the verdict of a jury. This jury had negatived the report of the select committee, and he preferred that verdict to the reports. The opinion of the late chief justice Eyre on that occasion was, that "This mighty conspiracy turned out to be men without money, leaders, or even order in their schemes; their rendezvous a back garret, their arms two rusty muskets, and their exchequer £10.10s."

Such was their formidable appearance, and so inactive, that the learned judge pronounced they wanted zeal as much as wit in their undertakings.

The instance adduced in the reign of William was inapplicable; and he was astonished at the comparison; the majority of the nation then were Jacobites, and the Jacobites were composed of the nobility and the landed interest; consequently, were to be dreaded from their principles and opposition to William. The act was made at the time of conspiracy against his life, their moral guilt was ascertained, and many of them suffered on the scaffold; but this act shuts up any man on vague suspicion.

Mr. Sheridan then reviewed the state of Ireland under lord Fitzwilliam, and attributed the outrages, cruelties, and atrocities, not to French principles, but British councils; demonstrating that the discontents arose from resentments strongly engraven on the hearts of the Irish against this country. The abuse of power lodged in the hands of ministers was his next subject of animadversion: it was evidenced he said in the case of colonel Despard, and in the alien bill, professedly enacted for political purposes, and perverted to the uses of prejudice and passion. Many persons had been sent out of the kingdom for paying their addresses to the daughters of gentlemen to whom the connexion was unpleasant, and these unfortunate aliens were called, for no other reason, seditious! At the same time he acquitted the duke of Portland of being capable of such a proceeding; but such, under his name, had been one of the abuses which needed reform. He ended with observing, that

that no new reasons had been adduced for the present measure, and many strong ones existed against it.

Mr. Canning thought there was great fallacy throughout this honourable gentleman's speech: the manner in which he had quoted the language of the learned judge Eyre, before whom the state trials took place, must be regarded as a pleasant fallacy; in truth, he had put into his mouth words which that great lawyer never uttered; and yet these were the facts, so called, on which matured sentiments were to be set aside, and, by such observations, the good sense of the people was to be led astray. Mr. Sheridan had also confounded the whole mass of the English with the objects of this bill; and, under the idea, argued that it was a coercion on the public: but happily no such coercion was needed, and could not be intended; it was directed solely against seditious persons, and the house would be remiss if such were not under restraint.

Ayes, 98.--Noes 12.--Majority 86.

On the 25th of February the bill for suspension of the habeas corpus till the 1st of February, 1801, was read a first time in the house of lords; and, on the motion that it should be read a second time, lord Holland said, It was not his intention to oppose the principle of the bill, though he highly disapproved it, but to exclaim against the indecency of hurrying a point of such importance so rapidly through the house. To propose reading twice in the same night a bill for suspending our most valuable privileges, without any reason assigned, was disrespectful and unparliamentary. This violation of a standing order had been practised more frequently during the present

parliament than the preceding. In former times, on unforeseen emergencies, such things had been done; but ministers, of late years, had made it a practice without the smallest pretext! It was dangerous and unconstitutional, and as such he must oppose it.

The lord chancellor replied, he did not recollect till he was seated that the morrow was a day on which the house would not do business, and supposed the bill might have been read a second time, and then gone regularly through its stages; but since he had been guilty of an oversight, it was necessary it should be read twice that night or on Thursday, as the term of the last act for its suspension expired on Friday.

Lord Holland repeated, that though he reprobated the measure, and this impropriety was now become common, after the candid confession of his lordship he would not insist on the general rule being enforced.

On February 27 it was read the third time. Lord King rose; he considered the habeas corpus as one of the strongest and most sacred barriers of the British constitution, nor would he consent that it should be thus from time to time suspended, without one single reason being offered why it should be so. In the reign of George the 1st, and George the 2d, in the periods of actual rebellion, even with such danger impending, when there were so many supporters of a disputed succession, men of the first rank and consequence in the country firmly attached to the Stewarts, even then, so jealous were the parliament of this great bulwark, that they would not consent to suspend it but for three months. The present mode
of

of proceeding led him to imagine these frequent suspensions were preludes to abolition.

He was more strenuous in opposing it, because the power of the crown had been immensely increased, and the privileges of the people proportionally diminished. The whole property of the nation was also at the disposal of the crown. We were now a military people; and vested as administration was with such extraordinary powers, they ought not to be augmented at the expense of the liberties of the people. He therefore gave his decided negative to the motion.

The earl of Carlisle supported it; he allowed that the horrible principles which occasioned this measure were weakened, but not destroyed. He could see no danger in confiding such power to ministers who had used it so leniently; and that this was the case, was evident by the people, who felt no apprehensions, and expressed no discontent at such a power being so entrusted.

Lord Holland observed, that, even granting their conduct had been lenient (which some strong facts would controvert, as confining persons without trial, and permitting them to be ill treated and ill fed in their prisons), yet the security and happiness of the subject should not be at the discretion of an individual, but arise from the protection of the law: the mercy of any administration, or any single man, was no stable foundation, and the notion would be attended with dangerous consequences. Men who owed no obligations to their constitution would not be at-

tached to it, and would see, without regret, another erected in its stead. Judge Blackstone recommended that we should surrender our liberties for a while to secure them for ever; but he added, that the occasion should be very urgent before we consented to suspend the habeas-corpus act.

Lord Eldon affirmed, that, to the suspension of it, was owing the preservation of the crown in the house of Hanover; and by this very act former conspiracies had been broken to pieces. But the lenity of former reigns and governments were not to be compared to this; and that which had given value to the British constitution was, that it had not been founded on theories which God never intended man should adopt as a rule for a perfect creature. The law of England considered him encompassed with vices and faults; it went on this principle, that in general the existing provisions should be such as to secure to the utmost the liberties of the country; but in pursuing this object, it considered also that it had to do with men as they are, and that it was the duty of the community to submit to a temporary deprivation of privilege, in order the more effectually to enjoy the liberties of the British constitution.

Lord Mulgrave defended the bill.

For the question 30.—Against it 3.—Majority 27.

The session concluded on the 27th of February in the usual manner by a speech from the throne; for the substance of which we beg leave to refer the reader to our Public Papers, p. (121).

CHAP. VI.

East Indies. State of Affairs previous to the Recommencement of the War with Tippoo Sultaun. Causes which led to Hostilities. Proclamation of the French Governor of the Isle of France. Tippoo accused of inciting Zemaun Shah to invade Hindoostan. Preparations of the British Government. New Alliances formed. Destruction of the French Force at Hyderabad. Negotiations with the Sultaun. British Army under General Harris enters Mysore. The Hill Forts reduced. March of the Army towards Seringapatam. Engagement near Mullavelly. Siege of Seringapatam. Out-posts carried by the British. Correspondence between the Sultaun and General Harris. An Attack from the Fortrefs repulsed. Negotiation with the Sultaun. Breach made in the Walls. Storming of Seringapatam. Death of Tippoo Sultaun. His Character. Partition of his Dominions.—United States of America. Death of General Washington. His Character. Dispute and subsequent Negotiation with the French Republic. Terms of the Treaty.

FROM the conclusion of the peace of 1792 with Tippoo Sultaun, the affairs of India had remained in a kind of doubtful and suspicious tranquillity. That such a peace could be either sincere or lasting was scarcely probable. It is well known that the supposed lenity of the marquis Cornwallis, towards a sovereign whose capital and dominions were supposed to lie at the mercy of Great Britain, was blamed by many who were intimately connected with India; and on the other hand, it was not probable that a prince of his pride and spirit could otherwise than reluctantly submit to a treaty so inglorious to an independent monarch. To the future historian it belongs to explore the secret causes which provoke to war; it is the humble province of the annalist simply to report the facts; and, as the evidence has as yet been only exhibited on one side of the question, we shall not justly be charged with partiality if we state the motives of the war as alleged by the

partisans of the British government. From the year 1796, the sultaun of Mysore is accused of having kept the jealousy of the government awake; and, in the autumn of 1797, lord Hobart is reported to have relinquished an expedition which he had undertaken into a different quarter, from the apprehensions which were entertained of the designs of Tippoo.

A document of less doubtful authority to establish the charge of bad faith against the sultaun is found in the proclamation of the French governor of the Isle of France, which was produced at Bengal in the month of June 1798. With the vanity of a Frenchman, and the zeal of a young politician, that commander was anxious to publish prematurely the alliance which he alleged had been formed between the French republic and the government of Mysore, for the destruction of the British power in India. The paper which was at first held as a forgery was confirmed, it is said, by the testimony of credible

credible witnesses. They asserted that the sultaun had dispatched ambassadors to the Isle of France; that these ambassadors had been publicly received by the French governor there; and that, on the publication of the proclamation in question, the ambassadors, so far from protesting against the proceeding, held, without reserve, and in public, the same language with respect to the war which was to be commenced against the British possessions in India.

Whatever might be the hostile intentions of the sultaun, the result has proved, that he was but indifferently prepared to carry them into execution: and it cannot fail to excite our astonishment, that a prince of his consummate policy should suffer his designs to be so publicly announced, before he was in a condition to support them by force, or even to repel the attack which such a conduct warranted. The professions of the sultaun were also of the most friendly kind, though but little faith is to be given to political professions. In a letter to sir John Shore about the time that these ambassadors were said to be on their return from the Isle of France, he says, "His friendly heart is disposed to pay every regard to truth and justice, and to strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord between the two nations."

It is another extraordinary circumstance that Tippoo did not receive any considerable assistance from the French government in India. About one hundred French-

men are said to have accompanied the *soi-disant* * ambassadors from the Isle of France, some of whom, it is said, were officers. And it is an equally extraordinary coincidence, that at the same time that the marquis of Wellesley meditated an attack upon him, his majesty's ministers and the court of directors were employed at home in framing instructions relative to the designs of Tippoo.

It is further alleged, that Tippoo Sultaun had dispatched at the same time an embassy to Zemaun Shah, to encourage that prince in his long threatened invasion of Hindoostan. The governor-general was therefore convinced that it was necessary to assemble the armies on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar; and if circumstances had been favourable for such an attempt, it was his fixed determination to have attacked the sultaun instantly, for the purpose of defeating his hostile preparations. In this design, however, he was disappointed; for the army on the coast of Coromandel was in so dispersed a state, that, from this circumstance, and certain radical defects in its establishments, he found it a much more difficult and tedious operation than he had apprehended to assemble a force equal to the enterprise.

In the mean time, his lordship applied himself strenuously to strengthen and improve the alliances with the Nizam and the Paishwah. With this view, he concluded a subsidiary treaty with the former, a part of the conditions of which was, that the French troops

* Tippoo, in his correspondence with the governor-general, dated the 13th of December 1798, asserted, that this pretended embassy was no more than a company of mercantile adventurers, unknown and unauthorised by him, who went with a cargo of rice, and returned with about forty French adventurers, ten or twelve of them artificers, who came in search of employment, and several of whom went elsewhere. See Colonel Wood's Review of the late War in Mysore, p. 2.

in his service should be dismissed, and an addition was made to the British detachment serving at Hyderabad; all disputes between the Nizam and the Paishwah were adjusted, and the treaty was signed and ratified in the month of September. In carrying the treaty into execution, the French army at Hyderabad was surrounded by the English and the other troops of the Nizam, the Sepoys were disarmed, and the French officers were secured, and sent prisoners to Bengal.

While matters were in this state of preparation, the intelligence arrived of the landing of the French in Egypt, and of the subsequent victory of lord Nelson. The governor-general, therefore, conceived this to be a favourable opportunity for opening a negotiation with Tippoo Sultaun. On the 8th of November, therefore, he addressed a letter to that prince, apprised him of his knowledge of his connexion with the French republic, and proposed his receiving major Doveton, in order to adjust every subsisting difference. On the 10th of December he addressed another letter to the same effect, and immediately embarked for Fort George, where he found a letter from the sultaun, which had been received there the 15th of December. In this letter the sultaun expresses the utmost surprise at hearing that military preparations were on foot; and the report indeed, he says, appeared scarcely credible, conscious as he was of having observed the treaty with the most inviolable fidelity. On the 25th of the same month another letter was received from him, in answer to the two letters of the governor of the 4th and 8th of November. In this he con-

gratulates his lordship on the victory over the French, whom he designates as "a designing and faithless people." He then proceeds to explain the nature of the pretended embassy to the Isle of France, which he describes as a mere mercantile adventure; and he doubts not but the French, "who are full of vice and deceit," have taken advantage of the departure of this ship, to spread about reports which were calculated to disturb the union between the two sircars*. With respect to receiving major Doveton, the sultaun does not directly object to it, but observes, that, at the conclusion of the peace, he considered every thing as finally adjusted, nor could he imagine that means more effectual could be adopted for giving stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony, promoting the security of states, and the welfare and advantage of all parties.

To this letter the governor-general returned an answer, dated the 9th of January 1799, in which he renewed the proposition of opening a negotiation, and urged the sultaun not to delay his reply beyond the period of one day after the letter should reach him. To this letter, however, no answer was received till the 13th of February. The sultaun's letter is without a date, and states, that he is then proceeding on a hunting expedition, and therefore begs that his lordship will dispatch major Doveton slightly attended.

In the mean time the governor-general, fearing the approach of the monsoon, had ordered lieutenant-general Harris to enter the territory of Mysore, with the army assembled under his command; and, in his reply to the sultaun, he informed him, that general Harris was now

* Sircar means state or government.

the only person authorised by his lordship to receive whatever communications he might think fit to make with a view to the restoration of peace.

For various reasons, the reduction of the fortress of Seringapatam was the primary object of the campaign. The first movement of the army under general Harris was made on the 11th of February. The Nizam's contingent, consisting of about 12,000, and a large body of cavalry, joined the army on the 18th; and the next day general Harris forwarded the governor's letter to Tippoo Sultaun, published his lordship's declaration in the name of the allies, and commenced hostilities by sending a detachment against the hill forts of Neeldurgum and Anchitty, which surrendered without resistance.

The whole of the campaign, indeed, evinced the bad state of preparation in which the sultaun was. On the 7th of March Odeadurgum surrendered to lieutenant-colonel Oliver, and the day after Ruttingheri, another hill fort, was taken after a slight resistance.

The army under the command of lieutenant-general Harris consisted of about 31,000 men, exclusive of 6000 cavalry of the Nizam, all most completely equipped and appointed. The army on the coast of Malabar, under lieutenant-general Stuart, was in an equally efficient state. On the 9th of March the general took a strong position at Kelamungalum, and the sultaun's army was, at this time, encamped in the vicinity of Maddoor. On the 10th, the British army moved to Callaccondapilly; on the 12th they encamped two miles south-east of Jiggeny, and moved off at day-break, leaving the village of Anicul defended by a mud fort on their right.

After leaving this village, a body of the enemy's horse appeared, but were soon dispersed by a few discharges from the horse-artillery. On the 14th, the army came within sight of Bangalore, when about 4000 of the enemy's horse again appeared, but, after a few shot from the field-pieces, they drew off towards Bangalore. On the 16th, the army marched by the left, and took the route of Cankanelli; and this movement, it appears, effectually deceived the enemy, who destroyed the forage on the road to Bangalore, but made not the least effort to destroy it on the Cankanelli route. On the 20th, the left wing and cavalry took a position close to a pass about seven miles north from Cankanelli, and on the following day the whole army encamped at that place. It was now ascertained that Tippoo Sultaun had approached within fifteen miles; and, on the 23d, as the British approached Sultaunpettah, a cloud of dust to the westward denoted that the sultaun was then in motion. In fact, he had quitted his position on the bank of the Maddoor river, and encamped at Mallavelly. It was expected that the sultaun would have disputed the passage of the Maddoor river, as Syed Ghofar, an officer in whom he reposed much confidence, had been posted on the heights, a little to the eastward, with 3000 infantry, 1000 horse, and 10 guns; but was observed to fall back on the approach of the British.

Though Tippoo, however, felt himself too weak to oppose the British in this quarter, he had apparently flattered himself with more sanguine hopes from an attack on the Bombay army, under general Stuart. On the 6th of March he passed his own frontier, and attacked a detachment of the Bombay army,

army, the total strength of which did not exceed 6000 men. The force of Tippoo Sultaun on this occasion is estimated at 11,800 of his best troops: but they were, notwithstanding, repulsed with considerable loss. After this repulse it appears that the sultaun made a precipitate retreat to Seringapatam, and advanced on the 14th to meet general Harris.

On the 25th of March the army under general Harris was encamped five miles east of Mallavelly, and, by the best information they could collect from their spies, it seemed to be the sultaun's intention to risk a battle. On the 27th, at day-break, the British army marched from its left flank on the great road leading to Mallavelly, and soon after came in sight of the sultaun's army. A general engagement took place along the whole front, but it was of short duration, for the enemy retired with their guns to the next height, where their second line was formed; and, as no advantage was to be derived from the pursuit, general Harris returned to his encampment at Mallavelly. The loss of the enemy is reported to have amounted to 1000 in killed and wounded, while that of the British did not exceed 70.—Such is the advantage of European tactics.

On the 3d of April the army came within sight of Seringapatam, and it appeared that Tippoo Sultaun had taken post with his infantry close under the east and south faces of the fort. At this time, however, he felt the difficulty of his situation. By reports from his camp, it was understood that he was extremely dejected and undetermined, and that plans of defence had been suddenly formed and as precipitately abandoned. On the 5th, the British army, after a short march, took up its ground opposite the west face of

the fort of Seringapatam, at the distance of 3500 yards. On the same evening an attack was made on the out-posts, and on the 6th the most considerable of them were in possession of the British.

On the 9th of April general Harris received a letter from the sultaun, in which he declared "that he adhered firmly to the treaties, and demanded the reason of the advance of the English army, and of the occurrence of hostilities." To this the general briefly replied, by referring to the letters which had been addressed to the sultaun by the marquis Wellesley upon the subject. Matters from this time to the 13th continued in a state of mutual preparation, when, suddenly, a heavy fire commenced from the fort and batteries. In the evening of the same day general Floyd's signal guns were distinctly heard, from which it was ascertained that he was within two marches of Seringapatam; and as he had advanced to form a junction with the Bombay army, it was reasonably conjectured it could not be far distant. Accordingly, on the succeeding day, generals Floyd and Stuart arrived, and took their ground in the rear of general Harris's encampment. On the 16th the Bombay army crossed the Cauvery, and took a strong position. On reconnoitring, it was found that this river, which separated the main encampment from the fort of Seringapatam, was almost dry, and that its bed was a bare rock.

While the Bombay army was taking up its ground on the north side of the Cauvery, some of the enemy were observed advancing towards a height near the ruined village of Agrarum, situated to the west side of the fort. As this post was of great importance, it was attacked and carried by general Stuart, and

and it was afterwards connected, by intermediate posts, with the main body. On the 22d a spirited effort was made by the besieged; the Bombay army was attacked at all its posts in front by 6000 of the enemy's infantry, and Lally's corps of Frenchmen, who behaved with their accustomed gallantry. The attack was, however, repulsed on all sides, and the enemy compelled to retire with the loss of 6 or 700 men.

Previous to this attack, general Harris had received, on the night of the 20th, an overture of peace from the sultaun, and at noon on the 22d it was answered by sending a draft of preliminaries. The terms proposed were, "to cede half his territories in perpetuity to the allies; to pay two crores of rupees to renounce the alliance of the French for ever; to dismiss every native of France from his service; to receive ambassadors from each of the allies; and to give as hostages four of his sons and four of his principal officers." To this proposal the sultaun for the present returned no answer.

On the 24th the enemy's guns on the west face were entirely silenced, but they still fired from two round towers; against them, however, a battery was opened, and they also were effectually silenced by the 26th. On the 28th the sultaun acknowledged the receipt of general Harris's proposals, and stated, "that the points in question were weighty and important, and without the intervention of ambassadors could not be brought to a conclusion; and that therefore he was about to send to the general two gentlemen, who would explain themselves personally to him." It has been supposed that this proposition, on the part of the sultaun, was only calculated to gain time; but if we consider the nature of the proposed preliminaries, surely

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we cannot but regard them as "weighty and important;" nor, at such a crisis, is it easy to say of what advantage the gaining of a little time could be to the unfortunate prince. The most reasonable supposition is, therefore, that he really hoped, by negotiation, to render the British general more propitious, and to obtain terms somewhat less severe than those which were proposed. The British general, however, apparently considering the matter in the former light, briefly replied by referring to the terms forwarded on the 22d, as the only conditions on which he would treat.

The works being all completed, on the 2d of May the British batteries began to batter in breach. In the course of the day a practicable breach was made in the *fausse-traye* wall; the main rampart was so much shattered, that it was expected a little more firing would reduce it to a similar state; and, to complete the misfortune of the besieged, a shot having struck their rocket magazine, it blew up with a dreadful explosion. The breach being considered as entirely practicable, on the evening of the 4th the troops destined to storm, consisting of about 4000 men, were stationed in the trenches before day-break. The assault was led on by general Baird, and commenced at one o'clock. In six minutes the forlorn hope had reached the summit of the breach, where the British colours were instantly displayed. In a few minutes after, the breach, which was a hundred feet wide, was crowded with men. After a very short conflict the panic became general within the fort; thousands precipitately quitted it, and others laid down their arms.

A flag of truce was soon after sent to the palace of the sultaun, offering him and his friends protection, pro-

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vided he instantly surrendered unconditionally; but major Allan, who executed this commission, did not meet with the sultaun, as he was not in the palace. The young princes, however, who were in the palace, surrendered to general Baird, and were received with the strongest assurances of protection. After much intreaty, and enforced even by threats, the gentlemen who had entered the palace were informed by the killedar, an officer of great trust, that the sultaun was not there; that he had been wounded during the assault, and lay in the gate-way on the north face of the fort. There, among heaps of slain, the body of the unfortunate monarch was found, covered with wounds; his eyes were yet open, and the body still warm. With a Roman spirit, he disdained to grace the triumph of his adversaries; and he shewed his people, that, in the recesses of his palace he did not basely shrink from the contest, while they were bravely contending on the battlement for his authority.

The character of this extraordinary man is differently represented, as opposite parties and interests have touched the portrait; while the difference of manners, the distance of the scene, and the obscurity which involves an oriental court, renders it almost impossible to ascertain the truth. He was born about the year 1749, and was in stature rather short of the middle size, about five feet eight inches. His person was corpulent, his neck short, and his limbs small, particularly his feet and hands. His complexion was brown, his eyes large and full, his eyebrows small and arched, his nose aquiline; and all agree, that in his countenance there was an expression of dignity.

Hyder Ally, conscious of his own disadvantages from a neglected

education, had been extremely solicitous, it is said, for the accomplishment of his son. We have heard that Tippoo read and spoke more than one of the European languages. He was fond both of reading and writing, and latterly it appears, kept a journal of every occurrence. In his youth, and during the life-time of his father, he was held in universal esteem; but, after his accession to the throne, he is charged with cruelty and caprice. Despotism is undoubtedly a wretched corrupter of the human heart; and perhaps we form a false estimate when we measure the characters of Eastern monarchs by the principles of civilised and Christian states.

In his dress he was plain, in his manners unaffected; he was fond of horsemanship, and all the manly exercises, and despised those who used carriages and palanquins. Indeed, in most of his habits he appeared to have been of a severe cast of character; he was rigidly exact in the punishment of drunkenness, and other vices; his religion was tinged with the same character, and approached to superstition. In his political government he is charged with caprice; and yet the circumstance which gave most disgust to the men of rank, that of raising persons from low stations to offices of importance, might proceed from the laudable desire of promoting and rewarding merit. He is supposed latterly to have acted under the infatuated persuasion that Seringapatam was impregnable; yet it allowed, that, on examining the works on the morning of the assault he was undeceived, though he still rejected every idea of surrendering his capital. May we not, therefore, account for his conduct, by supposing him, from the first, to have

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reconciled himself to the resolution of falling under its ruins? On the whole, we must attribute to him the character of a great, though, perhaps, not of a good prince—a false religion, and false notions of human rights and liberties, cannot fail to deprave the heart.

Thus terminated a war, which, at least for the present, secures the British interests in India from the apprehension of a formidable enemy. The permanence of our empire there will depend upon causes which we cannot calculate with exactness; upon the genius and talents of some enterprising warrior, who shall have address to combine and unite the native princes in a common cause; upon the state of political affairs at home; or, perhaps, upon the subordination and freedom from faction of the British soldiers themselves. The time, however, seems remote when a change of this kind is likely to happen; it will depend upon circumstances which no man can foresee, whether such a change will be for the detriment or advantage of Britain.

The dominions of Tippoo were divided among the conquerors, admitting, on motives of policy, the Mahrattas to a share, though they had taken no part in the war. To the company the part allotted was the province of Canara, and the districts of Coimbatore and Darapooram, all the territory between the British possessions in the Carnatic and those of Malabar, with the forts and ports forming the heads of all the passes above the Ghauts on the Table Land, and the fortress, city, and island of Seringapatam. To the Nizam were assigned the districts of Gooty and Gurrumconda, together with a tract of country along the line of Chitteldroog, Sera, Nandidroog and Colar. To the Mah-

rattas were given Harponelly, Soon-da, Anagoondy, Chitteldroog, and a part of Biddenore, except the frontier fortresses. A descendant of the ancient rajahs of Mysore, about 5 years old, was fought out, and placed upon the throne, under certain conditions; and the sons and relations of Tippoo were removed into the Carnatic.

If we may make the abrupt transition from the eastern to the western continent, from scenes of war and devastation to those of peace and enlightened policy, we shall take a short review of the affairs of the United States of America during this period. We say a *short* review; for happy, truly happy is that country which affords the fewest materials for the pen of the historian. Though the American republic, however, was happily freed from foreign contest and domestic tumults, it sustained an irreparable loss in the death of the venerable Washington. This melancholy event took place on the 15th of December, 1799, and was occasioned by an inflammatory sore throat, the first symptoms of which appeared only three days previous to his death. We have been not inattentive observers to the career of this illustrious man, from the period of his assuming the command of the revolutionary army of America; and we do not hesitate to pronounce him the greatest character of modern times; and, perhaps, with all the embellishments of fabulous and partial historians, there is scarcely one in the annals of antiquity that will bear a comparison. In him prudence was united with vigour; wisdom with patriotism; courage with disinterestedness. If he had ambition, it was of the purest kind; exempt from that selfishness with which this passion is too commonly united; and he built his fame upon

the proudest and most solid basis, that of his services to his country, and his love of human kind. That rare and valuable quality, improperly called common-sense, because in reality it is the least common, never appears to have deserted him, whether in council or the field, in the moment of depression, or in the still more dangerous crisis, that of his elevation; and he is one of the very few of whom it may be asserted, that he scarcely ever said or did a foolish thing. He was one of those who are formed by Providence to be the founders of empires; and, if we look to second causes only, we may venture to affirm, that to the talents of Washington America is more indebted than to any other circumstance for its liberty and independence. With probably few of the advantages derivable from a regular and classical education, his eloquence was that of the heart, and generally affected the hearts of those to whom it was addressed. Indeed, there is perhaps scarcely to be found more perfect specimens of pure and genuine eloquence than his answer to the proclamation of general Burgoyne in 1777, and his farewell oration on resigning the presidency of the United States. Without methodical and early instruction in the modern school of tactics, he was enabled to assume the command of a great army, and to contend, under infinite disadvantages, with the first generals of Great Britain. Without the regular succession of office, and the discipline of diplomatic science, he was perhaps the first statesman of the present age. He founded a government, he maintained it in external and internal tranquillity, and left it in a state of unexampled prosperity.

Mr. Washington commenced his military and political career at

an early period of his life. Before the age of twenty he was appointed a major in the colonial militia of Virginia; rather, we may suppose, from respect to his family, which was opulent, than from a knowledge of his talents, which were untried. On the commencement of hostilities between the French and English, in the war of 1754, he was sent to negotiate with the French governor of Fort Duquesne, to ascertain the boundaries of the colony, which was in fact the cause of the dispute. He succeeded in averting the invasion for the moment; but, hostilities breaking out in the following year, he accompanied the unfortunate general Braddock, as lieutenant-colonel of a provincial corps. It is said that Washington conducted the retreat with skill, and with the same intrepid calmness which distinguished his subsequent conduct. From the year 1758, when he quitted the service on account of his health, he appears to have lived at his seat of Mount Vernon, in the most perfect retirement, till the disastrous contest which took place between the mother country and the colonies once more called him into action. He was chosen a member of the American congress, which met at Philadelphia in 1774; and was soon after appointed to the command of the provincial army. Of his great talents and consummate judgment that desperate and difficult contest affords the best of proofs; and the character of Washington is written by the historian in every detail that he has given of the incidents of the war. Yet it is remarkable, that such was the humanity of this incomparable man, that he never could afterwards bear to converse on a subject which would have administered to the vanity of almost
any

any other individual. "Sir," said he one day, to a foreign gentleman, "I observe you wish me to speak of the war. It is a conversation I always avoid. I rejoice in the establishment of the liberties of America; but the time of the struggle was a horrible period, in which the best men were compelled to do many things repugnant to their nature."

At the close of the war he again went into retirement; but the disorders arising from paper currency, and an unsettled government, once more called forth his attention. When a new constitution was framed for the United States, he was chosen president. He seems to have accepted it rather from necessity than choice; and afterwards to have relinquished the honour in compliance with his own inclination, when his country seemed to have no further claim or call for his services. In a word, his conduct exhibited to the world the character of a truly *great* and *good* man—epithets so rarely united, that they have almost been supposed incompatible.

Of the nature of the dispute between the American and French republics we have never yet received such satisfactory information* as to enable us to lay the true state of it before the republic. The hardships on individuals from the search and capture of American vessels were undoubtedly great and cruel; and the conduct of the French

directory, and their minister Talleyrand, in a certain mysterious transaction, must be considered as infamous, unless it be cleared up more to our satisfaction than has hitherto been done. The conduct of the American government, however, in this instance, has afforded an example of political wisdom and forbearance which rarely occurs on this side of the Atlantic. Instead of too hastily resenting the insolence and rapacity of the French directory, they took advantage of the change of government, and dispatched an embassy to negotiate with the first consul. In the beginning of March Mess. Murray and Ellsworth, the American commissioners, arrived at Paris. The adjustment of the question, however, appears to have occupied no inconsiderable time, and it was not till the 30th of September that a treaty of peace and amity was signed at Paris. We do not know that all the particulars of this treaty have as yet been made public. The trade of both countries is secured, it is said, by it on terms of equality; and it is provided, that if either party shall be at war, and the other at peace, there shall be no search of neutral vessels, while sailing under convoy. Thus the claim is relinquished without agitating the question of right; but in the official report of the affairs of France, prepared by R gnier, it is insinuated that no such right can exist.

* We shall be much obliged to any of our readers or correspondents or any good or authentic documents on this subject.

CHAP. VII.

France. First Measures of the New Government. Project for the Regulation of Legislative Proceedings. Warm Discussion in the Tribunal. Attempts of the First Consul to open a general Negotiation. Letter of Bonaparte to the King of Great Britain. Second Application to Lord Grenville. Reply. Insurrection in the Western Departments. General Brune assumes the Command there. Pacification in La Vendee. Great Defeat of the Insurgents near Vannes. Surrender of Georges. Defeat and Execution of the Chouan Leader Frotte. General Pacification in the West. Plan for overturning the Republican Government. Revolutionary Committees. Correspondence with Talleyrand and Bonaparte for determining the Latter to espouse the Interests of Louis XVIII. Plan for seizing on the Port of Brest. General Submission of the Royalists. Seizure of the Chevalier de Coigny and the Royalist Committee at Paris. Their Confession. Anxieties respecting the external State of the Republic—In Part relieved by the Return of the Russians. Secret Negotiations with Austria. Abortive. Preparations for War on the Part of Austria. Prince Charles superseded by General Kray. Description of the Person and Character of the Archduke Charles. Renewal of the War with Austria. Internal Regulations made by the French Government. Law for the Regulation of the Departamental Administrations—For the Reform of the Jurisprudence. Constitution submitted to the People—Its Acceptance. Installation of the Consuls. Emigrants permitted to return. Regulations with respect to Contracts. Tribunal. Nomination of Senators.

OUR narrative of French affairs for the last year was closed with an account of the new organisation of the principal constituted authorities, which took place after the revolution of the 18th and 19th of Brumaire. In conformity to the laws and regulations which had been proposed by the provisional executive power, and ratified by the legislative commissions, those persons who had been named by the senate to fill the offices of tribunes, and the council of three hundred, entered the first day of the year on the exercise of their respective functions. The constitution, though it had not yet received the sanction of the people, to whom it was now submitted, had already become the regulator of the state; and the executive power opened its

communications with the legislative by the transmission of the project of a law which was designed to fix the mode in which all future projects were to be introduced, debated, and adopted. This regulation, submitted by the executive power to the consideration of the council of three hundred, which assumed exclusively the name of the legislative body, and will hereafter be designated as such, consisted of twelve articles, containing in substance, that when the executive power had framed a bill, it should be sent to the legislative body by a counsellor of state. The motives for the proposal of the law were at the same time to be explained, and a day named to open a discussion on its merits. The legislative body was enjoined to send a copy of the bill to the tribunate; who,

who, after having debated it, was likewise enjoined to send, on the day appointed, three of its members to declare the motives which had led it to assent to, or reject, the law proposed. If it appeared to the tribunate that sufficient time had not been allowed for the discussion, the legislative body were to determine if further delay should be granted; in which case the executive power named a further day for the discussion; but if the legislative body refused further delay to the tribunate, which by the law proposed could not be denied to the party proposing the law, if it saw cause for changes or amendments, the project was to be discussed between the orators of the consulate and the tribunate; and the legislative body, who sat as judges without mingling in the debate, were to decide by ballot the acceptance or rejection.

As this projected regulation was to determine the mode by which all future laws were to be formed, it was discussed in the tribunate with a warmth equal to its importance. Every part of the constitution had not been received with equal favour: that which gave the initiative of the laws exclusively to the executive power had been most the subject of animadversion and discontent. This project, therefore, appeared to certain members of the tribunate as a still further encroachment on their rights, as representatives of the people; and various objections were made to certain parts, as unfavourable to that latitude of examination and discussion which they considered as essential to the true spirit of liberty. Certain circumstances appeared in the debate on this question, which evinced a disposition to form a regular opposition to the executive power. One mem-

ber talked of the idol of fourteen days, which might as readily be overthrown as that of fourteen ages; alluding to the first consul and the old monarchy. And when the eulogium of Bonaparte was pronounced in the course of the debate by one of those sycophants who always attach themselves to power under every form, the tribunate decreed, that in future no name whatever should be mentioned in debate, either to sanction or discredit an opinion. After three days discussion, which occasioned some anxiety, lest the first proposition made by the executive power should receive the negative of this deliberating body, the tribunate, not concealing certain defects which it contained, voted its adoption by a majority of upwards of two-thirds; and, as both the orators of the consulate and tribunate joined in recommending it, the legislative body gave it their sanction, and it became a law of the state.

While the organisation of the government was preparing, agreeably to the principles laid down in the new constitution, and various ameliorations were taking place throughout the republic in the inferior administrations, the chief consul attempted to open a negotiation with foreign courts, in order to bring about a general pacification. The assurances which he had given that his first object should be to restore the blessings of external peace to the republic had considerably increased the mass of adherents to the system of the new government; and the opposition which was forming against the measures of the executive power, part of which it must be allowed were founded on principles hostile to the true spirit of liberty, was

generally discontinued, and ceased altogether.

The correspondence with the British court was opened in a manner which appeared to evince, on the part of the first consul, great anxiety to bring about a speedy negotiation. A letter was addressed immediately from himself to the king, which has already been inserted in a former chapter.

From this letter no great expectations of opening a negotiation could be formed. The most ardent friend to peace could scarcely hope, that, in the circumstances in which France was placed at this epocha, just emerging from a great revolutionary crisis,—her treasury empty, a fourth part of her territory in open insurrection,—her armies, notwithstanding their late victories, driven back nearly within their frontier,—and those of her allies, proposals for opening a negotiation for peace would be accepted with the alacrity with which it was offered. The answer of the English minister left no doubt on this subject.

This answer plainly indicated, that recourse was only to be had to the sword; and though it was somewhat mortifying to his pride, perhaps this reply was less disagreeable than may be imagined to the warlike spirit of Bonaparte. He had fulfilled the engagement he had made with the nation, of opening a negotiation by even supplicating for peace; and the rejection of these intreaties had left him altogether master of the conduct he was in future to pursue. The guarantee which was pointed out in the minister's letter as the surest and most natural means of a durable peace, namely the restoration of the Bourbons, was considered as an

intolerable insult; the charge of aggression, so confidently introduced, was pointedly commented on; and the determination of abiding by the experience and evidence of facts was considered as the signal of a war which was to end only in extermination.

The whole of the French nation, even those who disapproved of the manner in which Bonaparte opened his communication with the British government, felt a common sentiment of indignation at this peremptory refusal of peace, except on terms which, it was asserted, were too ignominious to be listened to with complacency. The French government seized with avidity this occasion of rendering the war popular; but, in order to throw the blame of its continuance more effectually on the British ministry, it appeared not to be disconcerted by this first rejection of its offers, and, convinced that further applications would be attended with further refusals, continued the correspondence.

This second note, written by the minister of foreign affairs, in answer to that of lord Grenville, began with a recrimination respecting the origin of the war; in which he presented a picture of a design and colouring totally different from that which the noble lord had portrayed in his letter. The charge of aggression, of which the French nation was accused, was haughtily repulsed, and retorted on the coalised powers, and particularly on the British government. After expatiating on this subject, the French minister observed that a sincere desire for peace ought to lead the parties to the discovery of the means of terminating the war, rather than apologies or recriminations respecting its commencement; that

that no doubt was entertained but that the right of the French nation to chuse its own government was a point which would not be contested, asserting that the British crown was held on no other tenure; that, at a time when the republic presented neither the solidity nor the force which it now possessed, negotiations had been twice solicited by the British cabinet, and carried into effect; that the reasons for discontinuing the war were become not less urgent; on the contrary, the calamities in which the renovation of the war must infallibly plunge the whole of Europe were motives which had induced the first consul to propose a suspension of arms, and which ought likewise to influence the other belligerent powers. The minister concluded with pressing this object so far as to propose the town of Dunkirk, or any other, for the meeting of plenipotentiaries, in order to accelerate the re-establishment of peace and amity between the French republic and England.

In the answer of the British minister to this note, the recrimination of aggression was as contemptuously repulsed as it had been haughtily urged. Referring to his former note, the minister observed, that the obstacles which had been presented, rendered hopeless, for the moment, any advantages which might be expected from a negotiation: that all the representations made with so much confidence by the French minister, the personal dispositions of those in power, the solidity and consistence of the new government, were points which could not be admitted as motives for opening a negotiation; since these considerations remained yet to be proved, and of which the only evidence must be that already explained by

his majesty, namely, "the result of experience, and the evidence of facts."

Whatever were the motives which led the British court to refuse so peremptorily all negotiation, the publication of this correspondence had a very considerable influence in uniting almost all parties in France for a vigorous prosecution of the war, since it was evident that this was now the only measure left for obtaining peace.

The external enemy, however, was not the only one, nor to all appearance the most formidable, which the French government had to combat: for notwithstanding the proclamation issued, and the means adopted to bring about tranquillity in the western departments, the insurgents, relying on foreign aid, had not only laid the country, which was the focus of revolt, under contribution, but again pushed their bodies of observation within a short distance of the capital. In certain places where the republican forces were sufficient to protect the inhabitants order was restored; but of so vast an extent of country, it was impossible to watch every point; and though the Britons were in general tired of this predatory war, yet the influence of the insurgent chiefs was such, that, wherever they penetrated, the country, though pacified, became again the scene of insurrection. To sow dissension among the different parties of insurgents, and to attack each with vigour, were the only expedients left to the government. A proclamation issued and addressed to the army of the west, instructed them, that the great mass of the inhabitants, whose just complaints had been heard and redressed, had laid down their arms; and that none remained to be subdued but ruffians, emi-

emigrants, and the hirelings of foreign powers. It was asserted in this proclamation that the republican army consisted of sixty thousand men. Neither the army nor the insurgents were deceived by this assertion, since the number did not form half the amount. Their force, was, however, judged sufficient to accomplish the task imposed on them, which was that of exterminating the chiefs, who were represented as a dishonour to the French name. This proclamation concluded by recommending to the army to make a short and good campaign.

Anxious to prevent an unnecessary effusion of blood, the government had given secret instructions to general Hedonville, commanding in the west, to temporise as long as there was a probability that the reduction of the insurgents might be obtained by peaceable means. Letters were sent to the generals commanding in different points, which they were to notify to the chiefs of the insurgents. These letters stated, that as the proclamation of the consuls could not have reached the distant cantons by the time limited, the suspension of arms should be prolonged to the twentieth of January; after which time, if the chiefs had not disbanded their forces, they were to be pursued with the utmost rigour, and all benefits of the amnesty offered were to be void.

In order to give greater effect to these various proclamations, and to bring the contest, if necessary, with the insurgents, to a speedier issue, the first consul appointed general Brune to the command of the army of the west. Brune entered on his functions a few days before the conclusion of the prolonged armistice was to take place. The pa-

cification with the insurgents was by this time far advanced; and, two days previous to the time allotted, Bernier, an ecclesiastic of considerable influence with the discontented party, addressed a letter to general Hedonville, in which he informed him that the proffered peace had been gratefully accepted by all the chiefs on the left side of the Loire, in which was situated the department of the Vendee. To have broken this league of insurrection was an important achievement: but, as yet, a part only of the work of pacification was effected. The departments on the right of the Loire, to the sea on the north and west, were still in their possession, or overrun by bands under experienced leaders; and the country in particular lying between the ports of L'Orient and Brest was entirely subjected to the insurgents. Certain districts on the right side of the Loire, under the command of D'Autichamp and Chatillon, at length followed the example given by those of the left. The division under the command of M. de Bourmont submitted likewise; but as the whole of the insurgents did not partake of the pacific sentiments of their chiefs, a considerable number made good their retreat towards the department of Morbihan, the western extremity of Brittany, where they joined the bands collected in great force under the command of Georges, one of the most enterprising and dangerous of the revolted chiefs. After clearing the departments on both sides the river, and driving the insurgents who had not submitted, except those under the command of Frotté, before him, Brune so disposed his forces as to surround the main body under Georges, in the Morbihan near Vannes, whom he defeated with great

great loss. Georges finding further resistance ineffectual, at length laid down his arms, on the conditions proposed by Brune, which was the disbanding his forces, and giving up the whole of his arms. Frotté, the most active leader of the insurgents, seeing himself abandoned on every side, attempted also to make his terms; but his offers of conditional submission were rejected. He had taken the title of commander in chief for Lewis XVIII. and had shown no less dexterity than zeal for his service. He had been hitherto the most adverse to any concession; and even, when left almost without resource, refused to comply with the condition most peremptorily insisted on, which was the surrender of their arms. The choice of his future conduct was not long left to his decision. Pursued closely by detachments of the republican army, and betrayed probably by some of his own adherents, he was taken prisoner, with the whole of his staff, in a château in the department of the Orne. He was conducted to Vernueil, where, after a trial before a military commission, he, together with his companions, was condemned to be shot, which sentence was immediately put into execution.

Thus finished, in a short space of time, without any considerable effusion of blood, this intestine war; the most disastrous and cruel which the republic had had to maintain during the long course of its hostilities with the allied powers of Europe. By this pacification, not only was the French government relieved from the most dangerous of its enemies, which had occasioned it a most enormous waste both of life and treasure, but this extensive portion of territory, now submissive

to the laws of the republic, not only furnished its contingency in common with other departments to the pecuniary necessities of the state, but swelled considerably the republican armies, who now quitted that country in order to be employed in other quarters, in more active service.

The simple narrator has one duty, in common with the historian, that of faithfully recording facts: but if, like the historian, he were to examine into causes, probably no period of this important crisis would furnish him with subjects of deeper speculation than that of the events of which we have been just treating. That not only peace should have been so peremptorily refused; when supplicated by a power accustomed to see surrounding nations imploring it from its hands, but that every overture should be rejected by a stern and constant denial, excited general astonishment; especially as negotiations for peace had heretofore been entered into with those who held the reins of government in France, and whose characters were such as made the chance of concluding it infinitely less.

It is true, that the Austrians, who at one of those periods were driven back almost to the walls of Vienna, were now again in possession of the whole of Italy; that the determinations of a great northern power, who had, during the last campaign, joined the confederacy against France, were yet uncertain; that the expedition of the French into Egypt seemed likely to redound only to the disgrace of its authors; and, above all, that the insurrection rekindled in the western departments promised a very powerful diversion in favour of the only condition held out of pacification;—a preliminary condition indeed,

indeed, that of a complete counter-revolution in the restoration of royalty;—but as so much experience had hitherto been obtained of what great efforts France was capable, when driven to the necessity of exertion, and that, when seemingly most reduced, she had risen triumphant over all her difficulties, it would have seemed prudent to have deliberated longer upon returning so stern a refusal as marked the correspondence which took place on the application made by Bonaparte.

But it appears that the hopes entertained of bringing about that important event which was the condition for peace proposed in the correspondence of the British ministry were not confined solely to external operations: an active, but secret agent had been for some time planted in the enemy's camp, and the means of effecting that great purpose seemed far from impossible; if credit were to be given to assurances from the confidence with which they were urged. A committee of counter-revolution had been formed in Paris, previous to the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, the principal actors in which were three personages

under fictitious names, the real chief of whom was the chevalier de Coigny. A corresponding committee was, it is said, established at London, of which the count d'Artois was the chief. The date of the formation of these committees is uncertain; but it appears that at the epocha of the revolution of Brumaire a project had been concerted at London for the overthrow of the directory. That revolution so far deranged the plans of the committee, as the work was accomplished without their aid, though in a sense different from their own. This event naturally perplexed them as to their mode of future operations, and it seems that farther countenance was withheld from the prosecution of their plans till the English ministry were better acquainted with the character of this revolution, and its probable results with respect to France*. The answer having proved satisfactory, the committee at Paris, on the observations made by the count d'Artois to the English ministry, were enjoined to go on with their plans, the necessary funds were promised, and the first remittances made.

Extracts from the Correspondence seized at Paris, and published by Order of the French Government.

* “YOU must have been informed, my dear citizens, that the event which took place the 10th of November (the 18th Brumaire) has necessarily changed the dispositions of M. Durand, (supposed to be the English ministry) relative to the speculations which he was desirous of forming between your house and his own. Before entering into any speculation on your place, the citizen Tête (M. Pitt) is anxious to know the true causes of the revolution of the 10th November, the consequences it is likely to produce, and the advantages which the company Adrien (Lewis XVIII.) and Durand may gain in following up the speculation agreed on at the citizen Joli's. If you succeed in proving to the citizen Durand that nothing is changed in the profits presented by the speculation, you will be authorised to go on with it. I repeat to you, that every support shall be given that you can desire; for Durand, Joli, and myself, are well persuaded that you will ask nothing that shall not be necessary, and that you will employ it in a manner perfectly useful to Durand and the friends (the western insurgents).”—Letter of Duthiel, from London, 28th November, 1799.

“If the letter of Charron (Duthiel) has reached Dubois, (the chevalier de Coigny), he will think that all our speculations have been abandoned; this is what in reality took place for some days; but the observations made to the citizens Tête and Grain (Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville), by Honore (the count d'Artois), soon made them return upon the plan proposed, &c.”—Letter 11th December. Hamburgh (London).

While

While these arrangements took place, preparations for executing the projects were carrying on at Paris. A counter-police was established; several news-papers were taken into pay, and a correspondence opened with Pichegru. This step was followed by another, which was that of a direct negotiation with the first consul, and the minister of foreign affairs*, in order to determine the former to espouse the interests of Lewis XVIII.; and the success of which was far from being despaired of, if the English minister were steadfast in spurning at every idea of peace with France. As this interview was *aubors d'œuvre*, an accidental circumstance arising from the facility given by the French government to the chiefs of the insurgents to explain their sentiments, and afford them the means of coming to terms of peace and reconciliation, it is not extraordinary that the committee of Paris should have seized on the occasion of hazarding these

propositions; especially with Talleyrand, who was accustomed to hear and make all kinds of proposals, and whose delicacy, or patriotism, they understood was not to be offended, or affected, either by the nature or extent of whatever plans or measures should be proposed. This negotiation, which was undertaken without the consent or knowledge of the London committee, met, however, but with little success. Talleyrand appeared to them far from inflexible; but their arguments had no effect whatever on Bonaparte†. It was determined, therefore, to continue, with more activity than ever, the operations which had been agreed on in London to overturn the usurper; and, in addition to those which had been projected for the fall of his predecessors the directory, it was proposed to send for Pichegru to Paris, from whence he was to hasten to take the command, in the insurgent departments, of 15 or 18,000 Russian troops, who

* "It is especially with Lebas (Talleyrand) that these interviews have taken place. The actual position of the friends (the western insurgents) is the pretence; but we have dared to go further in the conversation, and there have been objections made, to which answers have been given too vague and indeterminate to permit any great hope of success.

"The great motives alleged by Talleyrand to engage the friends to come to an arrangement is, that they were going, says he, to be entirely abandoned by the English ministry. Pitt, he asserted, had already made some advances to the consul for a definitive arrangement. Hyde had the boldness to maintain the contrary; differences took place on this point, and it is certain that if a well conceived and very positive declaration on this head were made with respect to England, we should have an inconceivable advantage with Felix (Bonaparte); for he is not blinded with respect to the embarrassments of his situation. Talleyrand is agreed, and we have on that part the most circumstantial details."—Letter from Hyde to the Count d'Artois. No date in the copy, except "answered 16th Nivose."

† "I have the honour to inform you, in the name of Dubois (De Coigny), of the result of our proceedings, and of those made by the friends (the insurgents) with Lebas and Felix (Talleyrand and Bonaparte). The first might have finished by coming to terms; for he begins to see that there is no great solidity in the building newly constructed: but the second, blinded by his position, seems to be farther off than ever from all kind of retraction. He has explained himself in a very positive manner in his second conversation with Paul Berry (Hyde). The further he proceeds, the more his intoxication augments; he asserts that Tête (Pitt) has made him propositions, and that he shall soon come to a definitive arrangement. All this is only to mislead the friends (the insurgents), whom he seeks in every mode to intimidate."

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were to be landed from the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, where they were in garrison.

The projected negotiation with Talleyrand and Bonaparte had given great displeasure at London; and the committee had well conjectured, as the event proved, that such an undertaking could be crowned with no success "till the star of Bonaparte began to grow dim." The count d'Artois refused, therefore, and very wisely, to send the letter to Bonaparte which had been dictated for him, and of which the copy is among the letters already cited; the count insisted, on the contrary, on the only means of action which the experience of the revolution evinced could be attended with any success—those of corruption. But a greater project, and to which the London committee attached infinitely more importance, was the seizing on the port of Brest, by means of agents who were employed in that quarter. While this grand enterprise was preparing, of which the success appeared to them infallible, and which, indeed, was far from impossible, if their means of execution be not exaggerated, the answer of lord Grenville to the letter of Bonaparte, refusing all negotiations for peace, except on the condition of the re-establishment of monarchy, was announced to the Paris committees.

One of the greatest obstacles to the carrying on the civil war in the insurgent departments, with decision and vigour, was the uncertain-

ty of the dispositions of the English ministry. The French government was thoroughly convinced that this canker, preying on the vitals, would palsy; in a greater or less degree, all exertions on the enemy without. Every means, therefore, of menace or seduction, on the part of the French government, was employed to subdue or soften those dangerous inmates; and none had been found, in general, more effective, than the attempts which had been made to persuade the chiefs, as well as the followers, that it was the intention of England to abandon them, and that even propositions for a definitive arrangement had been made. That considerable impression was produced on the minds of great numbers is evident from the negotiations entered into with general Hedonville; nor had the agents of the pretender, or the English ministry, any documents sufficiently authentic to counteract the assertions, so boldly advanced by the French government, of the little attention paid by the English ministry to their interests. A public declaration was therefore judged essential by the Paris committee, who had earnestly requested that the English parliament should be made the organ of the government in favour of the royalists, and particularly of the insurgents. The letter of Bonaparte furnished a more favourable occasion for such a declaration; the answer of the British government to the letter was precise, and formal on that head, but these assurances came too late*.

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* "Thus, after the declaration of the English ministry, contrary to every thing that has been said by Talleyrand to Hyde, the count d'Artois feels the greatest uneasiness for the imprudent and dangerous situation in which Hyde and the chevalier de Coigny have placed themselves; by endeavouring to open negotiations with individuals of such bad faith as Talleyrand and Bonaparte evidently are. And to convince those two individuals, as well as France and all Europe, that the loyalty of the British minister is equal to the perfidy of the consul and his minister, the count d'Artois has obtained from

The activity of the French government had outstripped the tardy deliberations of these royalist committees, which might have produced some effect had they been earlier put into execution. When the answer of the British government was published in Paris, the negotiations with the insurgents, for a general pacification, were too far advanced, and lord Grenville's letter served no other purpose than to furnish the most plausible pretexts for the French government to continue the war, and excite the general indignation of the people against conditions so humiliating. The French appeared now to be persuaded, that the only chance left for restoring peace to their country was by making one great and more general exertion, to which their enthusiasm, so long subdued, seemed once more awakened; from the persuasion that nothing was impossible to the fortune and genius of Bonaparte.

The pacification of the west was followed by a general submission of the mass of royalists throughout France; for it would be dishonouring that name to apply it to those scattered bands by whom it was still retained, and who continued to evince their energy in the support of the regal cause, by depredations on individuals who had incurred their hatred, either by holding pub-

lic functions, or purchasing national domains, against whom a sort of predatory war was still carried on, which became rather the object of a strong police than of the operations of an army. The chief of the Paris committee, the chevalier de Coigny, and the person who conducted the counter-police, were soon after arrested, with the whole of their correspondence. Their lives were forfeited; but they chose rather to redeem them by ample avowals of their plans, and the denunciation of their associates. Previously to this discovery, the French government had suppressed the great mass of journals, a measure which excited murmurs, and no small uneasiness, among those who recollected the fatal consequences which had arisen from the same step taken by the late directory. It appeared, however, from the confession of those men, and from their correspondence, that most of those journalists were in the pay of foreign powers, or of the royalist party; and the necessity of this suspension, and its justice, was acknowledged as soon as the evidence was produced, that this violation of the liberty of the press was an arm taken from the common enemy. Twelve political journals only were permitted to be published in Paris.

But although the restoration of

Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville, that Bonaparte's letter, and the answer made to it, should be printed at Paris, in order to put the royalists in the way of knowing what are the true intentions of England with respect to the king:—Now that these intentions are well known, no pretence can remain to the wavering or the tremblers to hold back, or stand neuter between the king and the enemies of the throne. I hope that the answer of the British ministry will appear, to the chevalier de Coigny and to Hyde, of a very different kind of importance from all the vague and insignificant declarations which might be made in the parliament of England, and on which they set so infinite a value. Every thing contained in the letter of lord Grenville leaves nothing to desire with respect to the explanations demanded from the society in general, and from the English government in particular. The count d'Artois has not the smallest doubt but that these explanations will produce the best and greatest effect.

"5th January, 1800. "Approved and signed, CHARLES PHILIPPE, Count d'Artois."

internal

internal tranquillity doubled as it were the force of the French government, from the accession of so considerable a part of hostile territory to the cause of the republic; although its most formidable enemy had been softened, if not into cordial friendship, at least into positive forbearance; the combination of foreign powers against France was yet too potent not to leave serious apprehensions on the minds of those who reflected on the great mass of physical force which yet menaced the frontier in the Austrian armies, possessed of the whole of Italy except certain portions of the Ligurian republic, and the Russians, who still lingered on the confines of Switzerland, and whose legions might be renewed and become more numerous than before. The peremptory tone of the answer from the English cabinet served also to confirm those fears; for it was naturally concluded that offers of negotiation would not have been so constantly refused, and conditions of peace so inadmissible been proposed, had there not been a secret assurance on the part of the British ministry that the experience and evidence resulting from facts, which they talked of as the term of hostility, was to have been procured by measures more strenuous than ever, such at least as a renewed coalition of the powers of Europe, and the accession of those who as yet had taken no part in the contest.

But while the French nation in general were waiting some dire disaster from those hostile menaces, not only did the internal pacification take place, but at this period all incertitude ceased respecting the return of the Russian troops, who had now received positive orders to withdraw from Germany. The forces of the emperor and the empire were a sort of familiar and domestic ene-

my, which caused but comparatively little alarm; and the selfish politics of the Austrian cabinet, which aimed less at counter-revolution in France than accession of territory in Italy, were less ferocious than those of Paul, whose stern project was the statu quo, or the final annihilation of the republic. This army, which had been for three months past the object of so many fears and hopes, to which so much importance had been attached the foregoing year, and which it was confidently stated was about to be renewed with at least fifty thousand men, began its retreat into Poland, in consequence of peremptory orders which reached Suwarrow about the middle of January.

Various have been the causes stated of this secession from the coalition, such as the quarrels which took place between the Russian and Austrian commanders on the surrender of Ancona, the differences of opinion between the two imperial cabinets respecting the object of the war;—some more trifling are also recorded, but probably not less true. It has been often observed that the greatest events are produced by the most insignificant causes; and this truth is obvious, since the affairs of this world are directed by men, and too often by those who are the least capable of regulating them—men more subject than others to the weaknesses of humanity, and under the dominion of more violent passions and caprices, from the power which they possess of indulging them.

A final retreat from the coalition, however, seemed to be the fixed determination of the emperor of Russia, notwithstanding the assurances given by the English chancellor of the exchequer that that monarch had not withdrawn himself from the common cause, and from

from the interest of Europe; and the insinuations, that, though he might not co-operate on the continent, his forces might be employed in maritime expeditions against the common enemy. But though Paul had at this time taken the resolution of leaving the care of restoring social order in Europe to his former allies, his abhorrence of French principles were not less manifested than when he entered the field to oppose them. To show his consistency, he published, at the time of his secession from the coalition, an ukasa, full of invectives and maledictions against the French, which enjoined every man who should receive either by the post, or in any other mode, any gazette, or printed work whatever, to carry it immediately to the committee of censure, in order to be examined and stamped, under pain of being declared and punished as a rebel.

The certainty of the emperor's secession, if any thing which belonged to so capricious and variable a character could be characterised as certain, softened those disagreeable impressions which the ministerial speeches had made, where the personal characters of those who held the reins of power in France were held up with so much eloquence to public animadversion and obloquy. These discourses, which in England were passed over with the occasion to which they gave rise, were long remembered in France, and were resented with so much the more indignation, as it was the general conviction that the personal imputations they contained were less the result of misinformation and error, than a determined resolution to add insult to hostility. The cabinets of statesmen are supposed to be regulated by grand and serious considerations; but the most provoking

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causes of enmity are oftentimes the most superficial and trifling. The condition of peace imposed by the English ministry—the restoration of the Bourbons—though humiliating to the nation, was not disrespectful to the individual, and found apologists; but the attack on the character of Bonaparte was heard with surprise, spurned with indignation, and considered as a national insult.

But if the emperor of Russia's continental co-operation was to be less extensive than the last campaign, the emperor of Germany remained a faithful ally. Bonaparte, at the time that he tempted the British minister to negotiation, had made the same experiment also on the Austrian cabinet. The text of this correspondence has not been made public, but it contained propositions of a similar nature to those sent to the English cabinet; still more formal, however, and precise, and urged with more earnestness, from the greater probability of succeeding in the negotiation, and the great importance of neutralising so formidable an enemy.

Prince Charles, whose pacific intentions were well known, was the intermediary of this correspondence; and so much effect was produced by the representations which accompanied the consular letters, that the hesitation of the court of Vienna was officially as it were communicated to the public, who were advised not to be hasty in their censures of the late changes which had taken place in France, and the new form of government adopted in that country; since these events seemed to prove a return to ideas, and a mode of administration the farthest removed from revolutionary opinions. Whether sentiments thus pacific, and so diametrically opposite to those of the British ministry,

were

were the effect of a real hesitation on the part of the Austrian cabinet, or assumed only in order to delude the French government to give time for new arrangements, the impression made was such, that peace with Austria was considered as a thing assured, and the price of its attainment stated with confidence, and submitted to with regret. These hopes and regrets were, however, equally without foundation. Neither the mediation of the king of Prussia, who is stated to have been the first intermediary between France and the Austrian cabinet, nor the letters addressed immediately from Bonaparte to the emperor, nor the frequent dispatches communicated by Moreau to prince Charles, nor those transmitted by the prince of Colleredo, were of any avail: the influence of the British ministry overthrew the combined efforts of those different negotiators; and the pacific machinations of prince Charles were dissipated by the war-like resolves of the empress and the minister Thugut. The message of the king of England to the parliament, (February 13) informing it that his majesty was at that moment employed in making engagements with the emperor of Germany, the elector of Bavaria, and other princes of the empire, to support the common cause, and asking preliminary supplies, scarcely dissipated the illusion.

The chief consul's communications with prince Charles were still kept up, and his aide-de-camp was still at the archduke's quarters, though he was prohibited going to Vienna. The prospects of peace began, however, to fade gradually away; but what entirely darkened them was the arrival of general Kray at Donaueschingen, (16th of February) to supersede prince

Charles in the command of the army in Suabia. The archduke, whose influence with the emperor had caused his hesitation in favour of the consular propositions, and who had struggled with some appearance of success against the empress's party, was completely disgraced.

To cover the humiliation arising from the loss of the imperial favour, and to soften the indignation of the public, which was strongly excited in favour of this young prince, he was invested with the title of governor of Bohemia. The almost universal demonstrations of regret which accompanied his departure, both from Vienna and the army, was a striking evidence, not only of the personal estimation in which he was held, but of the state of public opinion respecting the carrying on the war. As this prince had received in the English parliament the honourable appellation of the Saviour of Germany, from the minister whose further projects he was now disgraced for opposing, and as his conduct otherwise entitles him to the esteem of his contemporaries, it is not uninteresting to give a short sketch of his person and character. The archduke Charles is of a middle stature; well made, but thin; light hair, high forehead, large blue eyes, an aquiline nose, pale lips, round chin, and of a fresh and rosy complexion. The sound of his voice is clear and melodious; his look pleasing, and wears the character of goodness. His port is noble and simple; majestic, but without ostentation. He carries the moderation and simplicity of his table to frugality, but enlivens it by the amiableness of his manners, and the gaiety of his conversation. His plan of life is invariably regular; he rises very early, and consecrates the

the first moments to devotion; the rest of his time till dinner is occupied with the business of the day, which he never quits without finishing. After his repast, he takes two hours of recreation, which he passes in reading, or playing on the piano forte; after which, if the season admits, he rides or walks, pays visits, or goes to the theatre. He avoids all kinds of tumultuous pleasure; and, restraining his amusements to those which are pure and intellectual, forms at once the favourite and model of a court, where his morals and heroism are as little copied as his pacific dispositions, which were spurned at and rejected.

As the appeal was once more made to the sword, the French government, conquered in negotiation, was forced to accept the challenge. The determination for war on the part of the coalesced powers was communicated officially to the legislative body by a message, (7th March,) in which disappointment at the rejection of the negotiation, and indignation against the English government, were strongly marked. "Frenchmen," say the consuls, "you have been anxious for peace; your government has desired with still greater ardour. Its first steps, its most constant wishes, have been for its attainment. The English ministry has betrayed the secret of its horrible policy. To dismember France, destroy its marine and its ports, strike it out from the map of Europe, or lower it to the rank of secondary powers; to keep every nation on the continent divided from each other, in order to be in possession of the trade of the globe, and enrich itself with their spoils; to obtain this horrible triumph it is that England scatters its seed, becomes prodigal of its promises, and multiplies its intrigues." After assuring the legislative body

that neither the gold, the promises, nor the intrigues of England, should ever influence the powers of the continent, the message further declared, that if any power remained refractory, the first consul, who had promised peace, would put himself at the head of the armies to march and obtain it; but that in the midst of battles and triumphs he would invoke peace, and swear to fight only for the happiness of France and the repose of the world.

This message was followed by two decrees, of the first of which the second article was a call, in the name of honour, on such of the military as had obtained their retreat, on veterans who were yet in a condition to enter on a campaign, on all young men of the requisition and conscription, to join their respective regiments before the 5th of April, and those who belonged to no corps to present themselves at the head-quarters at Dijon, where they were to receive their arms and accoutrements, and be reviewed by the first consul in the course of the month. Such as were willing to accompany the first consul as volunteers were enjoined to signify their intentions by inscribing their names at their respective præfects. The second decree stated the formation of an army of reserve at Dijon of 60,000 men, which was to be commanded by the chief consul in person.

After a discussion, in which the conduct of the English government was animadverted on with nearly the same severity, and more respect than is usual in similar cases in the British parliament, the answer of the legislature was an echo to the message. The tribunate also emitted a wish that the first consul might return at once a conqueror, and a restorer of peace.

While these negotiations were

carrying on to procure external peace to the republic, and which, unfortunately for humanity, terminated only in more stern and decisive preparations for war, the French government was actively employed in ameliorating every branch of the political œconomy of the state, by forming new plans of administration, by enacting new regulations, but more especially in clearing away the greater number of those which had already been framed under former rulers, and which had served rather to impede than to help forward the progress of the machine. The most important of these laws, which at this time received the sanction of the legislature, was that of the division and regulation of the internal administration of the republic. Hitherto the departments had been under the direction of what were called *central administrations*, that is of a certain number of individuals named by the electors every year; and in this practice there was nothing adverse to the exercise of the true spirit of liberty: on the contrary, in its forms it wore the appearance of the best mode of departmental government, since the electors of every department previously named by the people having the immediate choice of other administrators, it might be presumed that that choice would be such only as should best tend to the well-being and prosperity of the district they had to govern.

Such indeed might have been the case, had the people been more enlightened with respect to the objects of their choice; and it often happened that their election fell on men who had administered well the powers entrusted to them; but as the directory had the faculty of suspending in the whole, or in part, those administrations till the epocha

of their re-election, which was once every year, such was the spirit of domination in that supreme body that whole departments found their elections at once rendered void, and their districts under the government of men who had far less in charge to regulate their interests than the private interests of those by whom they were appointed; and the responsibility of agents was become mere name.

As the system of the present government was the concentration rather than the division of the executive power, the law enacted for the government of the departments partook of the same spirit as that which regulated the supreme executive power of the state. The European territory of the republic was divided into departments as before, and into districts or *arrondissements* of cantons. In every department was a præfect, with three or four sub-præfects, according to the population; a council of the præfecture, and a council-general of the department. In the most populous departments the præfectorial council consisted of fifteen members, the council-general of the department of twenty-four. In departments of the second class, according to the population, the council of præfecture consisted of fifteen members; that of the department of twenty. In departments of the third rate, the præfect's council was three; the council-general of the department sixteen. The præfect was charged with the sole administration. The council of præfecture decided respecting the claims of citizens against their quota of taxation. The principal attribution of the departmental general-council whose session was to last only fifteen days in the year, was to allude to the respective *arrondissements*,
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districts of the department, the amount of the taxes which they were to pay. The secretary-general of the council of præfecture had the keeping of the papers, and the signature. Each *arrondissement* had also a council, composed like the council-general of the departments, holding its session for fifteen days, and subdividing the quota of taxes to every individual. In towns, villages, and other places where there were municipal administrations, and the population of which did not exceed 2500 inhabitants, were placed a mayor and two adjoints. In cities of 100,000 inhabitants and upwards, a mayor and two adjoints were named for each municipality; and a commissary-general of police, with whom the other commissaries were to correspond. At Paris the departmental council were to perform the functions of municipal council. The nomination to the chief of these various offices, such as the præfects, sub-præfects, the councils of præfecture, the councils-general of departments, the councils of *arrondissements*, the secretary-general, was the attribute of the first consul; the inferior magistracies in each department were named by the præfect. The salaries of the præfects were from 8000 livres to 30,000 livres a-year, according to the population. Those of the sub-præfects from one-tenth to one-fifth of the amount of the præfects. These, and the commissaries of police, were the only offices salaried. In this project the number of departments was preserved, as in the constituent assembly. The six thousand cantons were reduced to 398 *arrondissements*, each having a sub-præfect.

The new mode of administration had no need of experience to appreciate the benefits which have since resulted from it. It remedied

speedily and generally the acknowledged vices of that framed by the constituent assembly. The enlightened members of that assembly foretold and censured themselves that kind of collective administration, where deliberation mingled discussion with action, and tardiness took place in operations where rapidity was necessary. The conflict also of jurisdiction had not been less inconvenient and perplexing. A multitude of objects depended at once on the minister, the mayors, and on the administration of departments; by which means the different authorities were always in a sort of continual hostility with each other. There was neither unity nor independence, nor any real administrative government. Each minister had, in almost every administrative body, pretended agents, of which they were rather the correspondents than the comptrollers; and whom interest, fortune, and ambition, led either to resist or obey their authority, according to the circumstances in which they were placed, and which appeared in the sales and appropriation to themselves and their associates, of national domains, and national property of every kind, at a value infinitely below, not only the real worth, but far inferior to real offers made by individuals; while the concerns of the citizens, whose interests they were to watch over, became objects of trifling consideration.

These vices, and others already spoken of, it was the business of this new plan of administration to correct. In this plan the constitutional dependence of authority was duly marked out; from the first consul to the mayor of a Pyrenean or Alpine village every thing was connected, and the links of the great chain held firmly together. The

most difficult article yet remained to be arranged, which was the proper choice of instruments to put the machine in motion. This object was far from being well attained. No offices in the new government required a greater union of talents and probity than that of the præfectures, which was the representation in every department of the consular power and dignity; and as the whole executive power of the territory over which the præfects presided was delegated to them, subject however to the controul of government, it became an object of importance to the governed that these places should be filled by individuals of acknowledged character and respectability. The majority were without doubt of this description: but a great number of departments had to lament, that their concerns were entrusted to men, some of whom had become celebrated only from the reproach annexed to their names as *coryphées* of the jacobin faction; while others perceived with regret that the republican order of things had received but little support in the nomination of individuals whose sentiments were known to be hostile to its establishment, but whose interest led them to wear the mask, and whom the same motive would lead to drop it when a favourable occasion appeared. This mixture of characters formed part of that system of impartiality, or, as it was called, of fusion, which was adopted in order to reconcile the contending parties, and call into action whatever of talent was found in each; a motive laudable enough, had the views of either party been always directed exclusively towards the public good, whatever errors might have taken place in the execution; but which deserved reprobation when this political to-

leration thus confounded servility and honour, vice and virtue; bestowing on each equal confidence, of which the governed were to reap, according as the præfect named should fall to their lot, the benefits or the mischievous effects. Another object still more important than this arrangement of provincial administration was next submitted to the legislature. This was the organisation of the civil and criminal courts of justice. Whatever benefits might have resulted to France from the changes which had taken place during the revolution in every part of its government, the judiciary order had been the most deranged and degraded. The vices which marked the parliaments throughout France were multiplied in the organisation which took place after their dissolution. The whole system was tainted with the old vice of chicane and corruption, to which was superadded the turbulent theory of popular election. At no time was justice worse administered than when the people took the management into their own hands; when the office of judge, one of the most solemn and sacred that society has instituted, became, from the familiarity with which it was treated, a mark of degradation, and the pursuit of the lowest intrigue. It was to remedy the numberless vices that encumbered this institution, that a law for its reformation was presented to be discussed and approved by the legislative body.

According to the present regulation a primary tribunal is instituted in each communal *arrondissement*, which is to take cognisance of civil matters, and of the correctional police. The seat of these tribunals is in general such as was occupied heretofore by the correctional tribunals.

bunals. Each *arrondissement* contains about 75,000 individuals. These primary tribunals, which supersede and include the former civil and correctional tribunals, amount to 398 throughout the republic, which is a diminution on the whole of 117 tribunals. The number of judges is regulated according to the population. In 198 communes, the primary tribunals are composed of three judges; in 175, they are composed of four; in 21 great towns, the population of which exceeds 30,000 persons, of seven, divided into two sections; and in the three greatest cities, of ten judges, divided into three sections. The causes in the primary tribunals are tried by three judges, a commissary of government is attached to each tribunal, and a substitute to each section. Till the peace, the minimum of the judges' salaries in those of the smallest population is to be 1000 livres a year, (about 42*l.* sterling,) and the maximum 3600 livres, (150*l.* sterling,) in towns of the largest population. Twenty-nine tribunals of appeal are established in places where lately were seated the superior tribunals, which are composed of seven judges. Their salaries are from three to four thousand livres. The president and vice-presidents of each of those tribunals receive an additional salary, the one a half, the other a quarter, more than their colleagues. Each criminal tribunal is composed of two judges, two suppléans, and a president, to be taken every year from the tribunal of appeal. Their salaries are the same as those of the judges belonging to that tribunal. At Paris the primary tribunal is composed of twenty-four judges, divided into six sections; the tribunal of appeal of thirty-three judges, divided into three sections; the criminal tribunal of six

judges, divided into two sections. Their salaries are from 3600 to 5000 livres. The tribunal of revision or cassation remained unchanged, as did also those of commerce, and those of justices of the peace.

The principal vice of the judiciary system had been remedied by the constitution, which was that of the frequent change of judges, and subjecting them to popular election. By the constitution the nomination was the prerogative of the first consul. But the organisation still remains tainted with most of the vices of its revolutionary institution, of which the immense multiplicity of judges, and the meanness of their retributions, are striking instances. This new organisation was largely discussed, and warmly objected to, in passing through the examination of the tribunate; and it was admitted by the counsellors of state, who pleaded for its adoption, that it was encumbered with vices which must be left to the operations of time to remedy. Part of the system, that which respects the remuneration of the judges, is to be changed at the peace; but the whole, we understand, will undergo a revision, or rather the whole system is likely to be changed, as soon as the civil code shall be adopted, which will necessarily expunge from the French statute book that immense mass of inconsistent and incoherent laws framed by each successive legislature, and make way for the establishment of juries in civil as well as criminal cases.

Among the private institutions formed at this period, but which were connected with public credit, was that of a bank, which was erected under the title of the Bank of France. The late bank of *caisse d'escomptes courants* had been unsuccessful in its speculations, and

not only had yielded no profit to the subscribers, but a considerable decrease in the value of the capital had taken place, from the knavery of one of the principal managers. It was on the ruins of this bank that the bank of France was formed, at the head of which were the principal bankers of Paris. Its capital consisted of thirty millions of livres, divided into thirty thousand shares of a thousand livres each. The chief operations of this bank were the discounting of bills, opening private accounts, receiving deposits of money on interest, and emitting notes payable to the bearer. The administration was confided to fifteen regents, and three censors; the universality of the subscribers were represented by two hundred, chosen amongst them, and who constituted the general assembly.

Whilst these new organisations were taking place, the constitution on which they were founded was submitted to the approbation or disapprobation of the nation. The first constitution, framed by the constituent assembly, had never received this sanction. The second (for it were mockery to speak of the constitution under Robespierre) was doubtfully accepted, and menacingly put into execution. The present constitution was treated with more ceremony: every citizen was at liberty to subscribe his name for, or against, its reception, as he pleased; and it was remarkable, that at Paris, the first who pronounced his negative was one of the principal officers of the republic, the superintendant of the national archives, M. Camus. The return of the votes in its favour amounted to 3,012,659, while those who disapproved it were only 1562. Whatever speculative objections might be made to the constitution, as encroaching on the principles

which formed its basis, the nation felt that it contained a sufficient guarantee for a peaceable and moderate government. Never at any period had the people evinced, in a more clear and decisive manner, the national will, nor had so immense a mass come forward on any occasion to express its opinion; and this approbation seemed the more free and disinterested, as it restrained the exercise, and diminished the frequency, of popular interposition; it appeared that the people at length comprehended, that though they were sovereign, the exercise of that sovereignty ought to be entrusted to other hands than their own.

The proclamation of the acceptance of the constitution was followed by the installment of the consuls, in the palace of the Tuilleries; a ceremony, the pomp of which was at least imprudent, and which offended every party; to some it wore the indecency of unmanly triumph, and to others exhibited more of ostentation than was compatible with the severity of republican prejudices. But this trifling error was compensated by so many real benefits, that it was soon forgotten. During the time that had elapsed from the revolution of the 18th of Brumaire to the proclamation of the acceptance of the constitution, considerable ameliorations of every kind had taken place throughout the whole republic. The flatterers of power have endeavoured to concentrate the whole of the merit in the person of Bonaparte. This personage had no doubt a principal share of that merit; yet a considerable portion belongs to that class of patriots, who, imbued with the true principles of liberty, and anxious for the welfare of their country, were in a state of continual resistance

ance to the tyranny and corruption of the directorial government, waiting with inflexibility the arrival of some event which would relieve the country from the ignoble oppression under which it groaned, and bring it back to those principles of justice and good government by which alone it could continue to exist, and to prosper. Surrounded by the confidence of the people, the government had nothing to fear from factions; and, therefore, less praise than has been given it was due, from the moderation with which it treated those who were the most hostile to its establishment.

The proscriptions which had followed almost every other revolution were always the effects of fear, and therefore cruel; but, as no faction had dared to dispute the authority of those who now held the reins of power, not a single imprisonment was ordered. The government, on the contrary, was active to repair the wrongs which its predecessors had committed against others. No class had been more the object of persecution than the ministers of public worship. The minister of police had already signified the intentions of the government to the constituted authorities in the departments, respecting those individuals who had been falsely inscribed on the list of emigrants, and to whom leave of entrance was given, in order that they might have an opportunity of furnishing the proofs of the injustice which had been committed against them; but to the irrevocable exclusion of those who left France with intentions hostile to the country. Among those particularly marked as objects of favour were the emigrant patriot members of the constituent assembly. This proclamation was followed by another from the same

minister, in which leave of entrance was granted to the emigrant clergy, of whom a simple promise of obedience to the government was exacted. This proclamation was a short homily on toleration and religious liberty, so much the more necessary to be promulgated, as the principles had been so much misunderstood, and the practice so much neglected. The list of emigrants which had been kept open, as the most speedy and effectual method in the hands of tyranny to crush, or make away with its victims, was definitively closed.

While the government was employed in those works of justice or mercy, it was not less active in repairing the disorders, and putting a stop to the dilapidations, which prevailed in almost every department of the state; insomuch that the public purse had become as it were the patrimony of individuals. Of the various fraudulent contracts which had been made for the service of the republic, (and all were more or less of this description,) many were broken, others modified; and where the fraud was too apparent to be concealed, the contractor was sent to prison. These ameliorations in the state were accompanied also by a considerable change in the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Paris. Although no sumptuary laws had been enacted, nor any regulations respecting dress, various vexations had been exercised against persons whom fancy, or perhaps disaffection, had led to the choice of certain ornaments, which it was asserted were signs adhesive to the anti-republican party. A black collar, or hair in tresses, were for a long time objects of the animadversion of the police; and, though the female attire of the national cockade was not an indispensable ornament, yet

yet all who had not this mark of fidelity to the republic attached to their head-dress were excluded the entrance into the public walks. These burlesque and frivolous decrees of the police were abolished; and the women were not only left to the choice of their ornaments, but the appellation of *citoyenne*, which had indeed been rigidly adhered to only in the public offices within the directorial precincts and the theatres, was proscribed, and the old title of *madame* and *mademoiselle* restored. Various amusements, which heretofore had formed the delights of the Parisians, and which had been for a long time forbidden, were again permitted to take place; and as the tide of urbanity and frivolity had now set in, many who mistook the toleration of government for a return to monarchical ideas, as well as the amusements of the old *régime*, ventured to carry their newly-acquired freedom to the folly of making use, even in the hotels and at the festivals of ministers, of those titles which the law of the state had solemnly proscribed, and which, whatever might be the complaisance of government in other respects, it was not its intention to suffer to be resumed.

Although no regular opposition was formed in the tribunate against the measures of the government, yet the laws which it proposed were often the objects of keen animadversion, and sometimes of decisive refusal. When the tribunate withheld its

assent, the legislative body sometimes threw their weight into the scale of government, and clothed the project with their sanction. The assent of the tribunate at other times to the measures of government met with restrictions in the legislative body; and projects which had gained the assent of the two former authorities were rejected by those legislative judges. Whatever objections might be made to the theory of introducing, debating, or enacting a law according to the rules prescribed, experience showed that the executive power was far from being unlimited, nor was its influence employed in other modes than such as were fitted to procure attention from the conviction of its utility. The election of the vacant places in the senate, which were filled up by this latter body on the joint presentation of the tribunate, legislative body, and the chief consul, sometimes presented instances of the distance between these two bodies and the chief magistrate in the discrimination of character. The candidates named by the former were sometimes either men of obscure life, known only for their talent in intrigue, or the objects of general reprobation, such as the ex-directors; while the consul took care to have his choice ratified by naming men of integrity or talent, who had deserved this rank and distinction by services antecedently rendered to their country, and whose nomination was sanctioned by the general voice of the public.

CHAP. VIII.

Ligurian and Batavian Republics. Divisions in the Helvetic Republic. The Directory dissolved. Retirement of La Harpe. Augereau appointed to the Command in Holland—His Conduct there. Piedmont—Conduct of the Austrians there. Cisalpine Republic. Rome. Naples. Egypt—Diffusions between the Grand Vizier and the Pacha of St. John d'Acre—Negotiation with Sir Sidney Smith—Taking of El Arisch—Negotiations continued with the British Commodore—Convention agreed upon and signed—Terms of the Convention. Funereal Eulogium of General Washington—Conciliating Conduct of the French Government towards the American States. Communication with the Court of Berlin. Wise Conduct of Prussia. The Elector of Saxony. Sweden. Court of Copenhagen. Spain.

IT was naturally to be expected, that the revolutions and changes which were effected in the French republic would have a greater or less degree of influence on those which surrounded it. The events which took place on the 18th of Brumaire occasioned a momentary subversion in the Ligurian government; while the Batavian republic was saved by that revolution from once more falling into the same jacobinical crisis which had been commanded by the late French directory, and which took place under the administration of La Croix, the late minister of foreign affairs, who was at that time the French ambassador in Holland. The internal tranquillity of this country, except in that instance, was the effect of the general disposition of the people, not only to repulse the attempts of the anarchical and Orange parties, but to offer a stedfast, though passive resistance, to the encroachments of the French government. The Helvetic republic, which at the period of its revolution had been the licensed theatre of French directorial rapine and intrigue, had, since the administration of La Harpe, been less subject to those extortions. Its internal distresses, particularly

those of the lesser cantons, which had been the continual seat of war, were undoubtedly great, nor was it until the final expulsion of the Austrian and Russian armies that they felt again the scourge of French exaction. The revolution of the 18th of Brumaire relieved them from the oppression against which the Helvetic government had struggled with firmness, and to which it had yielded only from force. But though it was to the director La Harpe that Switzerland was principally indebted for that strenuous, but unavailing, opposition which was made to the insolent demands of Massena, confirmed by the mandate of the French government; when, without the authority of the Helvetic directory, contributions were levied on different districts of the republic; yet, when the storm was abated, this Swiss director, who had been called unanimously to the aid of his country at the time when Rewbel and Rapinat accumulated their devastations, who had been active in thwarting every subsequent intrigue of the French government, and who had for some time been the object of the jealousy and the hatred of the oligarchical party, was overthrown in his turn.

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This last party was the more inveterate against him, as he was the primary mover of the revolution which destroyed their power; and though the republican party allowed him the merit of having opposed at all times, with courage, the inroads made by the French directory on their independence, yet they accused him of bearing his faculties less meekly than he ought, and of arrogance and obstinacy in the administration of government. The common pressure of calamity and danger had softened this spirit of opposition for a while; but when that danger was removed, the legislative body voted, that the directory was too much under the influence of passion to govern wisely; that its plans were not adapted to the exigencies of the state; that it had lost the confidence of the nation, and that it was become necessary to change the members. The directory, on the other hand, did not conceal their resentment against the majority of the legislative body, accusing them of thwarting every measure prepared for the amelioration of the state, and of wishing to usurp every power—in short, of being devoted to the Austro-oligarchical faction; and added, that it might be necessary to adjourn the sittings of the legislative councils, that the business of the government might proceed with less interruption. These domestic dissensions were carried to so great a height, that the legislative assemblies were become little else than an arena for combatants, in which each party vented its furious passions. The directory, who perceived the fatal consequences of this disorder, endeavoured to stop the torrent; but the different parties in the councils were too much heated to listen to conciliatory language. The com-

plaisance of the directory was construed into weakness; and, as a government which solicits indulgence is sure never to find it, the legislature, instead of giving it the support for which it prayed, was secretly decided to overturn it. All respect among the people for authority, executive and legislative, had now ceased; and the oligarchical party, perceiving that the ruin of both in the public opinion was the only mode of regaining its own power, fomented to the utmost their divisions; and the directory was dissolved by a vote of the legislative body, after a report from commissions appointed to examine the conduct of its members.

The oligarchical party was embarrassed by this revolution of the most formidable of its opponents, in the person of La Harpe, who had struggled with the same earnestness against the pretensions of the old regencies, and the despotic encroachments and influence of the French government. The charges of conspiracy against the liberties of the Helvetic republic, under pretence of surrendering it to France, were deemed too absurd for investigation. The answers which he made contained so clear a refutation of those charges, that the legislature ordered it to be printed, and distributed throughout the republic; nor did any other proof of error attach to his conduct, except that of not having duly reflected, that, though called in a moment of distress to the aid of his country, his first step, after the danger was past, should have been to divest himself of his power; since, in general, none become so obnoxious to a revolutionised nation as those who are the cause of its change. La Harpe retired from the seat of government, with his family, to Lausanne.

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The Batavian government, meanwhile, was industriously employed in repairing the losses occasioned by the invasion of the English and Russians. The damage which had been sustained in North Holland was considerable; and the expences occasioned by the employment of so large a number of French troops, in the service of the republic, had caused a deficit of fifty millions of florins in the public treasury. It was proposed by the directory to cover this deficit by a tax of four per cent. on all revenues exceeding five hundred florins; and as the estimated expences of the current year exceeded the receipt by fifty millions, another four per cent. was proposed. On the recall of Brune, Augereau was appointed to the command of the French troops in Holland; and, contrary to the general expectations entertained of this commander, he not only alleviated the weight of useless expences for the maintenance of the army, and put a stop to the frauds which had hitherto been committed, but afforded in his own conduct an example of temperance and simplicity which had seldom marked the behaviour of French generals, when beyond the frontier of their own country. The Batavian government, by a decree of the legislative body, likewise conferred on him the command of the troops, under certain restrictions; of which the principal were, that his power should be confined to military operations, but that he should not mingle himself in the administration of the army; should have no authority to suppress or break any officers; that he should interfere in no internal affairs; should not have the power of marching the army beyond the frontier; and should have no command at the Hague.

When the news of the late change

in the French government arrived at Genoa, certain members of the Ligurian republic (as we noted in the events of the last year) made their revolution also; but in a contrary sense. The exaggerated party had dethroned the *modérés*, while at Paris it was the latter who had expelled the jacobins. The reign of these new governors lasted till the arrival of Massena, who, after receiving the complaints of the councils against the commission of government, and taking due information of the means by which the commission had taken possession of the supreme authority, divested the members of their short-lived dignity, and replaced them by other citizens. We shall return to the affairs of Genoa when we come to relate the military operations in that republic, which form so remarkable an epocha in the history of the present war: and although this little corner of Italy was the only part in which the French had any command, we shall take a slight review of the other states of this desolated country.

It was generally concluded that the entrance of the coalesced army into Piedmont would be signalised by the recall of the king of Sardinia. Such were the views of the emperor of Russia; but the court of Vienna had no such intentions. The Piedmontese, instead of hailing the Austrians as their deliverers, found that they had only changed masters. Under the administration of the French, if the independence of the people was enchained, some shadow, some forms of liberty, were preserved; if they were occasionally plundered, there was some ceremony used in the spoliation; but the Austrians, though they were methodical in the exactions, which were not excessive, since they did not amount

amount to more than a million of livres per month, seized every occasion of making the people feel that their country was nothing but an Austrian province, a territory lying at the mercy of the conqueror, and which was to remain under the military government of Germans, and solely for their benefit. This oppression, however, was not borne without murmurs; and such a spirit of discontent discovered itself, that the Austrians, fearful of the consequences, consented, at length, that the administrators named by the king of Sardinia, who had hitherto acted only as commissaries under the controul of the imperial generals, should be his real representatives, and exercise their functions in the name of his majesty. Neither the king nor his family were permitted to return to Turin; it was at Florence that this royal dependent on the favour of the allied courts waited his fate, which was once more to be decided by the chances of war.

The Cisalpine republic had no monarchical privileges to plead, like the state of Piedmont. The authority of the imperial court was once more established, and both military and dictatorially administered. The inquisition against the members of the late government was carried on with unrelenting severity; stern revolt and simple acquiescence became alike the objects of imperial vengeance. It is true that executions were not very frequent, but the prisons were crowded with state delinquents; and those who were regarded as most attached to the principles of liberty, or who had occupied the most eminent posts under the republican *régime*, were sent to expiate the crime of their political opinions at the galleys. It might have been imagined that motives of policy would have regulated in a

different manner the conduct of the Austrian cabinet with respect to these re-conquered countries; that, at least, the principles of distributive justice would have met with some slight attention, since experience might have taught it the uncertainty of any tenure gained by the sword; and that, although vengeance was the predominant passion in the administration of its government, yet such indiscriminate punishments were neither corrective of the evil, nor suited to inspire repentance. But if, in reflecting on the policy of this imperial conduct, it be considered that those objects of its resentments were the citizens of a free state, whose sovereignty and independence had been recognised by this court in formal treaties, every sentiment, as to the impolicy of the measure, sinks under the consideration of the infamy and atrocity of the deed.

The duchy of Tuscany was less exposed to the fury of those vindictive measures: its provisional government, during the absence of the grand duke, whose residence at Vienna gave the measure of his wisdom with respect to the stability of Italian politics, satisfied itself with either condemning to imprisonment, or banishing for ever from the Tuscan states, after confiscation of their property, such as had become obnoxious by espousing republican principles. The republic of Lucca, and the states of the duke of Modena, the latter of which forms part of the Cisalpine government, were alike under the dominion of Austrian generals, and treated alike as conquered countries.

While the conclave were assembled at Venice, occupied in the choice of a successor to fill the chair of St. Peter, vacant by the death of the unfortunate Pius the Sixth, Rome was

was governed by a mixture of civil and military power. The administration was confided to a provisory council, composed of Roman nobles, attached to the interests of the pontifical government. The patricians of the republican system were pursued with great rigour; the estates of such as had fled were confiscated; and among others which marked this period, were those of the duke of Bonneli, who had been consul and tribune of the Roman republic. Such as fell into the hands of the supreme junta were confined in dungeons. The Neapolitan troops stationed in the Roman territory were active in their researches after the patriots; these expeditions were in general headed by general Bourcard; and the Roman populace were often regaled by public entries of captured patriots, mounted on asses, who were in this ignominious manner conveyed to the prisons of the castle of St. Angelo. Two of the late consuls of the Roman republic formed part of one of these processions. Whatever inconveniences the inhabitants of the Roman territory felt under the domination of the French, the *régime* under which they now lived led them to regret their emancipation. The only amelioration they could hope of their present circumstances was by the installment of a new pontiff: but this was at best but a change of evils; it was a passage from a *régime* they abhorred to a government they despised—an alleviation of misery without any hope of positive good.

But whatever tyranny was exercised in the north of Italy, whatever vengeance was let loose on those whom caprice or principle might have led to the adoption of other forms of government than those under which, previous to the invasion of the French, the inhabitants of

those now devoted countries had been accustomed to live, they were light and trivial compared to the unexampled horrors which deluged the territory of Naples. The violation of the treaties entered into with the members of the late republican government of that country is now become a part of history: and were not the details of these transactions (of which we gave but a very slight sketch in our narrative of the events of the last year) authenticated by the most incontrovertible testimony, we should be led to refuse our belief to the commission of deeds, the bare recital of which must strike every mind with dismay and horror. The vengeance of the court of Sicily remained yet unsatiated with its multitudes of victims. After six months of carnage, in which had fallen on the scaffold, or perished at the gallows, whatever Naples contained most distinguished for talent, or most illustrious for birth, the bloody axe, the dungeon, or exile, continued the dreadful instruments of its impolitic vengeance. Scarcely a family in Naples but had to lament the loss of some relation. Fidelity to the royal cause in parents, essential services rendered to the court, was no exemption from the calamity of seeing their children massacred before their eyes. Here a whole posterity was swept away; there whole families; and those of the highest class became extinct.

Although, since the revolution of the eighteenth of Brumaire, the circumstances of the French republic had been considerably ameliorated, those of its newly-acquired possessions in Egypt became deplorable, and even hopeless. The dissensions which had arisen in Syria between the grand vizier, who commanded the Ottoman army, and Dgezzar, the pacha

pacha of St. John d'Acre, had suspended for a time the fate of the French army. Dgezzar, who would have sunk an easy prey before the impetuosity of the French army, under Bonaparte, but for the valour of sir Sidney Smith, relieved from all apprehensions, turned his arms against his deliverers; and the grand vizier, whose mission was the capture or extermination of the French army in Egypt, was compelled for a while to employ his forces in opposing the hostilities of this rebellious and ungrateful subject.

Bonaparte, notwithstanding the brilliant victories which signalised his return from Syria, felt, on leaving Egypt, that this country was no longer tenable; since the destruction of his fleet, and the absolute nullity of the French marine, did not permit him to hope that any succours could be sent in time to reinforce an army whose successes were too dearly purchased to permit them to be of long duration. He had left instructions with Kleber to continue the negotiations he had himself begun with the Ottoman court. These negotiations Kleber had continued, less with the hope of any success that might result from them, than that of inducing the grand vizier to relax in his preparations, and delay the moment of attack, when some favourable chances might occur, and render his situation, if he remained in Egypt, less painful, or his retreat more honourable.

The grand vizier was not deluded by these appearances; but, while he seemed to listen to terms of accommodation, was active in forming his establishments, and procuring the means of transporting his army, which was then estimated at sixty thousand men. He was joined at the same time by other pachas, who brought forces from the interior

of Asia, as far as Mount Caucasus, the vanguard of which numerous army took its positions, towards the end of autumn, at Jaffa. It was at this epocha that a correspondence was opened between sir Sidney Smith, styling himself minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty near the Ottoman Porte, and general Kleber. In answer to the letters written by Bonaparte (17th of August) to the grand vizier, and by Kleber (17th of September), sir Sidney Smith informed the French general, in a letter of the date of the 26th of October, that Great Britain was not auxiliary, as had been intimated, but a principal power in the question, of which these letters treated. He explained to him the nature of the strict alliance which existed between the British court and the Ottoman Porte; from which he inferred, that the Ottoman court would never fail to act in concert with the power he had the honour of representing; that the offers made of leaving the French army a free passage in evacuating Egypt, though it might be granted by the Porte, yet could not be put into execution without the consent of the English. He assured the French general, that no other motive prompted him to accede to the project of evacuating Egypt, but the guarantee given by the English to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman empire, since the late events in India had placed the English possessions in that country out of the reach of all attack or inconvenience, even were Egypt to remain unmolested in the hands of the French. He moreover observed, that humanity alone dictated the offer which was then renewed, although the policy and the present situation of Europe would warrant its being retracted; but
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the policy of the English, continued the commodore, *is to keep their word*, even though the keeping it might be injurious to their immediate interests. He concluded his letter by observing, that the general peace could never take place before Egypt was evacuated, but that it might be accelerated by the speedy execution of that preliminary to every negotiation; observing, that it was not in a place so remote from the seat of their respective governments that an affair of that nature and importance, a general peace, could be entered into; and expressing his wishes that their official communications might be productive of that measure, the evacuation of Egypt, which would lead the way to a definitive arrangement.

In reply to the letter of the English plenipotentiary, Kleber (31st of October), while he declined explaining the motives which had led him to apply exclusively to the grand vizier, observed, that in the last conferences which he had held with Mahmed Rachdy Effendi, he had himself solicited the intervention of sir Sidney Smith in the negotiation, from the persuasion that it might have the consequence he so much desired, that of bringing about a general peace. After long and detailed observations respecting his present situation, the state of his army, the events of Europe, in answer to the representations of sir Sidney Smith, which the French general declared to be exaggerated, and to which he replied in the same style, but concluded by accepting the proffered negotiations; stating, that he had written to the grand vizier to send two persons of note to open the conferences in a place at his choice, and that he himself should send general Deseaix, and the admi-

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nistrator-general of finances; observing also, that if sir Sidney Smith desired that these conferences should be held on board his ship, he should willingly consent. In reply to the French general, the British commodore stated, in a letter written from the grand vizier's head-quarters at Jaffa, (8th of November), that the whole had been read and discussed with the grand vizier, in the presence of the Russian agent, and that it was decided to open the conferences, and consider the propositions which might be made; that, as the French general had offered that these conferences might be held on board the commodore's vessel, he should instantly repair to Alexandria, where he would receive the persons appointed to open the conference, expressing his great satisfaction, as well respecting the persons named as the object of their mission.

After some delay, occasioned by the badness of the weather, which interrupted the communication, the conference between the French commissaries and sir Sidney Smith were held on board the Tiger. The propositions made by the French commissaries, among which was that of neutralising the alliance in case of evacuating Egypt, were judged by sir Sidney Smith incompatible with the powers to treat with which he was invested; but in his written answer (30th of September), he observed, that he should be disposed to listen favourably to any modification or change which might facilitate a definitive arrangement, inasmuch as it should not be contrary to the obligations contracted by the treaty of the 5th of January (1788). The counter project which he presented, contained four articles, the three first of which

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stated, that the Ottoman Porte, neither being the aggressor, nor wishing any aggrandisement, and, consequently, having no desire of continuing the war, would have no objections to put things on their ancient footing, when once the security of its empire was obtained; and that, although the French commissaries had no power from their government to treat of peace, nor to arrange a single definitive article, yet the Ottoman Porte, seeing in the delay of the evacuation of Egypt the sole obstacle to a general pacification, towards which it was anxious to contribute by all the means in its power, would send its ministers to the congress which should be established for that important object. The fourth article was thus conceived: "The French army, though nearly surrounded on all sides, not being conquered, its bravery, its fortitude, and its character, give it every right to believe that it has still the means of resistance: thus situated, it is not in the case of an army obliged to capitulate, and its arms and baggage ought of full right to remain in its possession. The means of evacuation shall be provided; the ports of its destination can be no other than those of France, and chosen according to the local facilities of performing quarantine, such as the safety of France, and the whole of Europe, shall require."

While these negotiations were going forward, the grand vizier sent detachments from his army encamped at Gaza to besiege El-Arisch, of which he gained possession the seventh day after the attack. An armistice had been agreed on in the interval; but the vessel which was dispatched with the notice having been prevented by a tempest from approaching the coast,

the siege and capture of this avant-post of Egypt took place. In the letter written from El-Arisch (the 9th of January) by sir Sidney Smith to general Kleber on the occasion, he sent him a copy of the notes which had passed between him and the commissaries; observing to him, that he would perceive the frankness which he had promised, and with which he had acted towards him, as well as his inclination to go as far as the extent of his powers in the place which he occupied would permit him: he added, "On my side, I cannot cede objects which are not at my disposal. I send you, general, a copy of the treaty of the 5th of January, which my instructions authorised me to make, and to execute. I cannot have any authority to break it; I detail the motives which render it impossible for me to acquiesce in the propositions made me in the note I received this day. If I gave my consent, convinced that they are not to be executed, it would only be laying a snare for you, and rendering me unworthy of your esteem, which I am anxious to preserve." In the note remitted by the French commissaries, to which this letter refers, they demanded as the condition of evacuating Egypt, the restoration of the Venetian islands, Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia, the guarantee of Malta to the French, to which place French troops should be transported, and the dissolution of the triple alliance between the Porte, England, and Russia. The answer of sir Sidney Smith to these propositions stated, that the Venetian islands were not in possession solely of the Ottoman troops, that Malta was besieged conjointly by British and Neapolitan forces; the cessation and guarantee, consequently, we

not at the disposition of the Porte; that the triple alliance was defensive and not offensive, its dissolution therefore was not necessary; that it was impossible to assent to the transporting the French army, where they might be at liberty to attack others, but that its return to France with arms and baggage had been promised, which engagement should be observed.

After various conferences and correspondence, Kleber, finding that no other conditions could be obtained than the free evacuation of Egypt, agreed to a definitive arrangement for this object. He was the more induced to consent to those terms on comparing the situation of his army with that which, on his refusal, was about to be opposed to him. From the reports which he received, the Ottoman army amounted to eighty thousand men, more than half of which were then before El Arisch; the rest of the troops were at Jaffaret, and in the neighbourhood of Ramli. The coasting vessels amply supplied the camp of the grand vizier; the Arabs had joined him, and furnished him with upwards of 15,000 camels. To this army he had to oppose 8500 men, divided on the three points of Katich, Salahich, and Belbeys; which division was necessary to facilitate his communications with Cairo, and to convey succour in the quickest mode possible to the post which should be first attacked. Of the remainder of the army, 1000 men formed the garrison of Lesbe, to keep in order the country between the canal of Achmoun and Moes, ready to rise in insurrection; 1800 men to garrison Alexandria, Rosetta, Aboukir, and overlook the Delta; 1200 men were stationed at Cairo and Gizé, while 2500 were distributed over an extent of 150

leagues of country in Upper Egypt, where the war continued in activity under Murat Bey; who, though vanquished and pursued, still returned to the charge, had drawn into his party the Arabs and the inhabitants of the remoter provinces, and whose inroads, though they offered no imminent danger, were harassing to the French troops who were sent to check him.

Thus situated, having an immense multitude to oppose without, and enemies within scarcely less formidable in the disaffection of the Egyptians, about to be given up a prey to irritated conquerors, and in the plague, which had begun its ravages, and which daily diminished his army, consisting only of 15,000 effective men, he gave orders to assent to a convention for the evacuation of the country, which was signed at the camp of the grand vizier before El-Arisch the 24th of January, 1800.

The preamble of the convention relative to the evacuation of Egypt was conceived in these terms: "The French army in Egypt, anxious to give a proof of its desire to stop the effusion of blood, and terminate the unhappy differences which have taken place between the French republic and the sublime Porte, consents to evacuate Egypt, after the dispositions of the present convention, hoping that this concession may be a forwarding to the general pacification of Europe."

The principal conditions of the convention stated, that the French army should withdraw with arms, baggage, and effects, upon Alexandria, Rosetta, and Aboukir, in order to be embarked and transported into France, as well in its own vessels as in such as should be furnished it by the sublime Porte; that there should be an armistice for three months in Egypt; that

commissaries should be named by general Kleber and the sublime Porte, to make the regulations relative to the transport of the French army; and that, in case of any differences arising, such differences should be decided after the maritime regulations of England, by a commissary named by sir Sidney Smith; that the places evacuated by the French army should be remitted to the Porte in the state in which they then were; that the Porte should take every means in its power to prevent the French troops being molested in their retreat to the headquarters, in their persons, property, or honour, either by the inhabitants, by the Turks, or other nations under the command of the grand-signior. It was likewise agreed, that no inhabitant should be vexed on account of any connexions he might have had with the French during their residence in Egypt; that passports should be delivered to the French army, signed not only by the sublime Porte, but also by its allies, Russia and Great Britain; that the means of subsistence till the instant of embarkment should be provided, the amount of which in money was stipulated; that such of the French as had the plague should remain till they were cured, in hospitals, under the protection of the grand vizier, who engaged that they should be treated with all the attention and care due to humanity.

In this mode, so inglorious for the French army, and so little honourable for those who planned the expedition, was this famed conquest of Egypt about to end. All the vast and gigantic projects, the union of the eastern and western world by the canal from Suez to the Nile, and the civilisation of Africa, disappeared as dreams; and those who calculated on the merit of projects,

from the success only with which they are attended, were loud in their reproaches for so immense a waste of life and treasure in an adventure so romantic; nor were these reproaches less poignantly urged from the reflexion, that not only this expedition had wholly failed, but that half of those European conquests were likewise lost which would have been securely preserved from all attack had not this ill-fated and extravagant crusade taken place. The only consolation that presented itself was in the return of the wrecks of this once formidable army; but such were the representations made of its condition, that little assistance could be expected from its co-operation in any part of the campaign which was about to open. What aggravated the misfortune of this evacuation of Egypt to the French, was not only the loss of this valuable colony, but the seeing it pass into the hands of their formidable rival; an event which not only crushed all the speculations of glory which they had beheld in romantic perspective, but actually destroyed all their influence in the Levant.

This blow was the more severe as it was unexpected. The victory over the Turks at Aboukir, previous to the departure of Bonaparte, and their defeat by the French under Kleber, had effaced impressions made on the mind of the public by the intercepted letters respecting the distressed state of the army of Egypt, which had been republished in France from the English copy. The pompous festival which took place in Paris on the presentation of the numerous trophies gained from the Turks added to this illusion. The temple of the Invalids was changed on this occasion into the temple of Mars; and, by

by one of those singularities which sometimes figure in the revolution, at the moment the orator and generals were celebrating the invincibility of the French arms, and the destinies of Egypt ultimately bound with those of France, the surrender of this important conquest was signed at El-Arifch, and the evacuation was then taking place. This festival of triumph was mingled also with sounds of condolence, in commemoration of departed worth. The funeral eulogium of general Washington was pronounced in the presence of the different ministers and the chiefs of the constituted authorities at Paris. The remembrance of the differences which had arisen between France and America during his government was lost in the recollection of those eminent virtues and talents with which he had operated the emancipation, and consolidated the liberty, of the United States. With these expressions of esteem and reverence were joined motives of a less disinterested kind. At this epocha the negotiators from Philadelphia were on their way to Paris. The present governors, throwing aside that unconciliating character which marked the conduct of their predecessors, and shutting their eyes against the real or supposed wrongs with which these latter reproached the chiefs of the American States, imagined well that a public demonstration of their sharing in the general regret at the loss of so great a man as Washington would be both an expressive and a cheap mode of gaining proselytes to their cause. Meanwhile the law which suspended all commercial communications with the French possessions was renewed for another year; leaving however, to the president, the faculty of determining it sooner, if in the interval

the negotiations with France should be crowned with the desired success.

The same conciliatory policy marked the character of the French government with respect to the European states who had hitherto kept in the line of neutrality. Prussia was the power to which, in the present crisis, the consul paid his most assiduous court. If that power, during the dangers which crowded on the French republic in the last campaign, was inflexible against all the prayers and menaces of the coalition to join his efforts in the common cause, it may well be imagined that the energy and moderation which the French republic now displayed would contribute still more to fix him in the principles he had adopted. Bonaparte was desirous, however, of exciting the court of Berlin to a more active co-operation, and for this purpose had sent Duroc, his aide-de-camp, to engage the king to extend the line of demarcation to the river Mein, and thereby draw the states of that part of Germany into the armed neutrality of the north. This project offered France a double advantage; that of embarrassing, by restraining within a narrower limit the military operations of the Austrian army, and of detaching from the chief of the empire, a great number of its members, both of which were objects of considerable importance to France. The disposition of the king towards Bonaparte did not, however, lead him to step aside from the prudent conduct which he had hitherto pursued. The extension of the line of neutrality presented an insurmountable difficulty in the expence which it would occasion; and, though France would have defrayed that expence, the motive was not sufficient

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cient to induce the court to give so public a demonstration of its amity towards the republic. The cordial reception given to general Bournonville, who was deputed ambassador to Berlin, was a further evidence of the good understanding which prevailed between the cabinet of the Tuilleries and that court. Every mode of pacific interposition was lavishly promised; but no motives were sufficiently persuasive to induce the cabinet of Prussia to join in more active operations. The assurance of the neutrality of this court was, however, a victory gained to France; for, exhausted as were the continental belligerent powers at this period, the military intervention of Prussia would have decided at once the contest. The severe œconomy which the king had observed for six years past had replenished the treasury which the great Frederic had left to his successor, and which the imprudence and prodigality of this latter had so completely exhausted. The regiments which had been thinned in the three campaigns which the father of the present king had made against France were recruited, and those ameliorations had taken place without any extraordinary taxes being levied on the people. It was to the lower classes of the community that the king was solicitous to extend his protection. The nobles of Prussia and Silesia resisted the attempt of the king to equalize the taxes, in making them bear a part of the burdens which had hitherto fallen solely on the people. Their refusal had led the king to make up the deficit by more œconomical arrangements in the administration of government. But, though the privileges of the nobles were obstacles to any infringement on their purses, the

king, in declining any further attempt at this equalization, made it understood that he should watch with more attention over the interests of that part of his subjects who contributed to the wants of the state; and that, if a stop was not put to the vexations which they exercised over their vassals, a superior authority should constrain them.

The elector of Saxony followed the example of the king of Prussia. The solicitations of the imperial cabinet were of no avail against the impressions which the late revolution in France had made on the mind of the elector. Whatever hostile dispositions might for a season have influenced the court of Sweden, the same motives led it to adopt more pacific measures towards the French republic; and it was at this epocha more occupied in suppressing partial insurrections throughout the kingdom, in re-establishing the disorganised state of its finances by the convocation of a general diet, than solicitous to augment the embarrassments of the state, by entering into a coalition which had just undergone so large a dismemberment from the secession of so considerable a power as Russia. The continuance of the neutrality of the court of Copenhagen was confirmed by the conduct of the court of Berlin, and the prudent policy of the late minister Bernstorff was followed by his relation and successor.

The court of Spain continued in its usual state of inactivity with respect to military operations, and was more occupied in maintaining internal order than providing for external defence. The severity of the court was exercised at this period against several of the most considerable

considerable nobility, against whom lettres de cachet were issued, exiling them to the remotest provinces of the kingdom. But the greatest and most difficult enemy which the court had to combat was the state of the public treasury, the credit of which was so low, that the paper-currency was reduced to thirty or forty per cent. discount, and money almost disappeared from circulation. The principles of the French revolution, which had operated towards the introduction of more liberal principles in the surrounding monarchical states, had also some influence in the counsels of this cabinet. On the death of the late pope, the king, on the suggestions of M. D'Urquijo, his first minister, who had been unwilling to add to the distresses of the pontiff, issued a decree, expressive of the will of the Spanish bishops to be restored to their primitive rights of bestowing dispensations without recurrence to the pope; which rights had been usurped by the holy see, and had drained the country an-

nually of upwards of twenty millions of reals. The majority of the archbishops and bishops, notwithstanding the allurements of the money, hesitated in using the faculty which the royal decree gave them; but, as an occasion offered on the consecration to bring forward the question, it was discussed in due form before the chamber of the general council of Castile. The affair had been prejudged by this council, since it had previously given its opinion to the king; that his majesty could not, without stripping himself of his authority, and committing the rights of his crown, dispense himself from ordering the decree he had issued to be carried into execution. Nothing final was to be determined on this important point till the election of the new pope; but it is worthy of notice that this secession from the authority of the holy see received, if not any splendid marks of popular approbation, at least none of dislike.

CHAP. IX.

Preparations in France for opening the Campaign. Berthier assumes the Command of the Army of Reserve; and Carnot appointed Minister of War. Extraordinary Sitting of the Legislative Body. Bill for regulating certain Taxes thrown out by the Legislature. Termination of the Session. Unjust Conduct of the Tribunals respecting Prizes—Dissolved, and a new Tribunal established. Commissaries appointed for the Restoration of Emigrants. Conduct of the Emigrants and non-juring Priests. New Regulations concerning them. Department of the Marine. New Arrangements in that Department. Department of Foreign Affairs. New System of Diplomatic Agency. Commencement of the Campaign. State of Genoa. Deplorable Situation of the French Army—Massena assumes the Command. Insurrection in the Genoese Territory. State of the Austrian Army in that Vicinity. Advance of Melas—Invests Bobbio, Tortona, Acqui, and Alessandria. English Fleet appears before Genoa—Savona taken by the Austrians. French defeated near Saffeto. Junction effected between the French Forces. Several partial Engagements take place. Massena retreats into Genoa. Dreadful Famine in that City. Nice evacuated. General Melas gains Possession of the whole of the Maritime Alps. Campaign on the Rhine. Operations in that Quarter. Moreau passes the Rhine. Battle of Stockach—Of Engen. Battle of Moskirch—Of Biberach. General Kray retreats to Ulm. Battle of Hockstet—Of Neuburg. Austrians retreat to the Left of the Danube. Ulm invested. Moreau's Head-Quarters at Munich. March of the Army of Reserve towards Italy. Bonaparte sets out from Paris—Passes on to Genoa—Assumes the Command—Passes the Alps. Battle of Romano. Passage of the Tessino. French enter Milan. Pavia taken by the French. Piacenza also taken. Surrender of Genoa. Battle of Montebello. Battle of Marengo. Armistice proposed by Melas, and accepted. Armistice on the Rhine. Count St. Julian arrives at Paris with Proposals for Peace. Change of Affairs in Egypt. British Ministry refuse to confirm the Convention made by Sir Sidney Smith. Hostilities re-commenced with the Turks. The Grand Vizier completely defeated.

AS all hopes of terminating the contest between the French government and the remainder of the coalition by negotiation had vanished, the greatest preparations were made throughout the republic for opening the campaign with vigour and effect. The army of reserve, which was to be formed at Dijon, occupied almost exclusively the public attention. This city, from its central position, was designated for the place of general ren-

dezvous for the operations of the armies both in Germany and Italy. That enthusiasm which had glowed with so bright a flame in the first days of the revolution broke out again with renewed vigour at this period. The hope of obtaining peace, by one more great and general effort, seemed to inspire every class in France. Many who had hitherto evinced no friendly dispositions towards the republic were among the first to make offers

of service. The standard of the first consul was resorted to with alacrity, not only by the conscripts, but by numbers of former rank and fortune, who entered as volunteers, defraying themselves the expences of their equipment. The command of the army of reserve was conferred on general Berthier, who, since the revolution of the 18th of Brumaire, had been employed as minister of war. In this last post, which he had administered with scarcely more talent or fidelity than his predecessors, he was succeeded by Carnot, who, amidst all the vicissitudes of his revolutionary career, had always discovered great disinterestedness and intelligence in the administration of such affairs as had been committed to his care; the chief of which had been those of the war department.

The session of the legislative body, which, in conformity to the constitution, finished on the 1st of Germinal (corresponding to the 22d or 23d of March) had been continued for the purpose of enacting certain laws, which the press of business had not permitted the council of state to prepare during the time of the ordinary sittings. One of the bills presented was to authorise the government to regulate the taxes which were to be laid on bridges and canals constructed by private individuals. Although the immense majority of the nation had embraced the present constitution, as the code best fitted in the present circumstances of the country to restore its tranquillity, and secure that portion of liberty which it had obtained, yet various articles of this code had been submitted to by great numbers with reluctance; but with the hope, that, in calmer times, changes and amendments more consistent

with the spirit of republican liberty would be made. Such, for instance, was that which gave the executive power the exclusive faculty of proposing laws; and which was considered as derogatory, if not altogether incompatible, with a just and well regulated freedom. It would seem reasonable that those who are appointed to execute the laws, and who from their situations are best fitted to judge of their expediency, should be consulted in the formation. The preceding constitution had been greatly defective in this point; the executive power had no legal organ by which its advice or its objections could be transmitted; and the only mode of expressing its disapprobation was by disobedience, or neglect in the execution. In the present code the organ of the executive government are the counsellors of state; and, as the legislative body are the ultimate judges of the merit of every project, discussed in their presence by deputations from the council of state and from the tribunate, where all projects presented are the subjects of previous debate, little inconveniency it would seem could arise from a constitutional permission given to this latter body to propose laws equally with the executive power. Under the present constitution the legislative power has only the negative; and, if it is restrained from enacting good, it has the privilege at least of preventing evil. It had been suggested, that under these regulations the legislative body would be little else than the enregisterers of the edicts of the executive power. Various decisions of the tribunate and the legislature, during its first session, had however shown the fallacy of this opinion. The decisions of the tribunate

tribunate in favour of projects presented by the executive power had been sometimes rejected by the legislature; and its opposition to those projects sometimes confirmed. Such was the case in the last bill introduced during this session respecting canals. The project, hastily and lightly framed, had been rejected by the tribunate after a very short discussion. The attempt to lay taxes on any object, without the express consent of the legislative power, was treated in the tribunate with severity bordering on contempt: and though the subject was highly popular, and the necessity of the measures proposed obvious, the legislative body evinced their approbation of the regulation made by the tribunate, in throwing out the bill by a vote which, from the vast majority of dissentient voices, might almost be deemed unanimous.

The executive power having no other laws to propose, the session of the legislative body was adjourned, (31st March.) Among the multiplied abuses of preceding administrations, none scarcely had been greater than the decision of the tribunals respecting prizes. Injustice was the constant handmaid of corruption; and little hope of redress remained to the sufferer, since, among the higher constituted authorities of the state, numbers were interested in giving their sanction to iniquity, from the interest they had in the plunder. A decree of the consulate put a final stop to those depredations, by the formation of a tribunal sitting at Paris, called *conseil des prises*, composed of eight members, named by the chief consul, and a counsellor of state as president. Not more conformable to justice had been the laws enacted respecting emigrants, but particularly the mode by which erasures from that fatal

list had been obtained. Six commissaries were now named, whose operations were to be submitted to the minister of justice, with the decisions which they had taken with respect to the individuals whose cases they had in charge to examine. The minister submitted these examinations to a new revision, after which the whole, together with the motives which led to the conclusion, were laid before the first consul, who was to pronounce a definitive judgment. The disposition in the government to do justice to numbers who had been the victims of arbitrary measures and iniquitous laws had emboldened a multitude of emigrants to enter France, in order to present their claims against their inscription on the list. Some of those persons, even while they accepted the benefit of these acts, treated them with derision; while others spurned at them with contempt, from the persuasion that, by accepting this grace, they should forfeit their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, whose return they expected as ardently as they wished. So persuaded were these latter of the consummation of their wishes, and so far was their fidelity to the ancient order of things carried, that in some families where, agreeably to the laws of the republic on the demise of parents, the property had been equally divided among the children, the younger branches had consented to yield up their rights to their eldest brother. In the departments near the capital the non-juring priests officiated in the public service, and the formulary of prayer for the safety of the person of the supposed lawful monarch was chanted without hesitation or fear. The indulgence of the government had so emboldened these royalists, that their plans of counter-revolution were put into almost public circulation,

lation; and their secrets were entrusted to the fidelity of the public post. It was in the examination of the letters of some of those personages that it was discovered how idle was the attempt to win their affection to the republican government by kindness; and that among those even who formed the circle of visitants at the consular palace, the contempt both of his person and authority was the most unrestrained. This imprudence on the part of the newly-returned emigrants was carried so far, not only in Paris, but in the departments, where the purchasers of national domains were signalised, and sometimes punished as plunderers of private property, that the minister of justice was compelled at length to interfere. In two circular letters addressed to the præfects, these administrators were ordered to signify to those who had entered the territory without leave, or who had not entered their protests against their inscription on the emigrant list within the time allowed by the laws, to quit Paris in three days, and the republic in twenty, under pain of banishment.

The organization of the maritime department likewise engaged the attention of the government. No part of the public service had more severely suffered from the conduct of the administrators than the French marine, and the valour of the English navy had scarcely been more hostile to it than the corruption and incapacity of its administrators. The government had begun the reform by removing the minister of marine, and putting into prison the chief contractor; but finding the evil more general, and that while the present system remained unaltered the abuses would only seek to conceal themselves under other forms from de-

tection, it resolved on a radical change. The concentration of power, like that observed in the government of the departments, was the system adopted. The maritime territory of the republic was divided into six arrondissements, of which Dunkirk, Havre, Brest, L'Orient, Rochefort, and Toulon, were to be the capitals. In each of these places resides a maritime præfect, who receives his orders immediately from the minister of the marine, and remains in a continual correspondence with him. The service of the posts and arsenals of Brest, Rochefort, L'Orient, and Toulon, was organized in four divisions; the staff-officers, troops of artillery, and marine; naval constructions, operations of the port; park of artillery; administration, &c.: which details were confided to chiefs under the authority of the maritime præfect. An inspector for each arrondissement was likewise named by the first consul, who verified the various operations of the præfects. A council of administration, composed of the maritime præfect, and of the chiefs of the different details of the ports, was also formed, which council, aided by the inspector, took cognizance of all contracts, sales, leases, and pecuniary engagements whatever, which were submitted, previous to their execution, to the minister of the marine. By these simple regulations the government put an end to that anarchical and traitorous mode of administration which had hitherto prevailed; the various powers were placed in regular subordination to each other, and the chain of responsibility of each was rendered complete, of which the chief consul held the first link. The department of foreign affairs likewise underwent a revision.

revision. The service of this department, so far as respected its foreign political agents, was divided into classes; such as secretaries of embassy of the first and second rank, ministers plenipotentiary, and ambassadors. Such as were selected to enter into the diplomatic career were to serve an apprenticeship, and were placed in the offices at home, or in the suite of embassies, according to circumstances. Their progress in the art of diplomacy was to be the subject of examinations, the mode and time were to be fixed by the minister, to whom was entrusted the formation of the plan of instruction. Thus to the schools for marine and military knowledge was added a school of diplomacy. The formation of this latter was looked at with somewhat of a jealous and contemptuous eye; but if from the superior knowledge attained in these colleges, the quarrels of nations can be settled without recurrence to the sword, humanity perhaps may be the gainer by such an institution.

Every attempt at negotiation with the English and Austrian cabinets having failed, although entreaties for peace to the latter were continued with perseverance, the final decision of this grand contest was at length left to the sword. The last campaign had closed with the taking of Coni, and the retreat of the French army into the territory of Genoa, which was now the only important place in Italy that remained in its possession; but which was as much the object of the ambition of the house of Austria as it was that of the solicitude of the French republic. The capture of this territory appeared so important, that the coalition seemed to have in some sort attached the honour of the campaign to its posses-

sion. Besides, the belligerent powers were necessarily impelled by almost every motive,—the one to conquer, the other to preserve Genoa; since, if the emperor succeeded in taking it, he became master of the whole of Italy, acquired the means of resuming his former positions in the Maritime Alps, could attack Switzerland, or, by the re-union of his forces, resist whatever attempts the French might make on that side, and, in short, reinforce his army on the Rhine; whilst, on the other hand, if the French remained masters of Genoa, they had the means of making a powerful diversion, which could not fail of favouring in the most decisive manner the operations of their army in Switzerland, or their entrance into Italy by the defiles of Upper Piedmont. But independently of these greater considerations, and without entering into the commercial advantages which Genoa offered, this port was of great military importance for an army which was destined to act in Piedmont, both as a secure and convenient depôt and a place of considerable strength.

It was therefore on this important conquest that the views of the coalesced armies were first fixed. But before we enter into the details of the memorable siege of this place, let us take a slight review of the situation of the army that defended it. When Massena was appointed, on the death of Championet, to the command of this army, he found it reduced to the most deplorable condition, languishing out the remains of a severe winter on the bleak summits of the Appennines which defended the approach to Genoa. This army, reduced to less than half its number by the sword, during the campaign which had been so fatal to the French republic, was
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fallen into complete dissolution through disease and famine. Such was the result of the system of robbery and dilapidation which had been introduced by Scherer into the war department, and which had descended to the lowest administrators. Every part of the army service presented the same deplorable aspect, the magazines and military chests were all empty, and the successive exertions of the different chiefs of this army had served only to prove their inability; every public and private resource was exhausted; every hope of succour had given way to despair; the army had received no pay for seven months; and the soldier at length saw no other means of escaping from death but by flying those abodes of desolation. Whole battalions quitted their posts without order, and generals even without waiting permission. The loss which the French sustained during the winter in the territory of Genoa alone by disease and famine, without seeing a single enemy, amounted nearly to thirty thousand men.

Massena had therefore in a great measure to re-create the army of which he went to take the command. For this purpose he received from the consuls extraordinary powers with respect to every department, military, political, administrative, and financial. This kind of absolute authority was necessary to remedy an evil so desperate as that of the almost total disorganization of the armies in the south; for it was not only in the territory of Genoa that this disorder prevailed; the troops stationed in the south of France, in the countries bordering on the Rhine, were almost in the same state of dissolution; and some idea may be formed of the situation of the armies on

the frontier, when, in the heart of France, the soldier, for want of pay and clothing, was obliged to live on forced and arbitrary requisitions. At Lyons Massena began to recruit his army. At Marseilles, finding that the contractors, failing in their engagements, had fled at his approach, he dispatched whatever grain he found, and secured the promise of a larger supply. Before he reached Nice, Massena, from the measures he adopted in his way, had organized a little army. The first operation of this corps was to bring back to their colours various battalions, and one whole division who had left those posts in consequence of their extreme misery, and had gone back into France to seek their pay, their food, and clothing. By a proper distribution of reward and punishment, he succeeded at length in persuading them to rejoin their respective standards.

But at Genoa, and its environs, these evils were accumulated in their fullest force. The wretchedness of the soldier was such, that he was become an object of pity to those in whom he had been accustomed to inspire fear and respect. The higher classes of the Gencefe, who beheld in the French only the destroyers of their commerce, their rank, and political consideration, lent their secret aid to every measure that might drive them effectually from the country. The communications of the Austrians in Genoa, by means of Italian refugees, by the peasants around Genoa, by the treason of the Genoese general, Affaretto, and even by the French soldier himself, who sometimes sold his consigne (such was his distress) for bread, were as frequent and extensive as they could wish. Under such circumstances, Massena found it impracticable with
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the means in his possession to operate any great or substantial reform. Instead of sixty thousand men which he was promised, he found himself with only twenty-four thousand to guard the whole line from Mount Cenis to the frontier of Tuscany. After informing the French government of the danger which awaited it in that quarter, and that the loss in case of attack of the Ligurian republic was inevitable, he attempted to reorganize his army, wretched and diminutive as it was, compared with the forces it had to oppose. He began by dismissing the whole of the generals, who, whatever might have been the merit of their services, were associated in the minds of the soldiers with the idea of past defeats. The troops, who were all formed into new divisions, received a small portion of their pay, and a little clothing, particularly shoes, of which scarce a pair was hitherto to be found in the army; a distribution of bread more nourishing, and the re-organization of the hospitals, were very sensible ameliorations; and the soldier, on seeing the attention given to alleviate his most pressing wants, became more disciplined and obedient.

But the Austrian army was not the only enemy Massena had to combat; a great part of the eastern territory of the Genoese republic had been for some months in full insurrection. The disorders of the soldiery had served as a pretence for these hostilities, if any pretence was wanting to an Italian populace to lend its efforts to crush those who retreated before a superior force. This insurrection, which the French had not been able to quell on the eastern side, threatened also the western territory, by which means Genoa would have been sur-

rounded. Leaving the town, which required a strong garrison, to the care of the national guard, which he re-organised and put into active service, Massena, after repeated proclamations, which were disregarded by the insurgents, dispatched the first division of his army towards them, which after repeated and obstinate conflicts repressed the progress of the revolt, where it did not bring the insurgents to obedience.

Notwithstanding these and other measures to ameliorate the lot of the army, few of the plans which Massena had projected received their due execution. Part only of the corn purchased at Marseilles reached Genoa. The army was reduced again to short allowance, and the inhabitants of the town received only two ounces of bread each a day. The passage by sea, which had been prevented by a continuance of contrary winds, was now obstructed by the British fleet. The winter had passed without any important amelioration of the state of the army, notwithstanding the exertions and vigilance of the general, who saw the defiles of the mountains becoming practicable, the Austrians preparing to enter the field, his own advanced posts obliged to fall back, and the army in no condition to meet so formidable a force as the coalesced powers were collecting to bring against him.

Thus situated, the French army had only the choice of evils, that of entering the field against a force greatly its superior, or of being blocked up in Genoa, which was not provisioned, and which, if not relieved, must necessarily be reduced by famine. The ports along the coasts were in the same state. The Ligurian government declared itself utterly incapable of any longer

longer supplying the wants of the troops, the necessities of which were so great, that it required less expence to create a new army, than place that of Genoa, as it was situated, in a proper situation either for attack or defence.

The Austrian army, secure on account of the distressed situation of that of the French, had confined itself during the winter to a simple state of observation, by drawing a cordon, and had been disseminated throughout Piedmont, Lombardy, the state of Venice, and in various parts of the Roman territory. Thus divided, it seemed in no forward state to open the campaign, although it had an easy mode of receiving every thing necessary to put it into speedy action. The recruits and reinforcements which it had procured during its long repose, divided after the same system, had scarcely been noticed. The accounts which were received made mention of so few troops, that this army, which was generally considered as far from having repaired the losses of the last campaign, was supposed also to have been much reduced by disease. In short, it was generally believed by the French that the Austrians could not take the field, but at an advanced season, at the moment when the different divisions that composed their army were marching to open the campaign; and the astonishment of the French was universal, as well as their admiration, at the secrecy of the preparations, and the precision of the execution in the march of Melas, when they saw him assembling together in a few days 10,000 men before Bobbio, the same number before Tortona, 30,000 before Acqui and Alessandria, and attack them with forces so respectable, leaving behind him in Piedmont all

his cavalry, a numerous artillery, and 20,000 infantry. The French army, including the garrison of Genoa, Gavi, and Novi, consisted of 17,620 men, extended along a line of sixty miles.

The appearance of the English fleet before Genoa, on the fifth of April, was the signal for the commencement of hostilities. The communication by sea was now cut off. A few days preceding, a certain quantity of wheat, and other provisions, had entered Genoa; so that had the blockade taken place sooner, the town must have immediately surrendered. That day had passed in skirmishes at the out-posts, but, on the day following, 20,000 of the Austrian troops, which were stationed at Acqui, marched upon Savona, where the French had only 3000 men, who made a vigorous but ineffectual resistance at Torre, and were driven back to the position of Cadibona, of which the Austrians gained possession, and threatened, by their march on Savona, to cut off all communication of the Genoese army with France. This division of the French was rescued from destruction by the intrepidity of general Soult, who commanded the centre. The Austrians, continuing the attack, entered the suburbs of Savona with the French, the citadel of which the French general had meanwhile retaken and provisioned during the night, after which he evacuated the town, and made good his retreat to the heights of Albi.

While this division of the Austrian army, to the west of Genoa, was occupied in cutting off the communication with France, which it had effected by the taking of Savona, the eastern division had taken possession of Montefaccio, in the

the fight of the town, where they lighted fires, as signals to the malcontents, and had raised the country around by sounding the tocsin. From this position they were driven the following day, by the division under Miolis, who, seconded by the general in chief, followed up his advantage, and, joining the Austrians at Campinardigo, made fifteen hundred prisoners, among which was the general, baron D'Aspres. The principal advantage resulting from this victory was the effect it operated on the minds of the Genoese, by crushing the spirit of insurrection which was rising in the city.

The Austrian general having succeeded in insulating the French army, followed up his advantage on the western side of Genoa, and marched to attack the division under Soult, leaving a sufficient number of troops to keep in check other corps under Suchet, who was thrown on the side of Nice. The engagement which took place (10th April) near Sassello, was obstinate and bloody, and ended in the defeat of the French, who had been unable, from the extreme difficulty of the country, to receive intelligence and concentrate their forces, according to the instructions of Massena, who, with only three of his staff, narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, after losing one general out of two, two adjutant-generals out of three, and three aides-de-camp out of five. The division under Soult took advantage of the diversion made by Massena in its favour, and attacked the Austrians, who were forced back to their post at Tagliarino, from which they were afterwards driven with considerable loss. The mountain, Hermetta, in possession of the Austrians, separated the two divi-

sions of the French army; this post was carried by the French; and the junction of the French troops, the object of the expedition, took place, which was not gained without severe loss on the part of the French, and obstinate resistance on that of the Austrians, who lost in those various combats, or rather in this lengthened battle, upwards of 4000 men. The division of the French army, on the coast of Genoa, weakened by the draught made by Massena, and unable to resist the impetuous attacks of the Austrians, though greatly inferior in number, were completely routed, and driven from their post at Cozoletto, which was afterwards retaken by Massena, who punished the fugitives for their cowardice, by ordering them to remain in garrison at Genoa.

Whatever advantages might be gained in these partial engagements by the French, it was evident that a series of such victories must end in the final destruction of their army, since cut off, as they were, from all communication with France, and incapable, from the blockade by sea, of receiving any succours, either in men or provisions; while the Austrians were in a situation of repairing their losses immediately, and becoming stronger as their enemies weakened, had only to wait the hasty operations of disease and famine to bring Genoa to a speedy surrender. Massena had now continued his offensive operations during fifteen days; but, finding the country no longer tenable, and seeing the Austrians in possession of the posts on the coasts, within a short distance from the rivers that wash Genoa on the east and the west, he determined on his retreat into the city, which was accomplished, but not without considerable loss. The French army

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was now (21st April) reduced to 9500 men, which Massena formed into two divisions, under the generals Miolis and Garnier, with a small body of reserve. With this force he had to oppose an army four times the number. Under such circumstances, to remain secure within the walls of Genoa till succour arrived would have been deemed no great calamity, had the French army not found an enemy within its walls more difficult to struggle with than Austrian troops. This enemy was famine; and, among the problems which this memorable siege will leave to be resolved, is the fact, how, in a country where, before the blockade, there were scarcely provisions for more than six days, there was found afterwards, and during a most severe blockade, constancy and patience, which lengthened out the consumption to sixty.

In the situation to which the army was reduced, a question naturally suggests itself with respect to the prisoners made by the French. During the first days of the blockade, the prisoners were sent back; but the suspicion that they were made to take arms again, and the refusal of the Austrian general to exchange them, led the French afterwards to retain them. As the residence of these prisoners in Genoa might have been attended with danger, considering the state of despair to which the people were driven, Massena sent them on board vessels in the port, and included them in the lists of the people to whom the Ligurian government was commissioned to distribute provisions. Of this distribution, wretched as it was, it might readily be supposed that these unfortunate men were by no means the equal partakers. Scarcely can an idea

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be formed of the devouring hunger to which they became a prey. Their shoes and knapsacks, converted into food, served for a moment to prolong their miseries; and, such was the state of desperation to which they were driven, that the government durst send no one on board, lest the messenger should become the victim of their raging appetites. Their cries and lamentations resounded through the port, meeting the ears of wretches scarcely more fortunate than themselves. Propositions had been made in vain, by Massena, to general Otto, to send them daily by sea their subsistence. Policy forbade the acceptance of this offer. Human nature could no longer sustain such outrages to humanity. The miserable victims, in great numbers, expired amidst the most dreadful sufferings, and many shrunk from them, by seeking in the waves that washed their vessels a voluntary death.

Although reduced to the defensive, Massena neglected no opportunity of harassing, by sallies from his lines, the enemy by whom he was surrounded. In one of these engagements the Austrians lost upwards of 4000 men. In that which succeeded it, the French were defeated with a considerable loss of officers of the staff. Attempts to surprise the Austrian magazines were unsuccessful; and a sally to the east of Genoa, which promised much at the beginning, was turned into a severe repulse, by the accidental occurrence of a dreadful tempest which overtook them in the mountains surrounding Genoa, and which proved a favourable auxiliary to the imperialists. An engagement in which Massena lost three of his best commanders, among whom was general Soult,

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terminated all further operations on his part, and the Austrians had now carried their arms to the walls of Genoa, without meeting any further effective resistance. At this period (14th May) the Neapolitan gun-boats began the bombardment of the town, which ceased with the day, but which was renewed some days after. The presence of the French was so much the more necessary, as despair had driven a great part of the inhabitants to purposes of insurrection; the Genoese beheld, neither in the Austrians nor French, a foe as savage as that which they had to combat in the famine which pressed them; and as much courage was necessary to restrain the people within the gates, as to prevent the Austrians from entering them.

General Melas having nothing more to apprehend from the army in Genoa, turned his forces against general Suchet, whom he had detached from the main body on his first attack. Against Suchet's division he had hitherto directed only an army of observation. To such superior forces no effective resistance could be made. Suchet was compelled to abandon his strong position of the Col de Tende, and retreat from the various posts of which he strove in vain to keep possession. The French territory was now invaded by the imperialists; and as Suchet found Nice untenable, he ordered it to be evacuated, and retreated across the Var, leaving Melas in possession of the whole department of the Maritime Alps.

From tracing the military operations of the belligerent powers in Italy, of which the Austrians, save the city of Genoa, had gained the entire possession, we turn back to the opening of the campaign on

the Rhine. General Kray, who had succeeded prince Charles in the command on the Rhine, had divided his army into four corps, commanded by the generals Kollowrath, Klinglin, Starray, and Klenau. Orders were given by the Aulic council of war at Vienna to form two armies of reserve; one of which was destined to recruit the army of Italy, and the other to be cantoned in Bohemia. The Bavarian troops subsidised by England were assembled at Donaworth, under the command of the baron of Deux-ponts. About the middle of April orders for opening the campaign were received at the headquarters of the imperialists; but it was not till the 25th of the same month that hostilities began, in the passage of the Rhine, by the left wing of the French army, under the command of the generals St. Susanne and St. Cyr, at fort Kehl and New Brisack. Various skirmishes and engagements took place in the Brisgaw, which left no decisive advantage for either army, but which succeeded on the part of the French general, whose intention it was, by this manœuvre, to withdraw the attention of the Austrians from the real point of attack. Instructions had been sent from Paris to Moreau, containing a plan of the campaign which he was ordered to execute. Moreau, whose skill in military operations was no way inferior to those from whom he received his instructions, and whose experience of the country he was about to enter was greater, on reading his orders dispatched a courier to Paris, to signify that, if those orders were rigidly to be followed, he must decline the place of commander in chief, and take a secondary rank. He accompanied his dismissal with a plan of his own

own formation; his dismissal was refused, and the execution of the plan was left to the courage and skill of the framer.

The passage of the Rhine into the Brisgaw, between Strasburg and Huninguen, was therefore a military stratagem, to engage the attention of the imperialists to that point. St. Susanne had forced the Austrians to fall back on Offenburg, and St. Cyr had taken possession of Friburg; another division was dispatched through Basle, under the command of general Richepanse, with orders to take post near Schillenger. While St. Cyr appeared to threaten the defiles of the Valley of Kintzig, as if to form his junction with the division under St. Susanne, and penetrate through the Black Forest, this latter general, in obedience to his orders, left the Austrians waiting his further attacks, re-passed the Rhine, and, ascending it on the French side, took post at Friburg, from whence St. Cyr had marched with his division rapidly upon St. Blaise; which movement was supported by the division under Richepanse, who had crossed the Rhine at Basle. While those various movements were taking place on the left, and the Austrians were engaged in making resistance against the various divisions whose plan of operations appeared to be the carrying the positions of the Black Forest towards the sources of the Danube, Moreau, having sent off large detachments, and strongly re-inforced the right of his army under Lecourbe, gave orders for the passage of the Rhine between Schaffhausen and Stein, and fell upon the rear of the imperial army. The Austrians were so little apprized or prepared for this manœuvre, that the passage

was effected without any considerable loss; and, in three hours, Lecourbe had taken a position on the right side, and, after an engagement under Fort Hohentweil, in which he made eight hundred prisoners, gained possession by capitulation of this otherwise impregnable fortress.

From Hohentweil, Lecourbe, according to the orders he had received, directed his course on the rear of the Austrian army at Stockach; while Moreau, collecting his centre and left divisions, marched upon the village of Engen, where general Kray, now undeceived with respect to the plan of attack, had assembled the main of his army. Lecourbe, in his march, met with a division of the Austrians near Stockach, which he attacked, routed, and pursued beyond the town. Moreau, in order to favour this movement, attacked the Austrians at Engen; and, after a desperate engagement, succeeded in carrying all the posts of the imperialists, who, half-surrounded, made their retreat during the night upon Moskirch. The loss of the Austrians on this day (3d of May) amounted to upwards of 10,000 men, of which 4000 were prisoners. As this mode of attack had been unforeseen, and consequently was unprovided for, the loss of magazines and baggage was immense.

The retreat of the Austrians was so rapid, that the French could not reach them the following day, notwithstanding the rapid movement of the victorious army, whose object it was to push its advantages, and give the imperialists no time to rally their forces. But general Kray, though surprised and disconcerted at this novel plan of operations, had too formidable an army to permit the further advance of the

French army without stern resistance. By the battles of Engen and Stockach he had lost the whole of a country where he had counted on an effective defence; and the whole of his positions, from the head-quarters at Donaueschingen to the Rhine, were taken possession of without toil or bloodshed. He had now to prevent the progress of the French into the heart of Germany; and, having succeeded, by his retreat, in getting between Moreau and the ultimate object of his march, waited his attack at Moskirch, where he had taken a strong position. Moreau, having now his enemy to combat in front, arranged his army for the attack. Lecourbe, with the right wing, advanced upon Moskirch; the two other divisions, the one under the immediate command of Moreau, and the other under that of St. Cyr, occupied the country between Stockach and the Danube. The engagement began on the plain, before the woods of Grembach, of which the French gained possession. The Austrians meanwhile endeavoured to turn the left of the French, and, pushed on by resentment at the signal victory which had been obtained too cheaply the preceding days, fought with uncommon valour. Three times the French were repulsed with considerable loss, and the victory would have remained with the imperialists, after an hard-fought day, had not the division under Richepanse come up at the close, and decided its fate by compelling the Austrians to a second retreat, which was effected after the loss of eight or nine thousand men.

Notwithstanding the obstinate and vigorous resistance made by the Austrians, it was expected by

the French that general Kray, after two such signal defeats, would have retreated beyond the Yeller, and to Ulm. Kray was not yet prepared to make this sacrifice, but took the intermediary line of the Riss, which he gained by forced marches, and where he was resolved to abide the event of another engagement. The French did not wait long to join him. In possession of the heights, rising from the Riss, Kray believed himself secure from attack. Two divisions of the corps under St. Cyr had already penetrated into Biberach, which was commanded by these heights, when Richepanse, who had supported for four hours the heavy fire of the Austrian artillery, seeing himself supported, crossed the river with his troops, and gained possession of this strong position. At the same moment the cavalry belonging to this division, which, on account of the marshy soil, had been unable to act, having crossed the bridge at the town under a heavy fire, threw themselves behind the Austrian infantry. This daring manœuvre decided, in a great measure, the fortune of the day. The Austrians retreated a third time, leaving about 3000 prisoners, and nearly 2000 on the field of battle.

These successive defeats compelled general Kray to concentrate his forces around Ulm, while Moreau established his head-quarters at Memmingen, occupying the country between the Yell and the Lech, extending his right to Landsburg and Augsbourg. In this position two divisions of the French army sustained an attack from general Kray, who marched against them with his whole force. After an obstinate resistance, the French resumed the offensive, and succeeded

in forcing the Austrians to a precipitate retreat across the Danube during the night, adding 2000 prisoners more to the number already taken.

After this fruitless attack, general Kray finding it impossible to stop the progress of the French by offensive operations, determined on maintaining his position at Ulm, which he had rendered apparently impregnable, and wait for succours from Vienna. Moreau, who penetrated the intention of the Austrian general, in keeping within his entrenched camp, which gave him the command of both banks of the Danube, and prevented the further progress of his army, determined to attempt the passage of this river below Ulm, and cut him off from his magazines at Donawert, as well as all assistance from the interior part of Germany. This expedition was so much the more dangerous and difficult, as the French were compelled, by this manœuvre, to weaken their forces between Ulm and the Tyrol, exposing themselves to be cut off by detachments from either position, and having neither pontoons nor any means of crossing the river. After making the best distribution of troops which the nature of the circumstances admitted, to secure his retreat, if the expedition should be unsuccessful, and keep up the communication of the army with Switzerland, he ordered Lecourbe to advance, and take possession of one of the bridges between Donawert and Dillingen. The approach of the French towards the river was a series of engagements, as the Austrians carefully guarded the avenues; but the impetuosity of the French overcame those obstacles, and the passage of the river was effected. During the interval of marching to the Danube

and crossing it, Kray, who perceived the intentions of the French army, had sent considerable reinforcements on the left bank to oppose the passage. It was at the celebrated position of Hochstet that the battle took place, which ended in favour of the French, who took 4000 prisoners, without counting the killed and wounded.

Kray, who saw the danger of his position, assembled his forces, and, leaving a strong garrison in Ulm, marched against the French, and passing by Hochstet, crossed the Danube at Newburg, with the seeming intention of forcing the French to evacuate the left bank of the river near Ulm. The French army met the attack at Newburg. The engagement lasted till night, and victory was obstinately contended for on both sides. The Austrians at length made their retreat, and fell back on Ingolstadt. The loss of the French was considerable, but none was more severely felt than that of a private soldier, Latour D'Auvergne, whitened with age, a man of letters, and a noble, who, during the war, had served in the ranks, refusing to accept the highest commission which had been offered him, but on whom, for his eminent virtues and courage, Bonaparte had conferred the title of *first grenadier of the French republic*. The French army was overwhelmed with grief at the loss of this respectable person, who was a direct descendant from the celebrated Turenne. As a mark of the respect of the army, the drums were ordered to be covered for three days with black crape; his name was kept on the roll of his company, his place was not to be filled up, and at the roll-call a soldier was appointed, at the mention of his name, to answer "*Dead, in fighting for the liberties of*"

his country." A monument was erected to his memory on the spot where he fell. The retreat of the Austrians to the left of the Danube left the French masters of the electorate of Bavaria to the right. Ulm was invested, and the headquarters of the French were established without further opposition at Munich.

About the same period that the campaign opened on the Rhine, the army of reserve, which had been for some time forming at Dijon, began its march towards another scene of operations no less brilliant. The French government had given official notice that this army was already composed of more than 50,000 men; that it was reinforcing every day, and was ready to march either to the right or left, as the chance of war should direct, and the plans of a government, the military talents of which could not be called in doubt. Whatever opinion might be entertained of the military talents of the government, the existence of an army in, or near Dijon, composed of such a number, was not credited; and the enemy, whom it was important to deceive, fell into the snare that was laid for them. The chief consul, who publicly announced his intention of taking the command, by remaining at Paris, while the situation of the army at Geneva required his immediate assistance, aided the delusion. He left Paris at length, (5th May,) and arrived at Dijon, from whence, after passing in review the troops cantoned there, he passed on to Genoa. Remaining a short time in the Pays de Vaud, he joined the army of reserve, collected from various quarters, who were assembled at the foot of Mount St. Bernard. The first obstacle that

presented itself was the mode of conveying the artillery along a road, which, for several leagues, presented a breadth of only two or three feet, in some places so abrupt as to be almost perpendicular, and over mountains of snow, which threatened every instant to bury the passenger under a avalanche, or, by giving way to the pressure of the feet, precipitate him into the abyss. These obstacles, however, the soldiers overcame, aided by the peasantry of the neighbouring cantons, who, hollowing out trees, in which they placed the field-pieces, drew them, after incredible labour and difficulty, to the summit.

A very small force would have stopped the army in its ascent, but the French troops met with no resistance till they reached the town of Aost, in their descent into Piedmont, of which, after a slight skirmish, they took possession. Another skirmish took place at the village of Chatillon, where the Austrians were likewise repulsed. The fort of Bard was the first serious obstacle which the French met with to their progress. The Austrians had possession of the heights which commanded the town, of which the French, after some resistance, gained possession; but the fortress was an object of much more difficult attainment. The castle of Bard was considered by the Austrians as an insurmountable barrier. It was so constructed as to shut up the entrance into Piedmont, at the place where the two mountains, which form the valley of Aost, approach so near each other as to leave a space not wider than fifty yards.

As this passage was judged impracticable, since the approach was immediately under the command

mand of the cannon of the fortress, the soldiers cut a road across the mountain of Albardi: where the ascent was too rapid, they made stairs; where the path, straitening as they went on, terminated in a precipice, walls were raised to prevent them from falling; where rocks were separated by deep abysses, bridges were thrown over to join them; and the French cavalry effected its passage over a mountain considered for ages as inaccessible even to infantry. The artillery was of more difficult conveyance; but though two four-pounders were conveyed on the backs of soldiers, and established on the heights which commanded the castle, yet, as this mode of passing it was attended with too considerable a loss of time, as well as difficulties which were not to be surmounted, the cannoneers binding the wheels with straw, so as to deaden the noise, dragged them through the town, under the walls of the fort, during the night, amidst showers of balls shot at random, from which the French suffered much, but less than might have been expected from so perilous an enterprise.

The French pursued their route down the valley of Aost with little opposition till they reached the town of Yorea, where the Austrians had assembled a considerable force, and which the impetuosity of the French forced them to abandon. Reinforced by divisions that had come by forced marches from Turin, and different parts of Piedmont, the Austrians took post at the heights of Romano, behind the Chiufella, the passage of which they guarded with 5000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, and several pieces of artillery. The French began the attack on three points (26th May);

the centre forced the bridge, and the other divisions threw themselves into the river, under a shower of balls and grape-shot. The first line of the Austrian infantry was thrown into complete disorder; the second line made longer resistance, but was compelled, at length, to yield to the impetuosity of a close column, which precipitated itself into their ranks: the cavalry, after three several desperate charges, were repulsed by the bayonets of the French infantry, and the Austrian general was killed. The loss of the French was considerable, but the advantage was complete.

While the advanced guard, commanded by general Lannes, advanced towards the Po and the Chivasso, the division under the orders of general Turreau attacked the Austrians at Suza. The same success attended the operations of this portion of the army. The fort Brunette, that commanded the entrance of Piedmont on that side, capitulated as soon as the positions which commanded its approaches were carried, and Turreau marched through Suza, on the road to Turin.

The main body of the army, continuing its march, entered Chivasso, and, reaching the Po, took possession of a number of boats loaded with rice and corn, which supplied the pressing wants of the army, who had no stores but such as they could capture. The magazines at Vercelli furnished them abundantly, for the march of the French was too rapid to permit the Austrians to transport or destroy them.

While the French were passing the St. Gothard, the main body of the Austrian army was occupied in the remotest parts of Piedmont, celebrating their fatal victories over the

the French at Nice. It is difficult to decide which ought to excite the greatest astonishment, the confidence and even rashness of Bonaparte, or the security and carelessness of general Melas. Roused at length from his dreams of safety by the news of an invasion, which he could scarcely believe, Melas flew back to Turin, recalling, by hasty marches, the main body of his army to defend the Po, and the approaches to Turin and Asti, whither he had reasonably supposed the French would bend their whole forces, to intercept the army returning from Nice, as well as to relieve Genoa. In this conjecture he was likewise deceived. Bonaparte, while he seemed to menace a passage of the Po, drew off his army to the left; and, while Melas was preparing to defend Turin, the French, passing the Sesia, and taking possession of Novarre, presented themselves on the banks of the Tessino, on the road to Milan.

The passage of the Tessino was an arduous enterprise. The alarm had now been generally spread throughout the Austrian army; and the French, on their arrival at the river which covered the approach to Milan, found it strongly guarded by cavalry and artillery. There was, however, no room for hesitation. To retreat was impossible. Melas was in the rear. A battery was established by Murat to answer the cannonading of the other side, but this did not much further the progress of the French. The Austrians had been careful to destroy whatever boats they could find; but the inhabitants of the village of Galiata had concealed four or five skiffs, which they offered to the army. A few companies of grenadiers threw themselves into a small island, which they obliged the Austrians

to evacuate. Fifteen hundred men established themselves with two pieces of cannon on this spot; and, while general Monnier took his positions along the great canal, and attacked the village of Turbigo, the army made good its passage.

The French, without further obstacle, entered Milan (2d June). On leaving Paris, Bonaparte had assured some of his friends, who doubted the success of his enterprise, that he would be at Milan in two months. He fulfilled his promise in less than one. The French were received, it is said, with enthusiasm by the inhabitants, who were ignorant, 24 hours before, that the republican army had entered Italy. This satisfaction arose not from the remembrance of the benefits which the French had rendered them, for their latter residence there had been a continued series of violation committed on their liberties and independence, but from being released from the more intolerable oppression of the Austrian government, which, with an impolicy that cannot be well understood, had committed, it is averred, every act of the most horrible and wanton oppression.

While Bonaparte marched upon Milan, the advanced guard, under general Lannes, filed off on Pavia, of which it took possession. Pavia was the great depôt of the Austrian army. This capture was of the last importance to the French, who, though strong in numbers, and now increased by the population of the Cisalpine, had neither magazines, artillery, nor stores of any kind. Pavia furnished them abundantly. They found there upwards of 200 pieces of artillery, 8000 muskets, 2000 barrels of powder, a million of cartridges, and immense stores of every kind. General

Duquesne

Duhesne, passing through Milan, pursued the Austrians across the Adda.

After a day of joy and congratulation, in which *Te Deum* was chanted, for what was called the happy deliverance of Italy from heretics and infidels, Bonaparte proceeded to the formation of a provisional government for the Cisalpine republic, which was reorganised as a free and independent nation. Meanwhile the French army was not inactive; the Austrians still surrounded it; and, though Moncey had descended from St. Gothard with reinforcements, the Austrians in Piedmont, and to the south of the Po, were still superior in number. To gain possession of the current of that river was necessary for its safety. General Murat, with a detachment of the army, gained possession of Piacenza, which was warmly defended. He made 2000 prisoners; and, passing the Po at Stradella, cut off the communication with Piedmont. The magazines at Piacenza and Cremona, as well as in different depôts along the river, fell into the hands of the French.

It was by the intercepted correspondence of general Melas, that the French first learnt the fate of their army at Genoa. It was not until every hope of succour had vanished, till every kind of provision had been exhausted, until Massena had seen 15,000 of the inhabitants of Genoa perish before his eyes from absolute hunger, that he consented to enter into a negotiation for the delivery of the place. This negotiation (for the term of capitulation was refused in the treaty) was concluded on the 4th of May; the principal article of which stated, that the army of Genoa, to the amount of 8110 men,

should enter France by the road of Nice, and the rest be transported by sea to Antibes; that no one should be held responsible for any office he had held under the republican government; that it should be permitted to the Genoese, and other Italian inhabitants of Genoa, to remove themselves and their effects where they thought proper; and that all officers made prisoners from the beginning of the campaign should be permitted to return to France on their parole.

The retreat of the Austrian troops from the Maritime Alps made general Suchet again master of the country, as far as Savona. The country around Nice had been the scene of various engagements; and though reinforcements had been sent to hinder the further progress of the Austrians in that quarter, it was the invasion of Piedmont alone by St. Bernard which made the re-acquisition so easy to the army under general Suchet.

Meanwhile general Otto, with thirty battalions, had left Genoa, to oppose the progress of the French army which was marching towards Piedmont. The Austrians had possession of Casteggio, which they defended with upwards of 15,000 men. The shock was dreadful, and the victory remained for a long time doubtful. Casteggio was taken and re-taken several times. The Austrians at length gave way, leaving behind them nearly 3000 dead and wounded, and 6000 prisoners, and were pursued by the French as far as Voghera. This battle was called the battle of Montebello.

This victory was only the prelude of a still greater, won five days after, (15th June) and which fixed the fate of Italy. Unable to stop the progress of the French by partial detachments, Melas, who was

now

now blockaded in Piedmont, assembled the whole of his forces between Alessandria and Tortona, in order to crush by one stroke the enemy, or open himself a way across the French army, to join the Austrian divisions on the Mincio. After detaching different corps from the main army to strengthen various posts and keep the passages of the rivers, Bonaparte, with the remainder, marched to meet the Austrians at Alessandria. The French met the advanced guard of the Austrians at St. Julian, which they evacuated in order to take post at Marengo: from this post they were also driven, and forced to retire beyond the Bormida.

The French were at first surprised at seeing the Austrians abandon the plain between St. Julian and Marengo, in which they had so much superiority from their numbers; and it was conjectured that they had the intention either of passing the Po or the Tessino, or of marching by the territory of Genoa and Bobbio. But while dispositions were taken to frustrate these attempts, the advanced guard of the French was attacked, and the Austrians, by the display of their forces, discovered their intention of giving battle. The troops under the orders of general Victor were immediately ranged in line of battle; a part formed the centre which occupied the village of Marengo, the other composed the left wing which extended to the Bormida, and general Lannes' division the right wing. The army, formed on two lines, had its wings supported with a heavy body of cavalry.

The Austrians, who had drawn out the whole of their forces, began the engagement on all points. Gardanne supported for two hours the attack of the Austrian right and

centre, without losing ground, notwithstanding the superiority of the assailants' artillery, while the cavalry under Kellerman supported general Victor's left. The centre of the French was at length compelled to fall back, and the Austrians advanced upon Marengo. A dreadful carnage followed this movement; but the Austrians, reinforced, continued to advance, and gained possession of the village. Part of the centre of the French gave way, and fled from the field of battle in disorder. The right wing still resisted, but was too vigorously attacked itself to yield any assistance. General Victor, finding the ground no longer tenable, gave orders for a retreat on the corps de reserve.

The right wing thus insulated was attacked by two lines of infantry, which marched against it with a formidable artillery. On the point of being flanked by a considerable body, they were supported for a moment by a brigade of dragoons; but the retreat of the centre obliged it at length to follow the same movement. Nothing could save the army but the body of reserve under general Desaix. This division was not yet ready for action. Bonaparte, seeing the necessity of gaining time, advanced towards the right wing, in order to retard its movement. The retreat was however made under the fire of eighty pieces of artillery. The carnage was again horrible, but the French kept their ranks, and instantly replaced those who fell by fresh troops.

Victory now seemed to declare itself in favour of the Austrians, whose excellent and numerous cavalry covered the plain, supported by several squadrons of light artillery, and threatened to turn the army. It was at this critical moment that the grenadiers of the con-
sular

consular guard marched to support the right, the only column that had held firm. They advanced, and like a wall of granite, as they were called at the time, sustained three successive charges. At the same instant came up Monnier's division, which made part of the corps de reserve. This division was ordered to attack the battalions which protected the Austrian cavalry, part of which were in pursuit of the centre and left of the French.

At the plain of St. Julian, the reserve under Desaix was drawn up on two lines, supported on the right and left by the artillery under Marmont, and by the cavalry under Kellerman. Behind this corps the fugitives of the centre and left formed: the presence of Bonaparte, who flew from rank to rank, re-animated the soldiers, and at four in the afternoon the battle, which had raged for seven hours, was about to re-commence.

The Austrians, secure of the victory, since they had routed two thirds of the French army, and were about to surround the remainder, had not laid their account for a division yet unattacked. They had improvidently wasted their strength, and scattered their battalions in the eagerness of pursuit. Bonaparte perceived in an instant the advantages which this eagerness gave him. Desaix, at the head of his legion, rushed forward with impetuosity among the victorious battalions, whom he charged with the bayonet. The remainder of the division followed this movement, and the whole army catching the enthusiasm, advanced at the pas de charge. The Austrians, overwhelmed with astonishment at this sudden explosion, withdrew their artillery, and the infantry began to give way.

At this moment Desaix fell. The loss of this brave officer, instead of disconcerting, raised the ardour of the troops into a fury to avenge his death. The bayonet, which had driven back the first line of the Austrians, could not pierce the second. The resistance of the Austrians stopt for a moment the French in their career, and the event of the day, notwithstanding this re-kindled enthusiasm, was still doubtful; but its fate was at length fixed by general Kellerman, who, ordering a charge of cavalry, threw the Austrians into disorder, and made a whole division prisoners, to the number of 6000 men, among whom was the general Zagg, general St. Julian, several other generals, and almost all the officers of the staff.

A third line of infantry yet remained as a corps de reserve, supported by the rest of the artillery, and the whole of the cavalry. Against this last division the right wing of the French advanced with the grenadiers of the consular guard, and part of the reserve under Baudet, and supported by the artillery under the command of Marmont. The Austrian line still held its ground; but the French cavalry under Murat having charged the Austrian cavalry, this latter gave way precipitately, and was completely routed. Night scarcely put a stop to the pursuit and carnage.

The French boast of having wounded, killed, and taken prisoners, 15,000 men; the victory was signal on their part, but their loss was not less than that of the army they had to combat. As far as glory belongs to actions of this kind, history will record this battle as equally honourable to both parties. It were endless to enumerate the particular traits of heroism which

which this day, for ever to be celebrated in the annals of history, exhibited.

The next day Melas, finding his situation no longer tenable, proposed an armistice, which was accepted by Bonaparte. The principal conditions of this armistice were the free passage of the Austrians into the territory of Mantua, Tuscany, and Ancona, and the surrender of the whole of Piedmont and Genoa to the French. The armistice, which was concluded for Italy alone, was to last till an answer agreeing to the conditions could be returned from the court of Vienna.

The general of the imperial army in Germany had sought to take advantage of this armistice in Italy to stop the progress of the troops under Moreau, but the French general had not listened to the proposition. On the contrary, finding himself in possession of the capital, and the principal part of Bavaria, Moreau detached Lecourbe towards the Tyrol to seize upon the Voralberg and the Grisons, and form a junction with the army of Italy. The reiteration of the offer of a suspension of arms having been made, and count St. Julian having arrived at Paris with proposals for peace, as was supposed, from the imperial cabinet, an armistice was at length concluded for the armies in Germany, leaving for the line of demarcation the posts occupied at the time of its formation by the respective armies.

It was about the period of these great events that news arrived in Europe of the sudden and extraordinary change of affairs in Egypt. The arrival of the troops, according to the terms of the capitulation agreed on between general Kleber, the grand vizier, and sir Sidney

Smith, had been daily expected, and the Isle of Hyeres had been designated for the performance of quarantine. No doubt had been entertained but the English cabinet would readily assent to the terms agreed on, and signed by its plenipotentiary; and although the instructions which lord Keith had received and transmitted destroyed, or at least suspended, this hope, the grand vizier and Kleber still remained on good terms, believing that the English court would not persevere in its determination. They had even concerted provisional measures, but a difficulty took place which hindered the effect of those reciprocal dispositions. The grand vizier, already the master of the places of Salahieh, Catichoh, Belbeis, Damietta, of a part of the Delta, and Upper Egypt, evacuated in virtue of the convention, required the French to deliver up to him the citadel of Cairo, of which they were still in possession. Kleber refused to give up the only fortified place which was left him after Alexandria. His refusal was notified to the grand vizier, with his determination to resume hostilities; for which he prepared his army, by communicating to them the ignominious propositions contained in the letter of lord Keith.

The French army partook of the indignation of their general; and notwithstanding the superiority of the numbers they had to combat, and the difficulty of their position, being as it were surrounded, the republican troops, on the 20th of March, at break of day, began to cannonade the Turkish advanced posts at Maturia, two leagues from Cairo. The grand vizier drew out his army, and occupied the ground between that post and the village Elhauca.

Elhauca. The French army, consisting of about 15,000 men, comprehending the cavalry and dromedaries, was ranged in two lines, and extended half a league towards Boulac, with its right flanked by a wood of palm-trees. The Turkish cavalry made at first some partial attacks on the French infantry, but without much effect. The janissaries opposed to the left wing of the French advanced next, and attacked with great bravery; but wanting ammunition, and being ill seconded by their artillery, they were forced in a short time to fall back. Towards noon the French advanced on the whole line with a terrible fire of artillery and musketry; this brisk attack threw the Turks into disorder, and in an instant the whole army, consisting of 40,000 men, took flight in all directions, notwithstanding the efforts on the part of the grand vizier to stop or rally them. The grand vizier withdrew to his camp; but

was forced to abandon it the same day, the French having advanced in two oblique lines to cut off his retreat. The route then became general. Nineteen pieces of cannon, and a part of the camp, fell into the hands of the conquerors, whose loss was but trivial, since they met but with a feeble resistance. The loss of the Turks was about 8000 men killed or wounded, besides those who perished in the desert. At the beginning of the action, Nazouf Pacha and Murad Bey passed the rear of the republican army by Boulac into Cairo, where they massacred whatever French they found, and slaughtered numbers of the Greeks and Copts. Kleber returned from pursuing the Turkish army, invested the city which was in revolt against him, and, having taken possession, punished in an exemplary manner the cruelties and horrors which had been exercised against the partisans of the French.



PRINCIPAL
OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1800.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1800.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 3, 1800.

Extract of a letter from lieutenant Pengelly, of the Viper cutter, to vice-admiral sir Thomas Pasley, commander, &c. at Plymouth.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that on 26th December, the Dodman bearing N. seven or eight leagues, I discovered a suspicious vessel to windward standing towards the Viper, under my command; at noon perceived her to be an enemy; and at a quarter past brought her to close action, which continued for three quarters of an hour, when she sheered off; I had the good fortune, however, after a running fight of an hour and a half, to lay her close on board, and, upon pouring two broadsides into her, she struck her colours, and proves to be *Le Furet*, of 14 guns, four-pounders, and 64 men, seven of which had been sent away in a prize on the morning of the day she was captured. *Le Furet* is quite new, this being her first cruize; is well stored, and was victualled for two months. I am happy to add that we had only one man wounded, and myself slightly hurt. The loss of the enemy was four men killed; the first and second captains, and six men, wounded; four dangerously.

Extract of a letter from sir T. Pasley to Evan Nepean, esq. dated Dec. 31.

The Aristocrat armed brig has just arrived with *L'Avanture* French privateer, of 14 guns and 42 men.

Aberdeen, Jan. 5. Major Macpherson, of Lorick, and eight other gentlemen, shooting wild-fowl on the duke of Gordon's grounds, between Strathspey and Badenoch, unfortunately perished in the violent storm of snow, which did so much damage by sea and land on Thursday last. They had retired for shelter to an old cot-house, sixteen miles from any town, which was blown down upon them by the fury of the wind. The bodies of major Macpherson and three others were found under the ruins. The fifth gentleman was found on the outside of the cottage.

Yarmouth, Jan. 7. The loss of one of his majesty's gun-brigs, of 12 guns, lieutenant Warren, took place during a fog on Sunday last, on the sand called the Cockle. Every exertion on the part of the fleet to get to her assistance was fruitless, the sea running with a heavy swell quite over her, which obliged them for that day to abandon their attempt of saving the crew. On Monday morning they made another attempt, and succeeded so far as to save all the crew,

(A2)

except

except the surgeon, pilot, and six men, who fell victims to the watery element.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 7. This gazette contains a letter from Mr. Geo. Buckley, collector of the customs at Newhaven, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated the 4th inst. stating the capture of *Le Général Brune*, of two guns, 15 men, and 30 tons burthen, which he effected in the custom-house boat, assisted by four others manned with volunteers from the town,

9. A general court of proprietors was held at the bank of England, upon the adjourned debate relative to the resolution of the court of directors, to accommodate government with a loan of 3,000,000*l.* for six years, without interest, but liable to be called in at any time within that period, if the three per cents. should be at 80, upon condition of the charter of the corporation of the bank being renewed for a further term of 21 years, to be computed from the 1st day of August 1812, when the present charter expires.

The business was opened by reading the minutes of the proceedings of the last court;—after which

The governor came forward and addressed the court.—It gave him the utmost degree of satisfaction to observe so numerous an attendance of proprietors assembled on the present occasion, as he was firmly persuaded there was not one of them who would retire without the fullest conviction of the eligibility of the terms on which the further prolongation of the charter of the corporation of the bank of England had been acceded to on the part of government. He had sufficiently stated the reasons which had influenced the court of directors in the

resolution they had adopted, when he last had the honour of addressing the court of proprietors; he, however, deemed it his duty to repeat those reasons. The directors, ever alive to whatever might prove advantageous to the prosperity of a corporation on which the wealth, the credit, and the existence of the country itself in a great measure depended, had, with that discernment which characterised them, considered the present opportunity of renewing the charter as one which they were bound, by the trust reposed in them, not to neglect.—They considered it a favourable opportunity in a twofold point of view, not only as the terms on which the renewal was proposed to be granted were every way in favour of the proprietors, and were such as it could not be expected government would listen to at a future period, when in all probability the country would not have the expences and calamities of war to contend with; but it was also favourable, inasmuch as the sum to be advanced by the bank to government would, in its operation at the present juncture, peculiarly aid the interest of the public, the necessities of the government, and the common cause in which the nation was engaged. Its effects would be such as could not be derivable from an aid of twice the amount, when peace had rendered the necessities of the state less urgent. He assured the proprietors that the court of directors had not determined upon the measure proposed by their resolution, until after the maturest reflection, and the firmest assurance that the sum to be given to government by a loan of 3,000,000*l.* without interest, for six years, fell infinitely short of what the present or any future administration would be entitled

to demand, if the remaining twelve years of the charter were suffered nearly to expire. It had been objected, that it had never been usual to apply for a renewal of the charter so long before its expiration; on this point he could assure the proprietors, that it appeared from precedents that applications to government to that effect had been made at the different periods of six, nine, twelve, and even twenty years prior to the period of its determination, and had always been at the precise time when the advantages to the bank with respect to the terms, and the advantages to the public by the assistance afforded government, were mutual and reciprocal. It was of the highest importance at the present moment that the bank should secure to itself the permanent enjoyment of its charter, as, from insinuations which had been thrown out that it would not be renewed, other banks had been formed throughout the kingdom, and a new circulating medium introduced, the object of which was to excite a spirit of rivalry, with reference to the national bank of the country; the natural consequence of the certainty of the charter's continuing for a period of 33 years would be that of disappointing and rendering vain the attempts of all rash speculators. He had nothing further to add, but to observe, that the court of directors had felt considerably hurt at an observation which had been thrown out by a proprietor at the last court, intimating that they had not acted from their own view of the subject, but that their resolution was the result of the undue influence of ministers: on this point he assured the proprietors, that the court of directors disclaimed any such undue influence; that they had acted solely from their

own conviction; and that the proposition came from themselves originally, and was not made on the part of government to them. With this impression they had come to a resolution, which he begged leave to read. The resolution stated, that the court of directors felt themselves injured by such an insinuation, and deemed it an improper and unjustifiable attack on the part of the proprietor who had made it. This, with the exception of some arithmetical calculations proving the pecuniary advantages the bank would obtain by the present advance, formed the outline of the governor's observations.

The deputy-governor bore testimony to the uncontrolled and independent motives by which the court of directors had been actuated, and expressed his regret that the least suspicion should have been harboured in the breast of any one to the contrary.

Mr. Smith observed, that as he had had the honour of proposing the adjournment of the debate, he felt it incumbent on him to renew it. He expressed his entire satisfaction in the statement and reasons offered to the court of proprietors by the worthy governor, and trusted the resolution of the court of directors would be sanctioned by the unanimous vote of every one present. He compared the situation of the bank corporation to that of a person holding a beneficial lease, renewable at certain periods. Was it not to the interest of such a person to avail himself of the opportunity when the wants of his lessor required an immediate supply, and when the state of his own finances best enabled him to grant it? Did he not thereby obtain terms more advantageous to himself, than if he waited till circumstances altered,

their relative situations?—Just so the question stood with regard to the bank: the present moment afforded an opportunity of obtaining a renewal of their charter, upon terms which government would be made to accede to at a subsequent period; and the advantages to the public, by an immediate pecuniary aid to government, outweighed those which might ultimately be obtained by waiting till probably the necessities of the public would be less urgent, and justified the acceptance of those terms on the part of ministers, which, under other circumstances, would be a breach of their duty. He therefore should rest satisfied for the present, with moving, that this court should confirm the resolution of the court of directors, by which they had agreed to purchase the renewal of the charter by a loan to government of 3,000,000*l.* for six years, without interest, unless in the mean time the three per cents. rose to 80; in which case they were to be at liberty to call in the whole, or any part, with interest at five per cent.

The motion having been put and seconded,

Mr. Sanfon rose to oppose it. He regretted the absence of his friend Mr. Hoare, whose intimate knowledge of whatever related to the concerns of the bank best enabled him to address the proprietors on a subject like the present. He considered the bargain the directors had made as prodigal on their part, and by no means justified by the situation in which the affairs of the bank stood at this moment. He would have been better pleased, if, instead of general assertions, accounts had been laid before the proprietors, by which they might have been enabled to have formed an accurate judgment as to the affairs of the corporation.

Not that he was an advocate for producing accounts to satisfy idle curiosity upon every trivial occasion; but upon a great and important question like the present, he thought every proprietor ought to be made acquainted with his real situation. With regard to the observation, that the prospect of the permanency of the charter would operate as a check to that spirit of rivalry which had manifested itself by the adoption of other banks, he thought it weak and frivolous. What company could set up with the view of rivalling the bank of England? Was the observation aimed at the Globe Insurance company? Could the rivalry of such a company as that was affect the interest of a bank which was in a manner the great support of the nation? He next entered into a history of the origin of the bank, and the circumstances under which its different charters had been granted, and concluded by observing, that whatever might be the determination of the court of proprietors, that determination should be manifested, not by a show of hands, but by ballot.

Mr. Bradney, after expressing his satisfaction at the prosperous situation of the bank, moved an amendment, which, however, in consequence of an observation from the governor, he did not persist in.

Mr. Durand maintained that the present measure was unjust and ruinous, and he would prove it so from the declarations of the directors themselves, made before the two houses of parliament. To this effect he referred to the reports of the committees of parliament, wherein the examinations of Mr. Giles and several of the directors were stated. It appeared that they had, to certain questions proposed to them, replied, that if the advances made by the bank

bank of England to government had been repaid, the circumstance relative to the stoppage of payment in specie would have been unnecessary; and he inferred, that if such was the case, an advance like the present one would extend the evil former ones had produced.

Mr. Bosanquet said, if he thought the present advance to government could in the smallest degree tend to delay the termination of the restrictions for payment by the bank in specie, he would be one of the last to accede to it; but sure he was it would be attended with no such consequence. He observed that the bank were more peculiarly enabled to make the present advance, as they had 3,000,000l. more in hand than at the period when they had made their former advances: this was attributable to the different mode of repaying the sums formerly advanced on the land and malt tax, and which were not repaid till two or three years; but by being now advanced on the credit of substituted taxes were repaid again in the course of the current year. He added, in answer to the observation of Mr. Durand, that very shortly after the first restriction as to payment by the bank in specie, the directors had transmitted a declaration to government, by which they stated their readiness and ability to resume their payments in specie, whenever the political circumstances of the country rendered it expedient.

Mr. Ingram said a few words against the measure.

Lord Kinnaird supported it, and congratulated the proprietors on the flourishing state of the bank.

The governor observed, if the question was meant to be decided by ballot, there must be a requisition to that effect from nine proprietors; they were, however, competent to decide by a show of hands.

The question was loudly called for and put, when the show of hands in favour of it was nearly unanimous, there being not above four or five against it, and to all appearance between three and four hundred for it.

The court was immediately dissolved.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 11.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Robert Hosier, commander of the private schooner of war the *Revenge*, to Mr. Nepean, dated Viana, Dec. 6.

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of their lordships, that, on the 4th inst. at five A. M. in Vigo Bay, I was attacked by four Spanish privateers, two schooners, a brig, and a lugger, mounting from four to 14 guns. The wind being southerly, I kept up a running fight till I got clear of the islands to the northward, which lasted about fifteen minutes, when one of the schooners, having lost her mainmast, gave up the chase, and the other three immediately hauled their wind. Having suffered very much in our rigging and sails, it was not in my power to chase them to windward; I therefore made sail to the N. W. At two P. M. saw a schooner to the westward; gave chase; at three got close alongside; saw she had Spanish colours flying; desired them to strike; on making no answer, gave them our broadside, which they returned; and a smart fire was kept up on both sides about an hour, when she blew up close alongside. Our boat being very much shattered, it was some time before I could get her ready to hoist out; and I am sorry to say, I was enabled to save but eight of the crew, who informed me, she was the new pri-

vateer Brilliant, Ramo de Castillo master, of eight guns, six and 12 pounders; had, when she began the action, 63 men; had sailed from Pontevedra that morning on a cruize off Oporto, which I am happy in having prevented, as there are at this time 50 sail of vessels off that bar, which cannot get in owing to bad weather.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 11.

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral lord Keith, commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated Queen Charlotte, at Gibraltar, Dec. 22.

SIR,

In justice to the intrepid behaviour of lieutenant Bainbridge, I cannot resist reporting, for their lordships' information, that last evening an English cutter (the lady Nelson) was seen off Cabreta Point, surrounded by French privateers and gun-vessels, all firing. I ordered the boats from the Queen Charlotte and Emerald to row towards the enemy, in hopes it might encourage the cutter to resist until she could get under our guns; but she was boarded and taken in tow by two of the French privateers; in which situation lieutenant Bainbridge, in the Queen Charlotte's barge, with 16 men, ran alongside the cutter, and, after a sharp conflict, carried her, taking seven French officers, and 27 men, prisoners; six or seven more were killed, or knocked overboard in the scuffle; the privateers cut the tow-ropes, and made off close under the guns of Algaziras, pursued and attacked by lord Cochrane in the Queen Charlotte's cutter, which had by this time got up. Had not the darkness of the night prevented the boats acting in concert, all the privateers would have been taken. Lieutenant

Bainbridge is severely wounded on the head by a stroke from a sabre, and slightly in other places; but I trust he is not in danger.

KEITH.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 14. This gazette records the capture of three French privateers, and one Spanish, viz. Le Renard, of 14 guns and 65 men, by the Nemesis, captain Baker; Le Modéré, of four guns and 42 men, by the Nile (third) lugger; L'Avanture, of 14 guns and 42 men, by the Aristocrat, lieutenant Wray; and of the Santa Levirata y' Animas, of two guns and 38 men, by the Castor, captain E. L. Gower.—Also the retaking of the Atlas British brig (prize to Le Renard), by the Savage.

17. At ten at night the whole nave of Chelmsford church fell in with a great crash: fortunately no person was passing by at the time. The ruins seemed to threaten the chancel, by falling in it. An inscription in white stone Gothic letters, nine inches long, inlaid in flints and hard mortar, in relievo, on the outside of the wall of the south aisle, just under the battlements, given in Morant, II. p. 7, and in Camden's Britannia, II. pl. 1. sets forth, that this building was erected, by the contributions of the townsmen, as the former, 1424, as the latter, 1480. It was a stately building, with N. and S. aisles to the nave and chancel, and a lofty W. tower, with a large lantern and shaft, leaded, and a ring of bells. In a N. chapel of the nave was a parochial library, and on the N. side of the chancel the burying-place of the Mildmay family. The roof of the nave was ornamented with the arms of the several benefactors.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 18.

A letter from admiral sir Hyde Parker,

Parker, with much commendation, introduces the following:

SIR, *Echo, at sea, Oct. 18, 1799.*

I beg leave to inform you, that, on the 14th instant, I chased into Laguadille, the N.W. end of Porto Rico, a brig; seeing several vessels in the bay, some of them loaded, on the 15th I sent the pinnace and jolly-boat, under the command of lieutenants Napier and Rorie; they arrived too late to attempt boarding the vessels at anchor, but had the good fortune to capture a Spanish brig from Camana (on the Main), bound to Old Spain, laden with cocoa and indigo, and having on board two four pounders and 20 men. On the 16th, I sent the two boats under the command of lieutenant Napier and Mr. Wood (the boatswain), to cut out what they could from the bay. They arrived at the anchorage about two in the morning, and were hailed from the brig we chased in; they perceived her to be armed, and on the look-out for them; moored about half a cable's length from the shore, with her broadside to the sea; protected by two field pieces, one 18-pounder, and some smaller carriage guns, all placed on the beach. The boats did not hesitate, but boarded her in the bow; the Frenchmen and Spaniards (about 30 in number, all upon deck, with matches lighted, and guns primed, every way prepared for action) made the best of their way down the hatchways. By the time the cables were cut, the guns on the beach opened their fire upon the boats. The third shot, I am sorry to say, sunk the pinnace, while she was a-head towing the jolly-boat. The brig was several times hulled, but a light breeze favouring, she soon got out of gun-shot. I have every reason to be pleased with the conduct of lieute-

nant Napier and those under him. Had I known what they had to contend with, I should not have considered myself justified in sending so small a force; luckily not a man killed or wounded; the only loss is the boat, with the arms and ammunition. The brig mounts 12 four-pounders; had 30 men on board; is a French letter of marque, commanded by citizen Pierre Martin, enseigne de vaisseau; is coppered, and a very fast sailer; was to sail in two days from Curacoa, there to be fitted out as a privateer; she is American built, and has a valuable cargo on board: the captain of her was on shore. ROB. PHILPOT.

Sir Hyde Parker, &c.

[Then follows a list of 14 armed and 84 merchant vessels captured by the squadron on the Jamaica station since July 21.]

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 21.

Copy of a letter from admiral sir Hyde Parker, knt. commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated in Port Royal Harbour, Nov. 4.

SIR,

I have a peculiar satisfaction in communicating to you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that his majesty's late ship *Hermione* is again restored to his navy, by as daring and gallant an enterprise as is to be found in our naval annals, under the command of captain Hamilton himself, with the boats of the *Surprise* only. Captain Hamilton's own letter, with the reports accompanying it (copies of which are enclosed), will sufficiently explain to their lordships the detail of this service, and the bravery with which the attack was supported, and leaves me only one observation to make on the very gallant action, which

adds

adds infinite honour to captain Hamilton, as an officer, for his conception of the service he was about to undertake. This was, sir, his disposition for the attack; which was, that a number of chosen men, to the amount of 50, with himself, should board, and the remainder, in the boats, to cut the cables, and take the ship in tow. From this manœuvre he had formed the idea, that, while he was disputing for the possession of the ship, she was approaching the *Surprize*, who was lying close into the harbour, and, in case of being beat out of the *Hermione*, he would have an opportunity of taking up the contest upon more favourable terms. To the steady execution of these orders was owing the success of this bold and daring undertaking, which must ever have rank among the foremost of the many gallant actions executed by our navy this war. I find the *Hermione* has had a thorough repair, and is in complete order; I have therefore ordered her to be surveyed and valued, and shall commission her, as soon as the reports are made to me from the officers of the yard, by the name of the *Retaliation*.

H. PARKER.

Surprize, Port Royal Harbour,

SIR, *Jamaica, Nov. 1.*

The honour of my country, and the glory of the British navy, were strong inducements for me to make an attempt to cut out, by the boats of his majesty's ship under my command, his majesty's late ship *Hermione*, from the harbour of Porto Cavallo, where there are about 200 pieces of cannon mounted on the batteries. Having well observed her situation on the 22d and 23d ult. and the evening of the 24th being favourable, I turned the hands up, to acquaint the officers and ship's company of my intentions to

lead them to the attack, which was handsomely returned with three cheers, and that they would all follow to a man; this greatly increased my hopes, and I had little doubt of succeeding: the boats, containing 100 men, including officers, at half past 12, on the morning of the 25th (after having beat the launch of the ship, which carried a 24-pounder and 20 men, and receiving several guns and small arms from the frigate), boarded; the fore-castle was taken possession of without much resistance; the quarter-deck disputed the point a quarter of an hour, where a dreadful carnage took place; the main-deck held out much longer, and with equal slaughter; nor was it before both cables were cut, sail made on the ship, and boats a-head to tow, that the main-deck could be called ours; they last of all retreated to the 'tween decks, and continued firing till their ammunition was expended; then, and not until then, did they cry for quarter. At two o'clock the *Hermione* was completely ours, being out of gun-shot from the fort, which had for some time kept up a tolerably good fire. From the captain, Don Romond de Chalas, I am informed she was nearly ready for sea, mounting 44 guns, with a ship's company of 321 officers and sailors, 56 soldiers, and 15 artillerymen on board. Every officer and man on this expedition behaved with an uncommon degree of valour and exertion; but I consider it particularly my duty to mention the very gallant conduct, as well as the aid and assistance, at a particular crisis, I received from Mr. John M'Mullen, surgeon and volunteer, and Mr. Maxwell, gunner, even after the latter was dangerously wounded. As the frigate was the particular object of your order of the 17th of September, I have thought

brought proper to return into port with her.

E. HAMILTON.

Killed and wounded on board the Spanish frigate *Hermione* (late his majesty's ship *Hermione*), when captured by the boats of his majesty's ship *Surprize*, under the command of captain E. Hamilton, in Porto Cavallo, and general statement of the complement on board.

Prisoners landed at Porto Cavallo the same day, out of which there were 97 wounded, mostly dangerous, 228.—Escaped in the launch, which was rowing guard round the ship, with a 24-pounder, 20.—Remain prisoners on board, 3.—On shore on leave, 1 lieutenant, 1 captain of troops, four pilots, and one midshipman, seven.—Swam on shore from the ship, 15.—Killed, 9.—Total, 392.

EDWARD HAMILTON.

Killed in the boats of his majesty's ship *Surprize*, in cutting out a privateer schooner of ten guns, and two sloops, from the harbour of Aruba, on October 25.

Mr. J. Busey, acting lieutenant, led.

Signed) E. HAMILTON, captain. Officers and men wounded on board the *Hermione*, on the attack made by the boats of the *Surprize*, under the orders of captain Hamilton, in the harbour of Porto Cavallo, October 25.

Edward Hamilton, esq. captain, several contusions, but not dangerous; Mr. John Maxwell, gunner, dangerously wounded in several places; John Lewis Matthews, quarter-master, dangerously; Arter Reed, quarter-gunner, dangerously; Henry Milne, carpenter's mate, dangerously; Henry Dibleen, gunner's mate, slightly; Charles Livingston, William Pardy, Robert, and Thomas Stevenson, all

able seamen, slightly; John Ingram, and Joseph Titley, private marines, slightly.

E. HAMILTON.

(A copy)

H. PARKER.

Vessels captured by his majesty's ship *Surprize*, from Sept. 20 to Oct. 30.

The French schooner *Nancy*, the Spanish schooner *La Manuel*, and the Spanish frigate *Hermione*.

E. HAMILTON.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of *L'Avanturier*, French brig privateer, mounting 14 guns, and manned with 75 men, by the *Amethyst*, captain John Cook.]

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 25. This gazette contains an account of the *Sceptre*, captain V. Edwards, taking possession of *L'Eclair*, French privateer brig, from the Mauritius, of 12 guns and 83 men: the situation she was placed in rendering it impossible to get her out, it was judged prudent to destroy her, which was executed by lieutenant Tucker.

Downing Street, Jan. 31.

The following dispatch has been received from W. Wickham, esq. by the right hon. lord Grenville.

Augsburg, Dec. 13, 1799.

MY LORD,

I am sorry to inform your lordship of the death of the Advoyer Steigner, which happened on the 3d inst. after a lingering illness. He was interred on the 7th, with all possible honours, in the Protestant burying-ground of this city. The Swiss regiment of *Rovéréa*, and (by direction of field-marshal Italky) three Russian regiments, together with the British and Russian ministers to the Swiss cantons, several Russian, Austrian, and Prussian staff-officers, and a deputation from this city, attended the corpse to the grave.

grave. I passed an hour with him, at his own desire, three days before his death, when he was perfectly sensible; and I had the satisfaction of hearing him, after recommending his country, under God, to his majesty's special protection, pray most earnestly and devoutly for the blessings of God on his majesty, and on his subjects. He is an irreparable loss to Switzerland.

W. WICKHAM.

Jan. 31.

The following dispatch has been received from the right honourable lord W. Bentinck, by lord Grenville.

*Head Quarters, Bergo, St. Dal-
mazzo, Dec. 4.*

MY LORD,

It is with great satisfaction that I announce to your lordships the surrender of Coni. The batteries opened on the 2d, in the morning, and early on the 3d the commandant desired to capitulate. The garrison, consisting of 2844 men, exclusive of 800 wounded, whom the French had not time to remove before the investment of the place, marched out this morning prisoners of war. The loss of the Austrians does not exceed 50 men in killed and wounded. The very short defence that has been made of this very strong and most important fortress is to be attributed to the want both of provisions and of ammunition. This event may be considered the more fortunate, from information having been received that general Championet has been assembling the whole French army in La Rivière de Genes near Ormea, which was to have been assisted in its march by a reinforcement of 15,000 men that is marching from Savoy, and is probably a detachment from the army of Switzerland. So much snow has fallen, that the

roads in the mountains are no longer passable; and it will not be possible for the corps, coming from Savoy to form a junction with Champagnet. The severity of the weather has obliged the enemy to abandon the Col de Scade, where they left four pieces of cannon, which they could not drag through the snow.

W. BENTINCK.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation; the principal of which is that the garrison shall be marched into the dominions of the emperor under a sufficient guard to protect them from the country people, and that they shall continue prisoners till exchanged.]

FEBRUARY.

Whitehall, Feb. 1. This gazette announces the capture of Le Vigoureux, French lugger privateer, three guns and 26 men, by the Comilla, captain Largan.

Admiralty-Office, Feb. 4. This gazette contains a letter from captain Bartholomew, of the Havik sloop, stating his having re-captured the American ship Strafford, of 16 guns, from Baltimore to London, with cargo worth from 30,000l. to 40,000l. which had been taken by a lugger and cutter belonging to the enemy, both of which were taken possession of by the Suffisante, captain Williams.

Admiralty-Office, Feb. 8. A letter from admiral sir Henry Parker introduces the following

Crescent, Port Royal, Nov. 23.

SIR,

I am exceedingly sorry to acquaint you, that on the dawn of the 14th the S.W. end of Porto Rico bears N.E. 10 or 12 leagues, we unfortunately fell in with a squadron belonging to the enemy, consisting of a first-rate ship, frigate, and corvette.

As the two former were directly in our course on the larboard tack, I made the convoy's signal to haul to the wind on the starboard tack; made sail to reconnoitre them; and on joining the Calypso (which had previously chased), perfectly coincided with captain Baker that they were enemies, and made signal to the convoys to that effect. The line-of-battle ship and frigate keeping close together, I was in great hopes of drawing them from the convoy by keeping them within random shot to windward, and bore up for that purpose, making the Calypso's signal to chase N.W. the direction the body of the convoy was then in. At nine the enemy tacked, and I was under the necessity of making the signal to disperse. The Calypso bore up for that part of the convoy that were running to leeward. The corvette which had been seen some time before was standing for the ships that had kept their wind; I immediately made sail to relieve them, and had the good fortune to capture her. The enemy were previously chasing the ships to leeward; and I was happy to observe them haul their wind, I suppose, on perceiving the situation of the corvette; but this, as well as their other manœuvres during the course of the day, appeared so very undetermined, that they did not take the necessary steps to prevent our taking possession of her; nor had they brought to any of the convoy at dark, notwithstanding they had been near them for twelve hours; and their situation was such as to give me sanguine hopes not any have been captured. The squadron proved to be Spanish, from St. Domingo, bound to the Havannah, consisting of the Asia, of 64 guns and 350 men, commodore don Francisco Montes; Amphitrite, of 44

guns and 260 men, captain Don Diego Villagomez; Glago, of 16 guns and 100 men, captain Don José de Arias.

I am, &c. W. G. LOBB.

[This gazette also contains accounts of the Mercury, captain Rogers, re-taking the Aimwell, of Whitby, with a valuable cargo; and also capturing L'Egyptienne, French privateer, a new vessel, of 15 guns and 66 men; the crew of which, whilst in the act of hauling down her colours (not having fired a shot before), discharged their musquetry into the Mercury, by which a seaman was severely wounded in the body. The Marshal de Cobourg, hired armed brig, lieutenant O'Neal, captured the Flushingier, Dutch privateer, of four guns and 28 men.]

The same gazette contains an order in council for a general fast in England and Wales on the 12th, and in Scotland on the 13th of March; a prohibition against the emigration of artificers, and offer of 100l. reward, and fine of 200l. for the detection of persons enticing them away; and notification of a division of prize money to several ships.]

11. A fire broke out between six and seven o'clock this evening, at Lingham's brandy and sugar warehouses in Lower Thames-street. The flames extended with great fury to the surrounding houses, particularly the Custom-house, which seemed to be in great danger. It is computed to have destroyed property of above 300,000l. in value. Of this a large proportion consisted in prize goods, deposited in the warehouse by government. The flames communicated to some small houses in Gloucester-court, behind the warehouse, and destroyed four or five of them.

The

wind blew fresh from the eastward, and the fire raged tremendously for some time. The weather-cock at the top of the Custom-house, which is on the other side of the street, was twice on fire, as well as the frames of the windows; and two ships in the river, that lay off Bear Wharf, were damaged materially by the flames communicating to their rigging. Happily, however, about twelve at night, the whole was got under, and no lives lost.

Admiralty-Office, Feb. 18.

Under the above head the two following letters appear on the subject of the capture of the Pallas frigate.

His majesty's sloop Fairy, Feb. 5.

SIR,

In compliance with your order of the 3d instant, his majesty's sloop Harpy in company, having weighed from St. Aubin's Bay, at six A.M. I proceeded to reconnoitre St. Maloes; and, at half past eleven, Cape Frehel bearing S.E. five or six miles, I discovered a large ship running down close along shore to the westward, which I very soon made out to be a large frigate, and, as she did not answer the private signal, I concluded she was an enemy, but, being so close in shore, I saw there was no chance of bringing her to action. I therefore judged it necessary to tack, with the hopes of decoying her out from the land; which fully answered my wishes, as she immediately gave chase to us. At one o'clock the Harpy having formed close under my stern, the enemy arrived within pistol shot; when a close action commenced, and continued until a quarter before five, when the enemy made all sail from us. As soon as the damages the Fairy sustained in the rigging and sails (which were very considerable) were repaired, we made all sail in

pursuit of her. At four o'clock, three strange sail were discovered from the mast-head to the northward, which I judged to be a squadron of English frigates, to whom I made the signal for an enemy, and at nine were joined by his majesty's ships La Loire, Danaë, and Railleur, in the chase.

J. S. HORTON.

Prince of Bouillon.

[The loss on board the Fairy was, four seamen killed, captain Horton and seven seamen wounded. On board the Harpy, one seaman killed, and three wounded.]

Copy of a letter from captain Newman, to E. Nepean, esq. dated La Loire, at sea, the 5th inst.

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint their lordships of the capture of the French frigate Le Pallas, by his majesty's ship under my command, after a close action of two hours and ten minutes, close in shore under Seven Islands, where she was supported by a battery. I was most gallantly and ably seconded by captain Turquade, of the Railleur; and to the captains of the Danaë, Fairy, and Harpy sloops I feel indebted for their every exertion to come up with the chase. I cannot too much applaud the conduct of the officers and crews under my command, as well as lieutenant Krenitzin, of the Russian navy, &c.—The Pallas is a new frigate, mounting 42 guns, 18 nine and 36 pounders, was bound to Brest, victualled for five months, and 350 men on board.

J. N. NEWMAN.

[The Loire had three seamen killed; three midshipmen, 25 seamen, and one marine, wounded. The Railleur, one midshipman, and the gunner's mate, killed; four seamen wounded.]

19. At a meeting of the mayor, aldermen, and liverymen of the city of London, in common hall assembled, consisting of upwards of 2000 persons, it was resolved, by a small majority, "That a petition be presented to the honourable the house of commons, upon the present situation of public affairs, praying them to take such measures as they may think proper towards promoting an immediate negotiation with the government of France, for the purpose of restoring to his majesty's subjects the blessings of peace." And a petition being prepared agreeably to the said resolution, was read and agreed to; and the representatives of the city were instructed to support the same in the house of commons; which one of them (the lord mayor) promised that he would do. The other three declared, that it being contrary to their own decided opinion, they could not comply with the request.

A counter-petition was afterwards drawn up, and signed by a very considerable number of liverymen.

Admiralty-Office, Feb. 22.

Copy of a letter from lieutenant Francis Godolphin Bond, of the Netley, to lord Keith.

Netley, Lisbon, Jan. 28.

MY LORD,

On the 14th ult. I had the honour of transmitting to you, from the Tagus, copies of two orders, the one from rear-admiral Duckworth, and the other from captain Mackwood, with an account of the captures made by his majesty's schooner under my command, during her last cruise. Hard gales of wind preventing our sailing hence on the 11th; and on the 22d, off L'Espérance, we captured L'Espérance, a French lugger privateer, pierced for

12, but having on board only five guns, with 36 men, formerly a privateer belonging to Guernsey. Having the next day spoke the St. Fiorenzo, in the neighbourhood of Oporto, I was informed by sir Harry Neale of the dispersion of three convoys on the coast, and the obstacles that had opposed their entry into the Donto for more than 20 days, from considerable freshes, frequent calms, and adverse winds. As the weather was now so favourable for the arrival of vessels from the S.W. and I conceived no time should be lost in endeavouring to intercept the enemy's captures bound to Vigo, I accordingly stood for the entrance of that bay, and on the morning of the 24th re-took the Hamburg brig Catharina, from Oporto, bound to Limerick, laden with wine and fruit. At night, after a smart chase, we came up with a small Spanish lugger privateer, called Felicidad, of two guns, eight swivels, and 22 men; and before the prisoners were all shifted, at midnight, another privateer and her prize hove in sight. We were enabled at one, A.M. (the 25th) to come up with the latter, the Duchess of Gordon, a bark, from Newfoundland to Oporto, with 7600 quintals of salt fish. By ten o'clock that morning, after a short chase, we brought to the St. Antony Animas, alias La Aurora, Spanish schooner privateer, of six guns and 46 men, and her prize the Venus, from London, with shot, lead, tin, slaves, &c. for Oporto. On the 27th I made three more re-captures, viz. an English brig, called the Commerce, laden with salt fish; a Swedish brig from Stockholm to Viana, with iron and deals, taken by a French lugger; and a Portuguese schooner with salt. On the evening of the 28th the weather began to threaten,

threaten, with strong winds from the southward. One re-capture remained with me till the 8th of January, when our vicinity to the shore, and a heavy sea, obliged me to carry sail, and abandon to herself the Commerce, that was destitute even of one sail to shift, and those bent were in the worst condition. Having the following day spoke the Trojan West Indiaman, with the loss of her main top-mast, cross jack-yard, and most of her sails, now bound to Lisbon to refit, but separated with many others in the recent gales from the outward-bound convoy, I continued to attend her till the 21st, in almost a continual storm; and on the 27th had the pleasure to see her safe into this port. It is, however, with much sorrow I have to acquaint your lordship with the loss of most of our prizes and several of our crew. Of the Ducheſs of Gordon, which was wrecked near Lisbon, only one person was saved, the pilot of the Netley being of the number who perished. The fate of the others is anticipated, though it is known that two brigs are arrived safe, and two others took refuge in Vigo. The French lugger was stranded in attempting the bar of Viana, but I am happy to hear her crew were saved.

F. G. BOND.

Admiralty-Office, Feb. 25.

Copy of a letter from captain Riou to admiral Milbanke.

His majesty's ship Amazon, Spithead, Feb. 21.

SIR,

I am to acquaint you, that his majesty's ship under my command sailed from Cork harbour on the 12th instant; and on the 14th captured the Bougainville, a French privateer, of St. Malo, commanded by Pierre Dupont, mounting 18 six pounders, and carrying 82 men:

but I am sorry to add, that on the following evening, as the Amazon was brought to sound, the Bougainville ran on board us at the rate of nine knots, and rebounded off with the immediate loss of her fore and main-masts, and with so much injury to her hull, that there was an instantaneous alarm of sinking. It was not without some risk, as the night was dark, the sea rough, and the wind high, that the boats were hoisted out of the Amazon, and all the men saved, excepting one. The Bougainville, I am told, was at this time going down by the stern, the water within-board being above the after part of the gun-deck. The injury done to the Amazon was nothing more than the carrying away the spritsail, yard, and bumkin.

E. RIOU.

Copy of a letter from admiral sir Hyde Parker, to E. Nepean, esq. dated Dec. 27.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that on the 23d inst. captain Rolles, of his majesty's ship Alarm, brought with him into this port a very rich and valuable Spanish ship. She was captured by the Amphion, captain Bennet, in company with the Alarm and, for their lordships' farther information, inclose herewith a copy of captain Bennet's letter to captain Rolles on this occasion.

H. PARKER.

Amphion, at sea, Nov. 26.

SIR,

In obedience to your signal, chased S.W. last evening, and had the good fortune at one (A.M.) come up with, and capture, L'Astiriana, Spanish letter of marque carrying 18 eight pounders, twelve-pounders, and four howzers, of thirty-two pounders (brai

brass), manned with 180 men, from Cadiz bound to La Vera Cruz, with a very valuable cargo; she had four sail of convoy with her in the morning, three of which her commander thinks are still to the eastward forty days out. The Asturiana is a very large ship, quite new, admirably found, and coppered.

R. H. A. BAKER.

[This gazette also contains copies of letters from the following officers; viz. lieutenant d'Auvergne, of the Aristocrat armed brig, reporting the capture of a gun boat on February 19. Captain Peter Halkett, of his majesty's ship Apollo, dated Madeira, January 25, stating the capture of the Aquilla, Spanish ship of war, pierced for twelve, but carrying only four guns, on the 11th ult. and of the re-taking the Lady Harwood, which had fallen into the hands of a French privateer two days previous. — Captain John Cooke, of the Amethyst, relating the capture of Le Vaillant, a fast-sailing French cutter privateer. — Also one from the honourable captain Curzon to Sir Alan Gardner, acquainting him of the Triton having chased from the squadron, and come up with, the French national brig La Vidette, of 14 guns and 84 men, from L'Orient bound to Brest.

The same gazette contains an order of his majesty in council authorising the importation of Spanish wool, notwithstanding any doubts that may have been entertained to the contrary, in ships or vessels belonging to any kingdom or state in amity with his majesty.

M A R C H.

Admiralty-Office, March 8.

Copy of a letter from captain Fra-
1800.

zer, of the Nymphe, to the right honourable lord Bridport.

*La Nymphe, Plymouth Sound,
March 3.*

MY LORD,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that I brought into Plymouth this morning La Modeste, a French letter of marque, pierced for 16 guns, and having 70 men on board, which I captured on the 24th of February last, in company with the Amethyst. She is a fine ship, about 600 tons burden, and laden with cotton, coffee, tea, sugar, indigo, &c. had left the Isle of France only nine weeks, and was bound to Bordeaux, off which port I captured her. — I am, &c.

PERCY FRAZER.

[This gazette likewise contains an account of the capture and carrying into Viana, in Portugal, the Nostra Senhora Carmen, Spanish lugger privateer, Don Joseph O'Livera commander, mounting two guns, nine-pounders, with small arms, and a crew consisting of 44 men, by the Maria private ship of war, Mr. John Doyle commander.]

Admiralty-Office, March 11.

The following is addressed to lord Bridport.

*Nereid, Plymouth Sound,
March, 1800.*

MY LORD,

I beg leave to inform you, that, on the 28th ult. when cruising with his majesty's ships Repulse and Agamemnon off the Penmarks, being considerably to leeward of the above ships, I lost sight of them in the night, and at three A. M. I saw a light to windward, which I kept company with, supposing it the commodore's, but it proved a Danish brig. On my standing back to the rendezvous on the following
(B) night,

night, we discovered five sail, four ships evidently of force, and a schooner: the moment I had made the necessary preparations for battle, I hauled my wind for them; on the dawn of day I plainly discovered they were of force, and then lying-to; when nearly within gunshot of the largest ship, they dispersed different ways; I continued to chase; night coming on I lost sight, but was fortunate enough the following morning to see one of them, which, after chasing twelve hours, and running 123 miles, we captured, which proved to be the Vengeance privateer, of Bourdeaux, pierced for 18 guns, 12-pounders, but only 16 mounted, and 174 men; by her we found that she sailed on the 26th from the above place, in company with the following ships, which were those we fell in with; viz. Bellona, 24 guns, 12-pounders, six 36-pound carronades, and 420 men. — La Favorite, 16 guns, eight-pounders, and 120 men. — La Huron, 16 guns, six-pounders, and 87 men. — La Terrailleuse (schooner) 14 guns, six-pounders, and 80 men. I have to lament that, from the pusillanimity of the enemy, I had it not in my power to destroy the whole, or of trying the zeal of my officers and young ship's company; but have every thing to say in their favour, for the activity and cheerfulness they showed on the occasion, and hope some future day we shall be more fortunate. On the following day we re-captured the American ship Perseverance, of Baltimore, with a cargo valued at 30,000*l*. The Vengeance is two years old, and has been repeatedly chased by our frigates, but from her superior sailing escaped; nor should we have caught her,

had not she carried away her jib-boom.

FRED. WATKINS.

11. A society under the title of "The Royal Institution of Great Britain," and under the patronage of his majesty, commenced its sittings, for the first time, this day. Its professed object is to direct the public attention to the arts, by an establishment for diffusing the knowledge and facilitating the general introduction of useful mechanical inventions and improvements.

Venice, March 14. The new pope has taken the name of Pius VII. to honour the memory of his immortal predecessor. The order of Benedictines, to which the world is so much indebted for the progress of the sciences and of divinity, has the honour of having given to the Catholic church its new head. Pope Pius VII. made his religious vows in the convent of St. Maria del Monte, at Cesena. Since that period, he has dedicated the whole of his time to the sciences. In the convent of St. Paul, without the walls of Rome, he studied divinity and the canonical law with so much success, that, in a public disputation in the church of Kalisto, at Rome, he astonished the whole audience. He was afterwards appointed lecturer of philosophy in the convent of St. John the Evangelist at Parma, but was again called to Rome by the abbot of St. Paul, to instruct his novices in philosophy. Having completed this task, he was appointed lecturer of divinity in the convent of St. Anselm at Rome. This place he filled nine years, when he was elected prior of that convent. Pope Pius afterwards appointed him abbot, then

then bishop of Tivoli, and, in two years after, he was raised to the dignity of cardinal. This afternoon the cardinals had the honour of kissing his holiness's hand and foot, and of being admitted to the double embrace.

Admiralty-Office, March 15.

Copy of a letter from captain Barlow to admiral Kingmill.

Phæbe, at sea, Feb. 27.

SIR,

I have to acquaint you that on the 21st instant, his majesty's ship under my command captured the French ship privateer Bellegarde, of 14 guns, and 140 men belonging to St. Maloes; she had been out 16 days, and had captured the ship Chance, of London, from Martinico, and the brig Friends, of Dartmouth, from St. Michaels, bound to Bristol; the former since re-captured by his majesty's sloop Kangaroo.—I am, &c.

E. BARLOW.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of the French lugger privateer Massina, carrying four three-pounders and 30 men, by his majesty's sloop Plover, captain Galway.]

17. The following are the particulars of the unfortunate loss of his majesty's ship Repulse of 64 guns, captain Alms, one of the ships belonging to the Channel fleet, but had been detached by sir Alan Gardner to cruise off the Penmarks, for the purpose of intercepting provision vessels going to Brest. On Sunday, the 9th March, there came on a sudden and violent gale of wind, and the rolling of the ship occasioned an accident to captain Alms, who, while standing near the companion-ladder, was thrown down by it, by which one of his ribs was broken, and he was

disabled from doing any further duty on the ship's deck. For two or three days the weather had been so thick, that it was not possible to make any observation, and the current had driven the ship so far out of her reckoning, that, about 12 o'clock on the night of the 10th, the Repulse struck on a sunken rock supposed to be the Mare, 25 leagues south-east of Ushant. She was then going about six knots an hour. The ship continued striking on the rock near three quarters of an hour before she could be brought to wear; and the water rushed in so fast, that the lower deck tier was soon flooded. By great exertions, the ship was kept afloat long enough to be enabled to approach the coast near Quimper; and, at half past ten o'clock, captain Alms, and the ship's company, quitted her, and made good a landing on one of the Glenans islands, about two miles from the continent. The peasantry on the island gave every assistance; and the ship's company were sent prisoners to Quimper. In the confusion of getting ashore, one of the ship's boats upset, with five seamen, who were drowned. Two others were drowned owing to drunkenness; and four more were so drunk, they could not be got out of the ship. The 1st and 4th lieutenants, two midshipmen, and eight seamen, preferring the risk of getting safe to England to the horrors of a French prison, betook themselves to the large cutter, and, having got a small supply of provisions and bread, steered for Guernsey. They had got within eight leagues of the land on the first day, when a gale of wind came on, which drove them towards the French coast; and it was not until the fourth day that they reached Guernsey, after having undergone the most severe

hardships during three days and nights; the waves breaking over the boat so incessantly, that four of the seamen were constantly employed in bailing her. The 1st lieutenant was landed at Weymouth on Sunday. The *Répulse* had, the 16th, on the day preceding the accident, re-captured the *Princess Royal* packet, from the Leeward Islands, on board of which the 3d lieutenant and ten seamen had been sent. The French prize-master was carrying her into Nantes. The mail had been taken out by the privateer which captured her.

Admiralty-Office, March 18.

The following is a letter from the commander of his majesty's sloop *La Suffisante*, to vice-admiral Pasley, bart.

La Suffisante, at sea,

SIR,

March 13.

I beg leave to acquaint you, that after a chase of three hours from the isle of Bas, I this day captured the French cutter privateer *Josephina*, of four guns and 20 men, commanded by John Francis Froment, two days from Morlaix; has taken nothing. J. WITTMAN.

Admiralty-Office, March 25.

Copy of a letter from admiral Kingsmill, commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels on the coast of Ireland, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated at Cork, the 9th instant.

SIR,

In my letter of the 2d instant I acquainted my lords commissioners of the admiralty of the arrival of the French brig privateer *Telegraphe*, sent in by his majesty's

sloop *Kangaroo*. I now have the pleasure to inclose, for their information, a copy of captain Brace's letter to me, giving an account of the particulars. The very gallant and beneficial services of that excellent officer, in capturing the enemy's privateer at an early period of her cruize, and retaking two valuable merchant-ships, deserve every recommendation; but it will, I trust, be needless for me to attempt pointing out to their lordships conduct, which has on this, as well as on former occasions, shown itself to be so highly meritorious. The French prisoners, who were on board the *Kangaroo*, assert, that the French brig which made her escape was the *Grand Decidé*, of 18 brass 12-pounders, and 150 men. I conclude the two officers of the army, captain Hearnese and lieutenant Bournes, so handsomely mentioned by captain Brace, were re-captured in the ship *Chance*.

R. KINGSMILL.

His majesty's sloop Kangaroo, at sea,

SIR,

Feb. 25.

It has been the good fortune of his majesty's sloop under my command to capture and re-capture the vessels named in the margin*. The *Telegraphe* is a fine French brig privateer, quite new, and sails remarkably fast; mounting 14 carriage-guns of different calibre, and having on board 78 men. I am pleased with having captured her in such weather, with no other accident than the 1st lieutenant Mr. Thomas Toulerton (a good officer) having received a violent contusion in the face, from the chase-gun be-

* *Minerva*, an American ship, laden with tobacco, re-taken on the 22d instant, in lat. 49 deg. 44 min. N. and long. 12 deg. 37 min. W.—*Le Telegraphe*, 20 days out from St. Maloes; had, on the 11th instant, taken the *Elizabeth* brig from Lisbon, laden with fruit.—*Chance*, West-Indiaman, from Martinique; re-captured on the 24th in lat. 49 deg. 48 min. N. and long. 13 deg. W. and in company on the 25th ult.

ing thrown off, by the motion of the sloop, whilst he was pointing her. I now beg leave to refer you to my journal. You will perceive, that I carried away the main boom on the 23d ult. in chase of a ship privateer; and that I parted company with *Le Telegraphe*, lieutenant Thompson, in chase of a brig to leeward. In addition to that, I have to acquaint you that at eight A. M. on the 25th instant in lat. 50 deg. N. long. 12 deg. W. I brought to action a French brig privateer, of 18 guns; when, after a warm contest of an hour, 50 minutes of it fought in good style, close to each other, she began to make off, having damaged the rigging and sails so as to prevent my closing with her again, though every exertion was made on the part of the officers and men; being at the time short of 44 officers and men, away in prizes; six men unable to attend their quarters; six wounded, and four sentinels over 78 prisoners in the hold: that considered, I trust it will appear to you, that there is much merit due to the officers and men on board. I have to acknowledge myself indebted to captain Hearn, of the 43d regiment, and to lieutenant Bournes, of the 1st West-India regiment, for their assistance; and I beg you will be pleased to recommend to my lords commissioners of the admiralty lieutenant Toulerton, and Mr. Verling the master.

E. BRACE.

List of men wounded in action.

Mr. William Allen, boatswain.—Thomas Marks, William Johnson, Henry Pitts, George Moore, seamen.—William Milliard, marine.

N. B. None killed.

Copy of a letter from captain Barlow to admiral Kingmill.

Phæbe, Kinsale harbour,
SIR, March 9.

I have to acquaint you, that on the 5th instant, in lat. 50 deg. two min. N. long. 14 deg. 43 min. W. his majesty's ship under my command captured the French ship privateer *Heureux*, of Bourdeaux, mounting 22 brass 12-pounders, and manned with 220 men. She bore down to us at eight in the morning, her commander taking the *Phæbe* for an East-Indiaman, and not discovering his error until within point-blank musket shot, when she wore on our weather-bow, and hauled to the wind on the same tack as the *Phæbe*. In this situation, she began a spirited well-directed fire, which was kept up a considerable time, in the hope of escaping, by disabling our masts, sails, and rigging: an act of temerity to be regretted, as it occasioned a loss to his majesty's ship of one seaman killed, and five wounded, two of whom mortally, and since dead; and to the enemy, a loss of 18 killed, and 25 wounded, most of which have lost limbs. The *Heureux* is the most complete flush-deck ship I have ever seen; coppered, copper-fastened, highly finished, and of large dimensions, viz. 128 feet long, 32 and a half broad, and admeasures near 600 tons. The accounts given of her sailing are very extraordinary; she will be considered as a most desirable ship for his majesty's service. She had been out 42 days, and had taken only a small Portuguese sloop, laden with wine, which had been blown off the land in her passage from Limerick to Galway.

ROB. BARLOW.

[This gazette also contains accounts of the following captures:—A Spanish xebec, of 16 four-pounders, and 130 men, by the

Penelope, captain Blackwood.—Le Courier French privateer, pierced for eighteen guns, mounting 10 six-pounders, and four carronades, and 150 men, by the Revolutionnaire, captain Twisden.—And a Spanish privateer, El Batavor, of 14 guns, and 87 men, by the Cormorant, the honourable Courtenay Boyle.]

Camp of the Grand Vizir, near Al Erich, Jan. 24.

This day a convention has been signed here by Moustapha Raschid Effendi and Moustapha Reschichi Effendi, commissioners appointed on the part of the grand vizir, and by general Dessaix and monsieur Poussielgue, commissioners appointed on the part of general Kleber; by which it has been agreed, that the French troops now in Egypt should evacuate that country, and should be allowed to return to France. The forts of Salahich and Cathié are to be surrendered by the French troops within eight days after the ratification of this capitulation by the grand vizir and general Kleber, and the other places and towns in Egypt at the different periods specified for that purpose.

Admiralty-Office, March 27. Major Douglas, late commander of the party of marines serving on board his majesty's ship the Tigre, arrived this morning with dispatches from sir Sidney Smith, knt. captain of that ship, and senior officer of the squadron employed on the coast of Egypt, containing an account of the capture of the fort of El Arish, by an advanced body of the army of the grand vizir, assisted by a detachment of marines from his majesty's ships under the orders of the major. By this account it appears that the grand vizir moved from Gaza to El Arish on the 20th December last, and that the French

commandant having refused to capitulate, the fort was reconnoitred by major Douglas, accompanied by lieutenant-colonel Bromley and captain Winter; that batteries were erected on the 24th and the following days, the fire of which was attended with complete success; and that, on the 29th in the morning, the enemy having ceased firing, major Douglas ascended the wall of the fort by means of a rope which was let down for him, and received the sword of the French commandant; but that, it having been found impossible, in the first moments, to restrain the impetuosity of the Turkish troops, 300 of the French garrison were put to the sword; the remainder were, however, by his exertions, and those of the Turkish commanding officer, placed in security, and the sick and wounded taken care of. The major represents, that the cheerful manner in which the whole detachment performed their duty, exposed, as they were, in the desert without tents, very ill fed, and with only brackish water to drink, gained them the admiration of the whole Ottoman army.

27. A mutiny took place on board his majesty's ship Danae, which has been carried into Brest by the villains who obtained possession of her. The purser of the ship arrived at the Admiralty this day with the tidings.

Admiralty-Office, March 29.

Copy of a letter from captain sir W. S. Smith, captain of his majesty's ship Tigre, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated off Jaffa, Nov. 8, 1799.

SIR,

I have the honour to inclose a copy of my letter to the right honourable lord Nelson (of this date),
for

for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty.

I am, &c. W. S. SMITH.

Tigre, off Jaffa,

MY LORD, *Nov. 8.*

I lament to inform your lordship of the melancholy death of Patróna Bey, the Turkish vice-admiral, who was assassinated at Cyprus, in a mutiny of the janissaries, on the 18th of October; the command devolved on Seid Ali Bey, who had just joined me with the troops from Constantinople, composing the second maritime expedition destined for the recovery of Egypt. As soon as our joint exertions had restored order, we proceeded to the mouth of the Damietta branch of the Nile to make an attack thereon, as combined with the supreme vizir, in order to draw the attention of the enemy that way, and leave his highness more at liberty to advance with the grand army on the side of the desert. The attack began by the Tigre's boats taking possession of a ruined castle, situated on the eastern side of the Bogaz, or entrance of the channel, which the inundation of the Nile had insulated from the main land, leaving a fordable passage. The Turkish flag, displayed on the tower of this castle, was at once the signal for the Turkish gun boats to advance, and for the enemy to open their fire, in order to dislodge us; their nearest post being a redoubt on the main land, with two 32-pounders, and an eight-pounder field-piece mounted thereon, a point-blank shot distant. The fire was returned from the launch's carronade, mounted in a breach in the castle, and from field-pieces in the small boats, which soon obliged the enemy to discontinue working at an entrenchment they were making to oppose a landing.

Lieutenant Stokes was detached with the boats to check a body of cavalry advancing along the neck of land; in which he succeeded; but I am sorry to say, with the loss of one man killed and one wounded. This interchange of shot continued with little intermission, during the 29th, 30th, and 31st, while the Turkish transports were drawing nearer to the landing place, our shells from the carronade annoying the enemy in his works and communications; at length, the magazine blowing up, and one of their 32-pounders being silenced, a favourable moment offered for disembarkation. Orders were given accordingly; but it was not till the morning of November 1, that they could effectuate this operation. This delay gave time for the enemy to collect a force more than double that of the first division landed, and to be ready to attack it before the return of the boats with the remainder. The French advanced to the charge with bayonets. The Turks completely exculpated themselves from the suspicion of cowardice having been the cause of their delay; for, when the enemy were within ten yards of them, they rushed on, sabre in hand, and in an instant completely routed the first line of the French infantry. The day was ours for the moment; but the impetuosity of Osman Aga, and his troops, occasioned them to quit the station assigned them as a corps of reserve, and to run forward in pursuit of the fugitives: European tactics were, of course, advantageously employed by the French at this critical juncture. Their body of reserve came on in perfect order, while a charge of cavalry, on the left of the Turks, put them completely to the rout in their turn. Our flanking fire

from the castle and boats, which had been hitherto plied with evident effect, was now necessarily suspended by the impossibility of pointing clear of the Turks in the confusion. The latter turned a random fire on the boats, to make them take them off, and the sea was, in an instant, covered with turbans, while the air was filled with piteous moans, calling to us for assistance; it was, as at Aboukir, a duty of some difficulty to afford it to them, without being victims to their impatience, or overwhelmed with numbers; we, however, persevered, and saved all, except those which the French took prisoners, by wading into the water after them; neither did the enemy interrupt us much in so doing. Major Douglas and lieutenant Stokes, who were with me on this service, gave additional proofs of their zeal, ability, and bravery, and the boats' crews, as usual, behaved admirably. The loss in killed, on our side, cannot be ascertained. The French general, in his offer to exchange prisoners on the general account, assures me has 1,100. As to the enemy's loss, we have no means of estimating it; but it must have been sufficient to convince them, that such victories as these, against troops which, though irregular, will fight hand to hand with them, must cost them dear in the end.

I am, &c. W. S. SMITH.

Admiralty-Office, March 29.

Copy of a letter from the right honourable lord Keith, K. B. vice-admiral of the red, and commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board the Queen Charlotte, off Valette, Feb. 20.

SIR,

My letter of the 15th acquainted you, for the information of their lordships, that I had received intelligence of the reported approach of an enemy's squadron towards this island; and, although I had considerable difficulty in persuading myself that they would hazard the attempt in the face of so superior a force, I nevertheless considered it incumbent upon me, to take the necessary precautions of reconnoitring the quarter in which they were to be expected, and, at the same time, guarding most particularly the entrance of the harbour of Valette, as the only point in which they could secure themselves, and debark their troops and stores. The wind being strong from the S. E. and accompanied with rain, I could only communicate by signal; I accordingly denoted the bearing, and the reputed force of the enemy, and directed the Foudroyant, Audacious, and Northumberland, to chase to windward, and the Lion to look out off the passage between Goza and Malta, while the Queen Charlotte was kept as close in with the mouth of the harbour as the batteries would admit of; the Alexander, at the same time, was under weigh on the S. E. side of the island. On the 16th I was joined by the Phaeton, from Palermo; and the wind having shifted to the N. W. which afforded a favourable opportunity for landing the Neapolitan troops at Marsa Sirocco, I accordingly embraced it, and in the afternoon returned off the harbour of Valette: signals were made from various parts of the island, of an enemy being in sight; and with the Queen Charlotte, Phaeton, Serena Neapolitan frigate, and Minorca sloop, I anxiously continued

nued to maintain a position near the shore, to prevent the enemy from passing within us, and to expose them to the attack of his majesty's ships that were in pursuit of them. On the morning of the 19th, El Corso joined with a large French armed store-ship, which she took possession of at four in the afternoon of the 18th, by signal from lord Nelson, whose squadron was then engaged with the French: captain Ricketts reported this ship to be the Ville de Marseilles, loaded with salt meat, brandy, wine, clothing, stores, &c. &c.; she sailed from Toulon on the 17th inst. in company with the Genereux, 74, admiral Perrée; Badine, 24, and two corvettes, having near 4000 troops on board for the relief of Malta. At four P. M. the Foudroyant and Audacious joined me; and I was acquainted by rear-admiral Nelson, that the Genereux had surrendered without any action, and that the three corvettes had escaped, from all the line of battle ships having anxiously pressed after the French admiral. I have the honour to enclose a copy of lord Nelson's letter. His lordship has, on this occasion, as on all others, conducted himself with skill, and great address in comprehending my signals, which the state of the weather led me greatly to suspect. Captain Peard has evinced excellent management, from the moment he first discovered the enemy off the S. W. end of Sicily, until the period of the capture; and lieutenant William Harrington, commanding the Alexander in the absence of captain Ball, has shown great merit in so ably conducting that ship, in presence of a superior force, previously to the appearance of lord Nelson; I beg leave to recommend him to

their lordships' consideration. I have detached ships in all directions, to endeavour to pick up the stragglers.

KEITH.

Foudroyant, at sea, off Cape di Corvo, 8 leagues W. of Cape Passaro, off shore about four miles, Feb. 18.

MY LORD,

This morning, at day light, being in company with his majesty's ships Northumberland, Audacious, and El Corso brig, I saw the Alexander in chase of a line of battle ship, three frigates, and a corvette. At about 8 o'clock she fired several shots at one of the enemy's frigates, which struck her colours, and, leaving her to be secured by the ships a-stern, continued the chase. I directed captain Gould of the Audacious, and the El Corso brig, to take charge of this prize. At half past 1 P. M. the frigates and corvettes tacked to the westward; but the line of battle ship, not being able to tack without coming to action with the Alexander, bore up. The Success being to leeward, captain Peard, with great judgment and gallantry, lay across his hawse, and raked him with several broadsides. In passing the French ship's broadside, several shot struck the Success, by which one man was killed, and the master and eight men wounded. At half past 4, the Foudroyant and Northumberland coming up, the former fired two shot, when the French ship fired her broadside, and struck her colours. She proved to be the Genereux, of 74 guns, bearing the flag of rear-admiral Perrée, commander-in-chief of the French naval force in the Mediterranean, having a number of troops on board from Toulon, bound for the relief of Malta. I attribute our success this day to be principally owing to the extreme good management of

lieutenant

lieutenant William Harrington, who commands the *Alexander* in the absence of captain Ball; and I am much pleased with the gallant behaviour of captain Peard, of the *Success*; as also with the alacrity and good conduct of captain Martin and sir Edward Berry. I have sent lieutenant Andrew Thompson, first lieutenant of the *Foudroyant*, to take charge of the *Genereux* (whom I beg leave to recommend to your lordship for promotion); and have sent her, under the care of the Northumberland and *Alexander*, to Syracuse, to wait your lordship's orders.

I am, &c. BRONTE NELSON.

[This gazette likewise contains a letter from captain Bowen, of his majesty's ship *Caroline*, to lord Keith, giving an account of the capture of *La Vulture* French privateer, a remarkably fast sailer, pierced for 22 guns, having on board, when captured, 137 men.—Captain Ballard, of the *Pearl* frigate, reports by letter likewise to lord Keith, his having chased and forced on shore, off Narbonne, a Genoese ship polacre of 14 guns, where she was totally lost. Her crew stepped from the vessel on shore, and the few settees she had under convoy got into Adge.—In this Gazette also, captain Wollaston, of the *Cruizer*, informs lord Duncan of his having captured the French cutter privateer, *Perseverant*, of 14 guns and 47 men; and the *Flibustier*, of 14 guns and 54 men. The former is a remarkably fine vessel, copper-bottomed, and has captured an amazing number of vessels in the North Sea.—Lieutenant Murray, of the brig *Sea-Flower*, in a letter to Mr. Nepean, states his having captured the *Chaser* lugger privateer, of St. Maloes, mounting 14 carriage-guns and 30 men.]

A P R I L.

Isle of Wight, April 5.

A dreadful circumstance happened, on Monday last, at an ale-house on the quay, Newport, where a party of the Dutch soldiers were drinking in one box, and a party of the North Hants militia in the next; and, merely from one of the latter putting up his arm to lean on the ledge of the box, and inadvertently striking one of the Dutchmen, a scuffle ensued, which proved fatal to two grenadiers in the above regiment, John Light and George Sainsbury, two remarkably fine men: they died on Wednesday morning, from the stabs they received from the Dutchmen. The verdict of the jury being Wilful Murder, three of them are committed. The two unfortunate men were interred yesterday in Newport church-yard. The commanding and other officers of the corps, wishing to testify their regret for the deceased, as well as their approbation and respect for their good conduct and characters while living, attended, and marched in the procession of their funeral, with the whole of the regiment off duty. The corps of officers belonging to the Dutch brigade here, under general Bentinck (who, very much to their honour, exerted themselves in a most exemplary manner to bring to condign punishment the perpetrators of this foul and unprovoked assassination), requested, as a proof of their regret on the occasion, and of their abhorrence and detestation of so base and barbarous a deed, to be permitted to march in the procession, which was accordingly done; and it moved forward to the church with due and affecting solemnity, in the following order, attended by crowds of the town and country people, with numbers of

of the Dutch soldiery, &c. here, all of whom seemed to sympathise. Firing party of grenadiers; band of the North Hants, with muffled drums, covered with black, playing a dead march; the two coffins; the pall supported by grenadiers; the remainder of the grenadiers, as mourners; the battalion companies of the regiment; the officers of the regiment, and those of the Dutch brigade, in files; the field-officers of the 60th regiment, and several officers of the staff, &c. in the island, all with crapes on the left arm.—We are happy to state, that, since the commission of this fatal deed, from the strong, energetic, and satisfactory orders issued to the soldiers of the North Hants, by the commanding officer, major Frith, and from the zeal, anxiety, and vigilance, exhibited by general Bentinck, and the other officers of the Dutch brigade, no symptoms of revengeful inclination, or riot, have appeared on the part of the British troops; and those of the Dutch have shown every mark of subordination and peaceable demeanour also. The deceased Sainsbury has left a widow pregnant, and one child, for whose support the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of the North Hants, have subscribed one day's pay each. General Bentinck, in a letter to major Frith, says, that the privates of the Dutch brigade, understanding that their officers were entering into a subscription for the same purpose, requested permission to add theirs also, as a mark of their keen regret on the melancholy occurrence, and their abhorrence of the crime; and inclosed 300*l.* as the amount of the whole, to be disposed of for the benefit of the widow and children, as shall be deemed most proper by the com-

manding officer. This very liberal donation is an honourable testimony how deeply and how laudably the whole corps have been affected by the vile conduct of the very few among them.

12. Sam. Thornton, and Job Matthew, Esqs. were chosen governor and deputy governor of the bank of England.

Downing-street, April 12.

The right honourable lord Keith, K. B. commander-in-chief of his majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, having, by proclamation, dated in Leghorn roads on the 12th of March last, declared the cities of Marseilles, Toulon, and Nice, and the whole coast of the Rureva de Ponente, to be in a state of blockade; and the commanders, as well of his majesty's ships of war, as of the ships of war belonging to his majesty's allies, and serving under his lordship's order, having been directed to enforce the said blockade, by detaining and proceeding, according to law, against all such vessels as may be found attempting to infringe the same; notice is hereby given thereof, in order that all masters and owners of neutral vessels may govern themselves accordingly.

Admiralty-Office, April 12.

Copy of a letter from captain Cook, of his majesty's ship *Amethyst*, to the right honourable lord Bridport, in Torbay.

Amethyst, at sea, April 1.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that his majesty's ship under my command captured last night the *Mars* French ship privateer, belonging to Bourdeaux, mounting 20 12-pounders, and two 36-pound carronades, and manned with 180 men. She had been out on a cruise, had made several cap-

tures,

tures, and was returning into port. I feel peculiar pleasure in having made this capture, as she was esteemed one of the finest privateers fitted out at Bourdeaux.

JOHN COOKE.

This gazette likewise contains another letter to lord Bridport, giving an account of the capture of le Cerberre French schooner privateer, of six guns, and 26 men, by his majesty's ship Uranie, captain Towry.—Also, two other letters, one giving an account of the capture of a small French cutter privateer, called L'Inattendu, with 25 men, armed with two guns and small arms, by captain Temple, of the Jalouse: the other, of the taking of La Virginie French privateer, of 14 guns and 53 men, by the Latona, captain Sotheron. The two last ships both belong to lord Duncan's squadron.]

13. Jacob Bosanquet, Joseph Cotton, esqs. Sir Lionel Darell, bart. Edward Parry, John Roberts, and Robert Thornton, esqs. were chosen directors of the East-India Company.

Admiralty-Office, April 19. This gazette contains an account of the capture of a Spanish ship privateer, of 16 guns (six of which she hove overboard during the chase), and 90 men, by his majesty's ship Flora, captain Middleton. She had, during her cruize, captured two brigs.

Admiralty-Office, April 22.

A letter from admiral sir Thomas Pasley introduces the following:

His majesty's sloop Spitfire, Plymouth Sound, April 20.

I have the honour to acquaint you, that at 4 A. M. on the 17th instant, the Bolt-Head bearing North, distant nine leagues, chase was given to a brig to the eastward; in which, at seven, a Guern-

sey brig privateer joined, and at nine (for an hour) his majesty's ship Diamond: the former, being left hull down astern, at 11 gave over the pursuit, and both were out of sight at noon; when the Telegraph, from under Alderney, crossed on her, and, having exchanged a broadside with her, dropped a-stern, and joined us; but the Spitfire having distanced her also, at 2 P. M. Cape Levy bearing S. S. W. distant four leagues, brought-to the chase; which proved to be L'Heureuse Societé, of Plein-pont, carrying 14 guns, and 64 men; a new vessel, out three days, but had not made any capture.

H. SEYMOUR.

Admiralty-Office, April 26. This gazette gives a letter from Mr. James Le Blair, commander of the Mayflower private ship of war, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated at Guernsey, the 17th instant, containing an account of her having captured, after an action of five hours (in which the French had three killed and five wounded, and the Mayflower one man killed and four wounded), the Le Troisième Ferrailleur French privateer, mounting two 12-pound carronades, and 12 long four-pounders, six of which are brass, and manned with 68 men.—Mr. James Le Blair subjoins the following list of vessels captured by him during his cruise:—The St. Incarnacao Portuguese brig, recaptured; the St. Francisco de Asis Spanish ship letter of marque, in ballast, mounting six six-pounders, and 24 men; the republican schooner Neptune, mounting four four-pounders, and 27 men, having general des Fourneaux, and his suite, on board; the French latine-rigged privateer called Tarn, mounting two long nine, and four four-pounders (all brass), and 55 men.

Downing.

Downing Street, April 28.

The following dispatch has been received from the right honourable lord Minto, his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Vienna, by lord Grenville.

MY LORD, *Vienna, April 17.*

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your lordship, that the campaign has opened in Italy by an important success on the side of the Austrians. On the 6th inst. general Melas attacked the several posts occupied by the French to the northward and westward of Savona and Vado, and drove them from the positions of Torre de la Buona, Monte Notte, and several others. Some of these posts were strongly entrenched, and one of them defended by 3000 men; but they were carried by the courage and conduct of the Austrian troops, who appear to have acquired much honour on this day. The enemy retired with precipitation on Vado and Savona, leaving their cannon and about 300 prisoners, among whom is a chef de brigade, and several officers of distinction. In the night between the 6th and 7th the troops evacuated Vado, having destroyed the stores, and spiked the cannon, and retired by sea towards Nice. Their number is supposed to have been between 7 and 800. The Austrians took possession of the fort of Vado in the morning, and found 17 pieces of heavy artillery. General Melas immediately invested Savona.

Admiralty-Office, April 29.

A letter from vice-admiral Dickson introduces the following:

His majesty's hired armed lugger, Lark, Yarmouth roads, April 26.

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that I anchored in these roads

this day, with his majesty's armed lugger Lark under my command, with a French cutter privateer, her prize. In pursuance of your order I sailed on the 19th inst. and took my station off the Vlie Passage on the 21st, at half past six A.M. At the entrance of that passage I discovered a French cutter privateer in shore of me, which I chased and came up with; and who, after exchanging a few shot, ran on shore. I am sorry to add, I was not able to get men enough to him, as totally to destroy him: a neutral vessel that came out of the Vlie Passage the 23d instant, informed me she mounted 10 guns, and had 36 men on board; and that he had, after getting off, proceeded to the Texel road by the inner navigation. On the 25th, at two P.M. I chased and came up with a French cutter privateer, who, after engaging me a little while, ran on shore on the Vlie island, where he defended himself pretty well for an hour; when I perceived his men were escaping to the shore, under the cover and protection of troops to the amount of about 100. I immediately hoisted out my small boat, and directed my large one to follow; and, under the fire of the musketry from the troops on shore, boarded her, but not until the crew had escaped. In our endeavours to get the cutter off, we were considerably annoyed by the fire from the troops; but, having detached the large boat farther in shore, I succeeded in dislodging them from the sand-bank, behind which they had taken shelter; and I was fortunate enough to get the privateer off. She is called the Impregnable, mounts 14 guns, 12 of which are three-pounders, and two are nine-pounders. She had on board, during the engagement, about 60 men, as appears by her log;

log; and it also appears she had been particularly successful during her former cruizes. The Lark has suffered in her hull and rigging, but fortunately had no man killed or wounded. The enemy, we have reason to suppose, from the state of the vessel, suffered considerably; and several men were killed on the beach. I cannot speak too highly of Mr. Thomas Gettins, the master, as also the good conduct and bravery of the crew of the Lark.

I am, &c. J. H. WILSON.

30. A very handsome pump has been erected in the front of the Royal Exchange, over the well lately discovered in Cornhill. The case is of iron, and forms a lofty and very handsome obelisk. It is elegantly painted and decorated with emblematic figures, among which is the plan of a house of correction, which was built on the ground adjoining the pump in 1282, by Henry Wallis, esq. then lord mayor of London. On one side, the pump bears this inscription: "This Well was discovered, much enlarged, and this Pump erected in the year 1799, by the contributions of the Bank of England, the East-India Company, the neighbouring Fire-Offices, together with the Bankers and Traders of the Ward of Cornhill." On the reverse, these words appear: "On this spot a Well was first made, and a House of Correction built, by Henry Wallis, Mayor of London, in 1282."

M A Y.

Admiralty-Office, 3.

Copy of a letter from John Thomas Duckworth, esq. rear-admiral of the white, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship Leviathan, at Gibraltar, the 11th ult.

On the 5th instant, in the afternoon, I discovered 12 sail from the mast-head; but, at the close of the day, could ascertain no more than that three or four were men of war; I therefore attempted to anticipate their manœuvres, that I might fall in with them the next morning; and at three o'clock we crossed on one, which the Emerald boarded; from her I learnt, that she had sailed the 3d instant, with 13 sail, under convoy of three frigates. At day-break we could only see a brig, which was so nigh, and the weather inclined to be calm, that I sent the boats of the Leviathan and Emerald, under my second lieutenant Gregory, to capture her; and, after a smart skirmish of 40 minutes, they succeeded; she mounted 14 guns, with 40 men, and bound to Lima. By this time we saw three sail, east, west, and south; in consequence, the Swiftsure being much to leeward, I made her signal to chase south, the Emerald east, and stood westward in the Leviathan, with a very light air; when, at noon, the Emerald made the signal for six sail in the north-east; this induced me to stand directly to the eastward; and, at the close of day, we saw nine sail from the mast-head; it was then nearly calm, and continued so till 11 o'clock P.M. when a fresh breeze sprang up from the S.W. and I steered N. in hopes of crossing them; at midnight we observed three sail; and, as we approached them fast, at two o'clock I plainly saw two of them were frigates, standing to the N.N.W. and close together; I therefore kept on a parallel with them, and proportioned my sail to theirs, that I might commence the attack just before day-break; because I feared the vessels under their convoy (which I judged must be near) would,

ould, on our commencing a fire, separate, and we might lose them : at this time, the Emerald being near, I hailed, and acquainted captain Waller with my intentions. At dawn of day I bore down upon the two frigates, which evidently had taken us for part of their convoy; and, upon hailing one of them, she directly endeavoured to make all possible sail, as did the other close upon her bow; on which I directed a volley of musketry to be fired, concluding they would be like; but this not having the desired effect, I gave a yaw, and dispatched all the guns before the windward at her yards and masts; but it was not successful in bringing any of them down: at this time, captain Waller very judiciously shot at the leeward one; and, in a few minutes, we so disabled their sails and rigging, that, on my being in a position to have fired a broadside into them both, they struck their colours: during this, the Spaniards kept up a straggling fire; and I should not do justice to their captains, were I to omit saying, that, from the moment of their discovering us to be enemies, they used the greatest exertions to get off, and displayed a gallantry, in commencing an action with such a superior force, as might be truly termed temerity; for I evidently could have destroyed them. You will find, by their return of killed and wounded, they sacrificed many lives. It was about half past five when they struck; and I directly made the Emerald's signal to chase the third sail, which appeared to be the other frigate; but, soon after discovering seven more, and it being doubtful whether the Emerald (whose copper is very good) would come up with the frigate, I made her signal to attack the convoy, which captain Waller,

in a very officer-like manner, executed, and before night had possession of four of the largest. As soon as I had secured the frigates, and put them in a state to make sail, which took near two hours, I gave chase to the other frigate; but, after four hours, the wind dying away, and not appearing to gain on her so as to expect success, I hauled towards the Emerald, and in the afternoon took a brig; it then becoming quite calm, and continuing so till after dark, I saw no more of the enemy; and, the next day joining the Emerald, I made for this port with the prizes, and arrived safe with them all the 10th, in the morning; when I found the Incendiary had arrived the previous day, with two of the stragglers that she had fortunately picked up in looking for me. In this transaction, I trust their lordships will believe, that nothing in my power was left undone to secure the whole of a convoy so important to the Spaniards. The two captured frigates, which were bound to Lima with quicksilver, are completely stored for such a voyage, and recently coppered. On board of the Carmen the archbishop of Buenos Ayres was a passenger. I herewith send you a list of the prizes, with their force and destination.

Return of the two Spanish frigates.

Carmen, Don Franquin Porcel, commander (commanding the expedition), of 36 guns, 340 men, and 950 tons, from Cadiz bound to Lima, laden with 1500 quintals of quicksilver, sundries of cards, and four 24 pound guns; stored for foreign service; victualled for four months; newly coppered; weight of metal 12-pounders; passenger on board, El Senor Yllustrissimo Don Pedro Yncencio Benjarano, archbishop of Buenos Ayres.—Florentia,

tia, Don Manuel Norrates, commander, of 36 guns, 314 men, and 950 tons, from Cadiz, bound to Lima, laden with 1500 quintals of quicksilver, sundries of cards, with five 24-pound guns; newly coppered, and copper-fastened; passenger, Don Josef Balcafino, official real.

[Here follows a list, containing the particulars of the 11 merchantmen taken, one of which mounted 14 guns and six swivels, and carried 46 men;—another had four guns, and 35 men; a third had eight guns, and 70 men;—another 14 guns, and 70 men; and one had 32 guns, and 182 men—all of which safely arrived at Gibraltar.]

Copy of a letter transmitted by
lord Keith.

Phoenix, off Cape Spartel, Feb. 12.

MY LORD,

I beg leave to acquaint your lordship, that his majesty's ship under my command (in company with the Incendiary) captured, on the 11th instant, off Cape Spartel, a French privateer brig, named l'Eole, of 10 guns, and 89 men: she had been eight days from Guelon, in Spain, and had not taken any thing.

I am, &c. I. W. HALSTED.

[This gazette also contains a letter, with a return of the captures of upwards of 150 armed and merchant vessels, by the ships under the command of sir Hyde Parker, on the Jamaica station, since October 27.]

4. During divine service this day at Windfor, there was the greatest storm of thunder and lightning, attended with hail and rain, that has been known for many years: the streets were for some time rendered impassable; and the storm did great damage. The hailstones were so large, that the people who were out were glad to take the nearest shelter;

and in the green-houses in his majesty's garden, glass was broke to the value of upwards of 200l.

Downing-street, 6.

The following intelligence, which had been received at Vienna, has been transmitted from lord Minto to lord Grenville, in a letter dated April 20:

Accounts have been received from general Melas, dated the 10th inst.—It had been the general's intention to move forward against Vitoria on the 9th; but, having learned that the enemy, having received reinforcement of 3,000 men, intended to make a vigorous defence in this advantageous position, general Melas halted in consequence, and deferred the attack until the following day: the battle was bloody, a great number of men being killed on both sides; at length, the perseverance of his imperial majesty's troops was successful; several officers, and about 200 men, were made prisoners: among the former were some belonging to the suite of general Massena, who had hastened, in person, to the scene of action, in the hope that his presence would inspire his troops with additional courage. He led them repeatedly to the charge: the enemy, flying in disorder, was pursued as far as Livrea. That part of them which took the road leading along the sea coast, suffered considerably by the fire of the squadron of his Britannic majesty. On another side M. comte de Hohenzollern attacked and carried the Bochetta on the 9th, making 200 prisoners, with 16 pieces of cannon. In the night between the 7th and 8th, general Kai surprised the enemy's posts at Moul Cenis, taking 200 prisoners, and 16 pieces of cannon, and establishing himself in that position.

Vienna

Vienna, April 19.

The following are the official details published by order of the court :

“ According to farther accounts from general Melas, respecting his advancing into the territory of the Genoese coast, the enemy had entrenched their position on la Torre di Cadibona, in the most advantageous manner, occupied by 3000 men. This position general Melas ordered the division of Mitrowsky to attack on the 6th instant; and its conquest would have been difficult, had not a battalion of the regiment Neissky undertaken to storm it; which decided the victory on this side. Five pieces of artillery were taken, a chief of brigade, 20 officers, and 200 privates, made prisoners; and it was only owing to the ground being favourable to the enemy, that they succeeded in reaching their second position on Monte Ajuto, whither they fled, notwithstanding the many steep mountains, pursued with incredible swiftness by our brave troops. General count St. Julien and major-general Lattermann meanwhile ascended and took Monte Ajuto and Monte Negiro; and the whole of the troops of general St. Julien pursued the enemy on three roads towards Vado and Savona. At the position on Monte Negiro, a chief of battalion, 12 officers, and 100 privates, were made prisoners; and one cannon, and several small field pieces, taken. On the 7th, in the morning, field-marshal lieutenant Elsniz ascended Monte St. Giacomo, and occupied Monte Selle Pani with the brigade of general Ulm. The enemy having evacuated the fort of Vado in the preceding night, after spiking their cannon, and having fled to Nice, by sea, Monte Altissimo and the fort of Vado were occupied by our troops on the same day, where

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they found 17 pieces of heavy artillery. General Melas afterwards assailed the citadel of Savona with the imperial troops. On the 8th, the English admiral lord Keith entered the port of Vado, with two ships of the line of 74 guns, four cutters, a brig, and eight ships laden with provisions. General Melas having ascertained that the main force of the enemy was assembled in and near Genoa, he charged field-marshal lieutenant Elsniz with the blockade of the citadel of Savona, and, with the rest of his army, pursued his march along Monte Notte and Monte Negiro, in a manner which enabled him to take a position with his left wing on the lake near Albisola, and along the rivulet of Rezo, and to fix his head-quarters at Madona di Savona. Field-marshal lieutenant Ott reported to general Melas, that, on the 6th, he had gained some advantages over the enemy at Cornua and Reccio, and that he had driven them from a second position on Monte Capuardo. In the different engagements which have hitherto taken place, the loss of our troops has been inconsiderable. Beside other prisoners made in the city of Savona, one of the enemy's hospitals, with 350 men, fell into our hands; and general Melas states, that prisoners are still coming in, all of whom report, that the enemy were unprepared for a formidable attack on that side; which also appears, from the circumstance of several officers being made prisoners on the most unpassable mountains, whither they had been sent by the French generals, to search for a communication with the interior of France, as well as Nice and Genoa.

Admiralty-Office, May 9. A letter from lord Keith, dated Leghorn Roads, April 1, contains an account

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of

of a Spanish brig, of 14 guns and 44 men; with 22 other Spanish, French, and Genoese vessels, captured, besides one destroyed; together with five English, and six vessels of our allies, re-captured.—Another letter from his lordship, dated the 9th, refers to the following letter of captain Cockburne:

Minerva, at sea, March 8.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that his majesty's ship, under my command captured this morning Le Furet French brig privateer, of 14 guns, and 80 men, belonging to Nantz, out 17 days; had only taken the Alert, of North Yarmouth, which we have re-taken.

I am, &c. GEO. COCKBURN.

A third letter, of the same date, refers to a letter from captain R. D. Oliver, of the Mermaid; who, in describing the action fought by the Petterell, says, "It is impossible for me to express, in terms strong enough, the gallant conduct of captain Austen, his officers, and ship's company, on this occasion, in a contest against so superior a force."—"The Mermaid was so far to leeward as to be able to afford but little assistance, until the brig was completely beaten."—The particulars will be found in the following letter:

Petterell, at sea, March 22.

SIR,

I have to inform you, that the vessels with which you saw me engaged yesterday, near Cape Couronne, were, a ship, brig, and xebecque, belonging to the French republic; two of which, the ship and xebecque, I drove on shore; and, after a running action of about an hour and a half, during which we were not more than a cable's length from the shore, and fre-

quently not half that distance, the third struck her colours. On taking possession found her to be La Ligurienne French brig of war, mounting 14 six-pounders and two 36-pounder howitzers, all brass, commanded by citizen Francis Auguste Pelabon, lieutenant de vaisseau, and had on board, at the commencement of the action, 104 men. Though, from the spirited conduct and alacrity of lieutenant Packer, Mr. Thompson the master, and Mr. Hill the purser (who very handsomely volunteered his services on the main-deck), joined to the gallantry and determined courage of the rest of the officers, seamen, and marines of his majesty's sloop under my command, I was happily enabled to bring the contest to a favourable issue; yet I could not but feel the want, and regret the absence, of my first lieutenant, Mr. Glover, the gunner, and 30 men, who were, at the time, away in prizes. I have a lively pleasure in adding, that this service has been performed without a man hurt on our part, and with no other damage to the ship than four of our carronades dismounted and a few shots through the sails. La Ligurienne is a very fine vessel of the kind, well equipped with stores of all sorts, in excellent repair, and not two years old; is built on a peculiar plan, being fastened throughout with screw bolts, so as to be taken to pieces, and set up again with ease; and is said to have been intended to follow Bonaparte to Egypt. I learn from the prisoners, that the ship is called Le Cer mounting 14 six-pounders, and the xebecque, Le Joliet, mounting six six-pounders; that they had sailed in company with a convoy (two of which I captured in the forenoon) that morning from Cette for Marseilles.

feilles. I inclose a list of the killed and wounded, as far as I have been able to ascertain it.

I am, &c. F. W. AUSTEN.

Return of killed and wounded.

Petterell: none killed or wounded.

—La Ligurienne: the captain, and one seaman, killed; one garde marine, and one seaman, wounded.

A letter from admiral Dickson, from the North Sea, dated May 7, refers to the following letter:

Hired lugger Lady Ann, Yarmouth Roads, May 6.

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that, in pursuance of orders I received from A. Dickson, esq. captain of his majesty's ship Veteran, I proceeded off Flushing, and explored that anchorage in the lugger under my command; and having done so, and seeing nothing in the road, on returning to join the squadron yesterday off Goree, I fell in with Les Huit Freres French lugger privateer, mounting 14 long carriage guns (nine of which he hove overboard); when, after a close action of one hour and 35 minutes, she struck, close to the batteries along shore, West Capel S. S. W. two miles. I attribute the long continuance of the action to the unfitness of the guns of the lugger; however, during that period, I was very ably seconded by the professional skill of Mr. David Banks, master, and by the bravery of the crew of the Lady Ann. It gave me very great pleasure in making this capture; and particularly as it was the means of liberating from captivity 15 subjects of his majesty, who had been captured by that vessel. Upon taking possession of Les Huit Freres, I found her so much shattered, that I was obliged to see her into port, and to get rid of so many

prisoners, as well as to repair our own damages. J. WRIGHT.

Copy of a letter from captain Wolley, of his majesty's ship Arethusa, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated at sea, April 30.

SIR,

I have to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that on the 1st of this month, having been driven from off the bar of Oporto by bad weather, we fell in with and captured the French cutter privateer the general Bernadotte, of 14 guns, and 57 men, belonging to Bourdeaux, but from Vigo.

T. WOLLEY.

Admiralty-Office, May 10.

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral lord Keith, commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, dated on board the Minotaur, off Genoa, April 18.

I have the satisfaction of acquainting you, for the information of their lordships, that the Guillaume Tell, having attempted to escape from Malta on the evening of the 29th ult. was intercepted and captured the following morning by his majesty's ships Lion, Foudroyant, and Penelope; but, as I have not yet received captain Dixon's account of the particulars of the action, or of the loss which has been sustained, I must take another opportunity of communicating them. I understand, however, that the enemy was completely dismasted before she struck, and that the Lion and Foudroyant have had killed and wounded about 40 men each.

Admiralty-Office, May 10. Letters received this morning from lord Keith, dated April 21, mention several important advantages gained by the Austrians in the vicinity of Genoa, under the walls of which place

place the French have been obliged to concentrate their force. In many attacks the fire of the English ships was employed with considerable effect. The messenger reports that he saw an English ship towing a captured Dutch ship of the line (with a frigate or sloop) into Yarmouth roads.

Downing Street, May 10.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been received this morning from the honourable William Windham, his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Florence, by lord Grenville.

Florence, April 19.

The latest news arrived this morning from the vicinity of Genoa states, that Massena, having been beat a second time at Voltri, on the 18th instant was obliged to take refuge, with the remains of his army, within the walls of Genoa; and that all the strong posts and forts without the city were in the hands of the combined powers, under the command of general Melas and admiral lord Keith.

15. The grenadier battalion of the guards had a grand field day in Hyde Park, in the presence of his majesty, the earls of Chatham and Chesterfield, lord Cathcart, general Gwynn, and colonel Calvert. The battalion went through their different manœuvres in a manner which did them credit, and merited the praise of his majesty. Soon after the commencement of their evolutions, the battalion were firing from centre to flank, colonel Wynyard giving the word of command, when a gentleman of the name of Ongley, of the allotment department in the navy office, a spectator, received a musket ball through the upper part of his left thigh, and fell. His ma-

jesty, who was only 23 feet distance from him, immediately rode up, and ordered every assistance to be given him, likewise requesting lord Cathcart to procure his address. He was then conveyed in a coach to his residence in George's Row, Chelsea, where surgeon Nixon dressed his wound, and gave the most favourable hopes of his speedy recovery. The accident, we are assured, proceeded entirely from neglect in the soldier, who had unintentionally left a ball cartridge in his cartouch; and his majesty, as well as the several officers present, seemed perfectly satisfied that it was in no respect the effect of design. The king remained on the ground till the conclusion of the review, and was shortly after waited upon by colonel Wynyard, with a favourable account of the state of Mr. Ongley's wound. The following bulletin on this subject was issued in the course of the afternoon:

" Horse Guards, May 15.

" This morning, during the field day of the grenadier battalion of the foot guards in Hyde Park, a shot was accidentally discharged from the ranks, which unfortunately wounded a gentleman of the name of Ongley, who was amongst the spectators. The shot perforated Mr. Ongley's thigh, but did not injure the bone or arteries. His majesty directed the military surgeon present to examine and dress Mr. Ongley's wound, and was much gratified by the favourable report made by Mr. Nixon, the surgeon of the grenadiers. His majesty, on coming from the field, sent his commands to Mr. Keate, the surgeon-general, and Mr. Rush, the inspector of hospitals, to wait on Mr. Ongley, and to offer their assistance during the progress of his cure."—And on the next day the following article was sent

sent round to the conductors of newspapers :

May 16.

“ We have authority to state, that the misfortune which happened yesterday morning, at the field-day of the grenadier battalion of guards, in Hyde Park, arose entirely from accident. A due regard to the anxiety that every individual of the battalion feels that this matter should be properly understood, is our inducement for giving this statement to the public.”

The coincidence of this event with the atrocious attempt at night in the theatre tended to strengthen an opinion, previously entertained by some, that it was not entirely the effect of accident, but arose from a design against his majesty's sacred person. There is not the least reason, however, to suppose that this was the case. The king was within 20 yards of the battalion, and about eight yards, upon a parallel line, from the gentleman who was wounded. His majesty was on horseback ; and the musquet that fired the ball must not only have been pointed low, but could not have been directed against his person, otherwise it could not have missed him by so many yards, and hit a gentleman not standing behind, but in the same line with him.

Every loyal heart must be filled with grief and indignation on hearing of the danger to which his majesty's sacred life was afterwards exposed, and from which he so providentially escaped. The king and queen, and the princesses Augusta, Elizabeth, Mary, and Amelia, with their usual attendants, honoured the theatre with their presence, to see the comedy of “ She wou'd and she wou'd not,” and the farce of the Humourist.” Just as his majesty entered his box, and while he was

bowing to the audience with his usual condescension, a person who sat in the second row from the orchestra, but towards the middle of the pit, stood up, and, levelling a horse pistol towards the king's box, fired it. It was so instantaneous as to prevent all the persons near him from seeing his design in time to defeat it, though, providentially, a gentleman who sat next him, Mr. Holroyd, of Scotland Yard, had the good fortune to raise the arm of the assassin, so as to direct the contents of the pistol towards the roof of the box. The audience remained for a few seconds in a mute agony of suspense. The queen was about making her entry ; and the curtain rising, as generally arranged on such occasions. His majesty, with the greatest presence of mind and tenderness, waved his hand as a signal to dissuade his royal consort from her immediate appearance ; and, instantly standing erect, raised his right hand to his breast, and continued for some time in a bowing attitude to the spectators, to remove their perturbation of mind for his safety. Her majesty now entered, and appeared to be much agitated, clasping her hands with great emotion. On the entry of the princesses, the confusion attendant upon the outrage had not subsided ; and, on being informed of the cause, Augusta fainted away, but was soon recovered by the tender attentions of her sister Elizabeth, and the ladies in waiting. By this time, however, the princess Mary became no less affected at the alarming communication, and the same means to effect her recovery were, with equal success, had recourse to. After the first moment of stupor, the persons around him, and some musicians from the orchestra, seized the man, and hurried him over the pallisades

into the music room. Mr. Wright, a solicitor in Wellclose-square, who sat immediately behind him, was the first to secure him. He dropped the pistol, but Mr. Wright found it under the seat. The affecting scene being at length terminated, by the entire composition of the royal females, "God save the King" was twice sung, amidst the most enthusiastic shouts of true loyalty and affection. The play then commenced. Mr. Bannister first came on, and attempted to proceed; but was interrupted by the audience, who eagerly inquired whether the assassin was in safe custody: at the same time insisting that he should be brought upon the stage. Mr. Bannister answered, that the villain certainly was in custody; Mrs. Jordan soon after came forward also, and assured the house of the same fact. The audience now became perfectly satisfied, and the performances were suffered to go on without any further interruption. At the end of the farce, "God save the King" was again demanded; and received with enthusiastic applause.

The royal party then left the theatre, amidst the prayers and plaudits of the crowded circle, who, while they thus manifested their sincere regard for a most virtuous and gracious sovereign, sufficiently marked their indignation at the conduct of the treasonable assassin. When the king's carriage, on the way home, came to the corner of Southampton-street, a person, by trade a shoemaker, who, it seems, had placed himself there for that purpose, hooted and hissed his majesty in the most impudent and audacious manner, and continued following his carriage for some time, displaying every mark of contempt and disrespect, till at length he was taken into custody. When the

royal family reached the queen's house, supper was immediately brought up, but none of the royal family sat down. Her majesty drank a glass of wine and water, and then retired. The princess Amelia, who has been ill near two years, fainted on entering her chamber, and the fits continued so long that her restoration to life appeared doubtful. His majesty, who was dining the whole evening perfectly cool and collected, on hearing the situation of Amelia, went to her royal highness's chamber, and attended her until recollection returned, when she threw herself into the king's arms, and said, "She would be comforted." His majesty, leaving the chamber of Amelia, went to Elizabeth, Mary, and Augusta, whose situation was nearly the same as the princess Amelia's, but a great flow of tears brought them relief, in which state they passed the night. During this scene of confusion, the princess Sophia (who has been for some time indisposed) repeatedly called to her attendant to know the cause of it. She said, that the princess Amelia had returned from the theatre. His majesty, on passing, said, "Sophia, good night," and retired to rest: it was then one o'clock. We now proceed to state, as accurately as possible, what followed the apprehending of the traitor. The duke and duchess of York were in their box at the time; and his royal highness, who was an eye witness of the transaction, immediately left it, and attended the examination of the offender in the room into which he had been conducted, and where he had been searched to see if he had any other fire-arms or papers. He had none. Mr. Tamplin, trumpeter, in the band, who assisted in taking him over the orchestra, recognised

recognized the man to be a soldier, and, pulling open his coat, found that he had on a military waistcoat, with the button of the 15th light dragoons. It was an old officer's waistcoat. On being questioned by Mr. Sheridan, he said, "he had no objection to tell who he was—it was not over yet—there was a great deal more and worse to be done. His name was James Hadfield: he had served his time to a working silversmith, but had enlisted into the 15th light dragoons, and had fought for his king and country." At this time the prince of Wales and duke of York entered the room. He immediately turned to the duke, and said, "I know your royal highness—God bless you! I have served with your highness, and (pointing to a deep cut over his eye, and another long scar on his cheek, said) I got these, and more than these, in fighting by your side. At Lincelles I was left three hours among the dead in a ditch, and was taken prisoner by the French. I had my arm broken by a shot, and eight sabré wounds in my head; but I recovered, and here I am." He then gave the following account of himself, and of his conduct; and he said, that, having been discharged from the army on account of his wounds, he had returned to London, and now lived by working at his own trade. He made a good deal of money: he worked for Mr. Hougham of Aldersgate-street. Being weary of life, he last week bought a pair of pistols of one William Wakelin, a hair-dresser and broker in St. John-street. [Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Wigstead immediately sent persons to bring Wakelin to the theatre.] He told him, they were for his young master, who would give him a blunderbuss in exchange. That he had borrowed

a crown from his master that morning, with which he had bought some powder, and had gone to the house of Mrs. Mason, in Red Lion-street, to have some beer; that he went backwards to the yard, and there he tried his pistols. He found one of them good for nothing, and left it behind him. In his own trade he used lead, and he cast himself two flugs, with which he loaded his pistol, and came to the theatre. At this part of his narrative, Sir William Addington arrived; and, taking the chair, went over the examination of the persons, who had secured him, and who had seen the pistol levelled at his majesty. Sir William said, it was most material to ascertain the fact, whether the pistol was levelled at the sacred person of his majesty, or fired at random; as the one case would be high treason, the other not. He asked Hadfield, what had induced him to attempt the life of the best of sovereigns? He answered, that "he had not attempted to kill the king. He had fired his pistol over the royal box. He was as good a shot as any in England; but he was himself weary of life; he wished for death, but not to die by his own hands. He was desirous to raise an alarm; but wished that the spectators might fall upon him. He hoped that his life was forfeited." He was asked if he belonged to the corresponding society. He said, "No; he belonged to no political society; but that he belonged to a club called the *Odd Fellows*, and that he was a member of a benefit society." And being asked if he had any accomplices, he solemnly declared that he had none; and with great energy took God to witness, and laid his hand on his heart. From this time he began to show manifest signs of mental derangement. When asked

who his father was, he said, "he had been postillion to some duke," but could not say what duke. He talked in a mysterious way of dreams, and of a great commission he had received in his sleep; that he knew he was to be a martyr, and was to be persecuted like his great master Jesus Christ. He had been persecuted in France; but he had not yet been sufficiently tried. He said many other incoherent things in the same style. William Wakelin, the person of whom he had bought the pistols, being brought to the house, was examined. He said, it was true that he had bought a pair of pistols of him, and that he had said they were for his young master, who would give him a blunderbuss for them; but he had not yet got the blunderbuss. He knew very little of Hadfield, but knew where he worked, and had heard a good character of him, but that the least drink affected his head. Several persons from the house of Mrs. Mason, his acquaintance, confirmed this fact; and they said they ascribed this to the very severe wounds he had received in the head. The least drink quite deranged him. On this evidence he was committed to Cold-bath-fields for re-examination; and the dukes of Clarence and Cumberland, and Mr. Sheridan, conducted him thither. His majesty's privy council, however, desiring to examine him forthwith, to discover if he had any accomplices, he was taken to the duke of Portland's office, where he underwent another examination. Mr. Wright, Mr. Holroyd, Mr. Tamplin, Mr. Callin, Mr. Parkinson, Mr. Francis Wood, Mr. Lion, and Mr. Dietz, the persons who were instrumental in securing him, and whose evidence is the most material, as to his directing the pistol toward his ma-

jefty's box, if not towards his sacred person, also attended. After this the duke of Clarence, duke of Cumberland, Mr. Sheridan, and a number of officers, went back to the theatre; and, after their majesties had withdrawn, the most strict search was made for the slugs. A mark was discovered in the top of the canopy over the royal box; and, in the orchestra below, a flattened and irregular piece of lead was found, supposed to have recoiled from the place where it struck. It was providential, that, at this theatre, the royal box is elevated more than 15 feet above the pit: so that from the place where Hadfield levelled his pistol, he was between 30 and 40 feet distant from his majesty's person. The prince of Wales, who was at dinner at lord Melbourne's, was almost immediately informed of the circumstance by Mr. Jefferys, M. P. for Coventry; who, thinking a variety of erroneous reports might reach his royal highness, instantly left the theatre, where he had been an eye-witness of the circumstance, to inform the prince of it, and of the king's safety. His royal highness immediately went to the theatre, to attend his majesty.

15. The lord mayor of London is for the future to be allowed an addition of 1500l. per annum, as requisite to support the dignity of his office.

16. The prince of Wales, dukes of York, Clarence, Cumberland, Gloucester, and prince William, breakfasted this morning with their majesties and the princesses, at Buckingham-house. The princesses were much better in the morning, but had suffered much from depression of spirits. The king came to St. James's palace at one o'clock, guarded by a party of the life guards, where his majesty held a levee, which was most

most numerously attended. Present: his highness the prince of Orange, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, bishops of London, Norwich, Carlisle, Rochester, Gloucester, and Kildare. The Imperial, Sardinian, Bavarian, and Wirtemberg envoys. The lord mayor, alderman Watton, the attorney and solicitor general, the master of the rolls, Mr. Common Serjeant, the recorder of London, dukes of Portland, Montrose, Beaufort, and Roxburgh, marquisses Downshire, Bath, Townshend, and Titchfield; and nearly the whole of the members of both houses of parliament and other noblemen, who came on purpose to congratulate his majesty on his miraculous escape.

A loyal and affectionate address of the lords and commons united in parliament was agreed to *nemine dissentiente*; and in the city of London, a common council having been summoned to meet for general business, a very loyal address of congratulation was, in like manner, unanimously voted.

Admiralty-Office, May 17.

Extract of a letter from captain Durham, of his majesty's ship Anson, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated at sea, April 30.

I beg you will be pleased to inform the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that on the 27th inst. I captured the brig le Vainqueur letter of marque, pierced for 16 guns, mounting only four, from Bourdeaux, bound to St. Domingo, with a mixed cargo of merchandise. I have the farther satisfaction to inform their lordships, that yesterday at day light, I had the good fortune to fall in with the following privateers: le Brave, of 36 guns; le Guepe, of 18 guns; le Hardi, of 18 guns; and le Duide, of 16 guns.

As soon as they discovered me to be an English man-of-war, they dispersed in different directions: I gave chase to the Brave, being the largest; and, in crossing upon opposite tacks, I gave her a broadside, which, I have reason to believe, did her considerable damage in her hull: finding she very much outailed us by the wind, which she still continued to keep, there being no chance of coming up with her, I bore up, and gave chase to one of those to leeward, which I captured: she proved to be le Hardi, of 18 guns, and 194 men; a very fine new ship, just off the stocks. I have also sent in, for adjudication, a very valuable ship from Batavia, bound to Hamburgh, with the governor of Batavia on board.

Downing-street, May 19.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been this day received from William Wickham, esq. his majesty's minister plenipotentiary, and commissary at the imperial, royal, and allied armies, by lord Grenville.

Riedlingen, on the Danube, Tuesday, May 6.

MY LORD,

The army marched from Donaueschingen the 2d instant, and arrived at Engen in the course of the afternoon, before the enemy had reached that place. Notwithstanding the great importance which was attached to the gaining the position of Stockach, yet it was not thought possible to proceed so far that day without exposing to imminent danger the several corps of the archduke Ferdinand (which covered the march on the side of Zollhus), and those of the generals Ginlay and Kienmayer, which had received orders to retire from Fribourg and Offenburg, and join the main army. On the same day the

the enemy withdrew the army which had till then occupied the N. E. part of Switzerland, and was opposed to the Austrians on the side of the Grisons and the Voralberg, and brought the whole of it towards Constance and Schaffhausen in the course of the following night, leaving the eastern frontier of Switzerland entirely open. On the 3d, in the morning, this force, united to that which had passed the Rhine at Schaffhausen on the 1st instant, attacked and carried the Austrian position at Stockach, occupied by prince Joseph of Lorraine, with a force under his command quite inadequate to meet that which the enemy had brought against him. On this occasion the Austrians sustained a very considerable loss both in men, cannon, and stores; though fortunately a part of the magazines which had been formed at Stockach had been carried away in the course of the two preceding days. The prince having been obliged to fall back on Pfullendorf and Moskirch, the left flank of general Kray's army was uncovered. In this situation of things, and before the archduke had effected his junction, general Kray was attacked at Engen, about two o'clock in the afternoon, by the main French army, commanded by general Moreau in person. This army had been reinforced by a detachment from the camp at Dijon, and consisted of five entire divisions. A separate force fell, at the same time, upon the archduke, and obliged him to fall back on Dutlingen. The French attacked every where with the utmost impetuosity, bringing up fresh columns in succession, and sacrificing immense numbers of men on every part of the Austrian line where they had hoped to penetrate. They

were, however, unable to make any impression on any one point, and at nine in the evening they gave up the attempt; at which time the Austrians remained masters of the whole position which they had occupied in the morning, and the archduke had joined the main army, after having defeated the corps opposed to him, and taken several prisoners, and three pieces of cannon. His royal highness, to whose personal exertions this success was chiefly owing, has on this occasion merited and gained the esteem and admiration of the whole army. At this moment, the spirit and confidence of the army was such, that general Kray would, in his turn, have attacked the enemy, but for the loss of Stockach, which rendered his retreat absolutely necessary. He remained, however, on the field of battle all night, and only began his march at day-break. The army arrived at Lipzingen at nine in the morning of the 4th, where it halted till three in the afternoon, and then marched forward to Moskirch, where a junction was effected with prince Joseph of Lorraine, at nine in the evening. The archduke covered the march; in the course of which his royal highness was joined by general Ginlay with the corps from Fribourg, and by the first division of the Bavarian subsidiary army from Baylingen. The whole of this march was made, and the junction with general Ginlay, prince Joseph of Lorraine, and the Bavarians, effected without any material interruption from the enemy. In the afternoon of yesterday, the different corps of the enemy being concentrated in one great army, whilst general Kray had still between 30 and 40,000 men detached on different points, general Moreau attacked

tacked the Austrian position at Moskirch with his whole force; but, owing to the steady bravery of the Austrian troops, and particularly to the decided superiority of their artillery, he was unable to make any material impression; and at sun-set each army retired to its respective quarters. The loss was very considerable on both sides; but there is every reason to believe, that the enemy has suffered much more considerably than the Austrians. This opinion, which is confirmed by the unanimous report of the prisoners made at the close of the day, is founded, not only on the circumstance of his not renewing the attack in the night of this morning, notwithstanding his very great superiority of numbers, but on the nature of the action itself, which consisted in a succession of impetuous, but unsuccessful, attacks made by the French infantry under the fire of the Austrian artillery, and exposed to frequent charges of the cavalry. Unless general Kray should be again attacked in the course of to-day, he will, probably, take a position this afternoon, or to-morrow, behind the Danube, his left at this place, and his right at Sigmaringen. Your lordship will probably have been much alarmed at the first reports of this affair that will have reached England through France; nor, indeed, can it be supposed that the expectation of the enemy should not have been extreme during the whole of the day of the 3d, or that the French officers should not have holden out to their government the flattering hopes of ultimate and complete success; but the steady valour of the Austrian troops, the order that reigns through every department of the army, and the skill and unshaken courage and

coolness of the generals, have, I trust, under the blessing of God, frustrated the great designs of the enemy.—I am, &c.

W. WICKHAM.

MY LORD, *Ulm, May 8.*

On the 6th instant the Austrians took a position behind the Danube, without any material opposition from the enemy, whose loss, in the battle of the 5th, appears to have been greater than was at first supposed. On the same day the junction was effected with lieutenant-general Kienmayer. The second division of the Bavarians passed through this place yesterday, and marched about a league farther, where they will halt to-day, and their junction with general Kray will be effected either to-morrow, or the day after, according to the necessity that may exist for hastening their march. The first division, consisting of 6000 men, had joined the main army in time to render very essential services, and was closely engaged with the enemy in the battle of the 5th. The Swiss regiment of Roverea, in his majesty's service, under the command of colonel de Watteville, has formed a part of the archduke's corps from the beginning, and has been particularly distinguished by its bravery and good conduct: I am sorry to add, that it has suffered in proportion, and that a number of excellent officers have either been killed or severely wounded. Few prisoners have been made on either side; but the Austrians were obliged to leave some of their wounded at Engen, for want of carriages to carry them away. No one corps of the Austrians has been broken or dispersed by the enemy, nor have they lost a single piece of cannon, in the different actions between

tween the main armies, though several fell into the hands of the enemy at Stockach. The archduke Ferdinand, as I have mentioned in another dispatch, took three pieces from the enemy at the time when his royal highness formed his junction with the commander-in-chief near Engen.

W. WICKHAM.

[This gazette also contains a letter from captain sir Thomas Williams, of his majesty's ship *Endymion*, giving an account of his having captured two Spanish lugger privateers, a French ship letter of marque, and a French ship privateer.—He likewise mentions his having fallen in with a Portuguese Brazil ship, which had been abandoned; and which was towed into Gibraltar by his majesty's ship *Champion*.]

Admiralty-Office, May 23.

[This gazette contains an account of the capture of the French brig corvette *Dragon*, of 10 guns, pierced for 14, and 72 men, by his majesty's ship *Cambrian*, captain Legge, in company with the *Fif-gard*.]

Downing-street, May 27.

The following dispatches have been this day received from William Wickham, esq. his majesty's minister plenipotentiary and commissary at the imperial, royal, and allied armies, and from lieutenant-colonel Clinton, by the right honourable lord Grenville.

*Head-quarters, Memmingen,
My Lord, May 10.*

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that the army marched, in the course of the night of the 6th, to Langen Ensfingen. The enemy sent only a detachment, to observe the movement of the Austrians on the left of the Danube,

and marched, with the main body of his army, in a direction which gave general Kray an apprehension for his communication with lieutenant-general Prince Reufs in the Voralberg; to preserve which, he hastened by a forced march, recrossing the Danube at Riedlingen to Biberach; which place he reached in the afternoon of the 8th. The army took a position behind the Riss. The enemy, however, still had the advance, and already occupied Waldsee. On the 9th, the Austrian advanced posts in front of the Riss were vigorously attacked, and driven in. General Kray, wishing to avoid engaging in a general affair, fell back at night to Ochsenhausen. Every report of the enemy stated, that he was still marching by his right. This morning the army crossed the Iller in two columns at Illerdissen; and near this place the troops had scarcely reached their ground, when the enemy began a fresh attack on the left; at the same time a report was received, that a strong column was on its march to Kempton. Every thing announced, on the part of the enemy, the intention of an attack. General Kray, therefore, had determined to proceed to Ulm, where he will be joined by the corps of general Starrai, consisting of ten battalions, and a large proportion of cavalry, besides the second division of the Bavarians. The affair of this day, in which the Bavarians distinguished themselves much to the satisfaction of general Kray, terminated in one of advanced posts.

H. CLINTON.

Donauwerth,

My Lord, May 13.

I have much satisfaction in transmitting to your lordship the inclosed extract from the general orders issued

issued by the commander-in-chief of the imperial army on the 11th instant, bearing the most honourable testimony to the conduct of the first division of the Bavarian troops in the service of his majesty, commanded by colonel baron de Wreede, acting as brigadier-general. Too much cannot be said in praise of the exertions that have been made on this occasion by their serene highnesses the elector of Bavaria, and the duke of Wirtemberg, to put the subsidiary troops in a situation to take the field, to hasten their march towards the Austrian army, and, in every respect, to fulfil and make good the engagements they had severally contracted with his majesty.

W. WICKHAM.

Extract from the general orders of the imperial and royal army in Germany.

The Bavarian troops distinguished themselves so much by their bravery and their steadiness in the action of yesterday, that I feel myself bound to give this public assurance to their commander, colonel baron de Wreede, as well as to the officers and the whole corps, not only that I am entirely satisfied with their conduct, but that I owe them my very best thanks, which I beg them to accept.

Donauwörth,
May 13.

MY LORD,
I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that general Kray, having been attacked on the 11th instant, on his march from Memmingen to Ulm, had repulsed the enemy, and driven him beyond Memmingen; where, in consequence of this success, he left a considerable corps under general Perfelde, who is charged to keep open the communication with prince Reuss in the Voralberg.

The main army retired to Ulm, where it has effected its junction with the second division of the Bavarian subsidiary army, and with general Starry. I am, &c.

W. WICKHAM.

Admiralty-Office, May 27.

Extract of a letter from vice-admiral lord Hugh Seymour, commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at the Leeward Islands, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated Fort-royal Bay, Martinique, April 10.

I am happy to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that, since I closed my letter of March 28, five of the enemy's small privateers have been taken. The *Penfée*, of four guns, and 65 men, and the *Sapajon*, of six guns, and 48 men, by the *Sans Pareil*; the *Renard*, of three guns, and 15 men, and *Consolateur*, of one gun, and 36 men, by the *Surinam*; and the *Perseverance*, of 16 guns, and 87 men, by the *Unité*; the last of which threw her guns overboard during the chase.

Admiralty-Office, May 31.

Extracts of letters from vice-admiral lord Keith, commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board the *Minotaur*, off Genoa, the 3d and 9th of May.

On the 29th ult. general d'Ott communicated to me his intention of making a general attack on all sides of Genoa, and requested co-operation, and that we might settle the plan. At three A. M. on the 30th, the attack began on the part of general d'Ott, by signal from St. Pierre d'Arena, on Quarto, St. Martino, and St. Christino, by general Gottesheim, who pressed the enemy up to the walls near the shore, under cover of the fire of the *Phoenix*, *Mon-*
dovi,

dovi, Entreprenante, Victoire tender, launches and boats of the squadron. The affair continued until night, when the Austrians retired, being unable to dislodge the enemy from the little fort of St. Martino, situated on a hill two miles from the sea. General d'Ott was most successful in seizing Dui Fratelli by escalade, and blocking up Diamonti: on the side of St. Martino the French durst not follow the Austrians, in consequence of the well directed fire of the squadron. It rained the whole day. Shells from the town fell amongst the ships. The French, however, on the same evening, attacked and re-possest themselves of all their former posts. It is reported they lost many men, as far as 1500. On the 2d the enemy made a desperate sortie on lieutenant-general d'Ott's centre, at Sestri. They kept advancing in column to the muzzles of the cannon repeatedly for an hour, and did not retire till they lost 1200 men, of whom 20 officers and 280 privates are prisoners. On the 4th I received a letter from the general, informing me that the French had retired to St. Espirito, and had sustained a considerable loss on the 2d at Louano. He says, that he was much indebted to the fire of the Phaëton, and to the good management of captain Morris. On the 7th, two mortar-boats and two gun-boats arrived from Naples. The same day I heard from general Melas, that the French had burnt their magazines at Alassino, and had retired to Port Maurice; and that captain Morris had seized 20 corn-vessels, and a depôt of arms; and galled the enemy's rear through several miles of their retreat. Two of Massena's staff were taken in a small boat near Albangna, in attempting to escape from Genoa.

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral lord Keith to Evan Nepean, dated Minotaur, off Genoa, May 10.

SIR,

I have the honour of inclosing copy of a letter received by me at a late hour last night, from his excellency general Melas, which convey to their lordships the most satisfactory accounts of the progress of the Austrian arms, and the retreat of the enemy's army from the Genoese territory.

KEITH

Head-quarters Oneglia

MY LORD, May 8.

We have been very successful yesterday. The right wing of our army, commanded by general Kunitz, who was on Monte Carlo, attacked the enemy at Muchio di Pietre, and succeeded so well, that at nine in the morning victory was declared in his favour. The general of division Gravier, with a great number of officers, and 100 non-commissioned officers and privates, were made prisoners. The right of the enemy, informed of the defeat of its left, did not desert, retreating from Capo di Berta. We have pursued him beyond Port Maurice. Fifteen pieces of cannon, of different sizes, have been taken from him along the coast. Our loss has not been considerable; but I regret the loss of major-general Brentano, mortally wounded, and major Casate killed. The corps of general Elser is now at St. Bartholomeo; and general Gourrout marches with his flying corps to Colla Ardente, and his van-guard is already at Broglio behind the Col de Tende. I wait for the reports of the patrols, and am in pursuit of the enemy, to make my final dispositions.—I am, &c.

MELAS

Down

Downing-street, May 31.

The following dispatches were this morning received from Thomas Jackson, esq. his majesty's minister plenipotentiary at Turin, by the right honourable lord Grenville.

Turin, May 10.

MY LORD,

I have the greatest satisfaction in informing your lordship, that the intelligence which has arrived here of the farther operations of the Austrians in the Rivière is highly favourable and important. Two days ago advice was received of a successful attack of the Col de Tende on the 6th; which important post was carried by the bayonet, and the enemy was driven beyond Saorgio and Broglia, with the loss of four pieces of cannon. This affair was only a part of the plan of general attack, and was connected with the operations of the rest of the army, in all the intermediate positions down to the sea-shore: the result of these attacks is, that the enemy, being forced and driven from the positions of St. Esprit, and in every quarter, was retreating towards Nice. In the official relation of these affairs, which has been published here, it is said, that the British vessels, which pursued the enemy on the coast, contributed greatly to accelerate their flight. Yesterday morning official intelligence arrived here from the head-quarters at Oneglia, the 7th, of the enemy having been again attacked that morning, and completely defeated with the loss of 1500 prisoners, 40 officers, and the general of division Gravier, and 15 pieces of cannon. The Austrian general Brentano is said to be mortally wounded. In consequence of this affair the whole principality of Oneglia was evacu-

ated; and the French are represented as retreating in the greatest disorder towards St. Remo. In these official relations much praise is bestowed on the Piedmontese officers and troops, who have much distinguished themselves. The French have another position at Vintimille, on the Roia, but which it is not supposed they can maintain; and it is not doubted that they will be driven beyond the Var in a few days. We have nothing new from Genoa or Savona; these places still hold out.

THO. JACKSON.

Turin, May 12.

MY LORD,

It is with infinite satisfaction that I can inform your lordship of the entire evacuation of the Rivière of Genoa and the county of Nice, by the French troops under Suchet, the remains of which have passed the Var; and Nice, with its two castles, was yesterday occupied by the Imperial troops under the orders of general Knezevich. General Kaim, the commander-in-chief here, has this moment sent intelligence to the government of this joyful event.

(Signed) T. JACKSON.

31. With most sincere regret we record the melancholy fate of the Queen Charlotte, of 100 guns, lord Keith's flag ship, in the Mediterranean. His lordship, we understand, had thought it expedient to attack the island Cabrera, of which the French are still possessed, about 20 or 30 miles from Leghorn. The attack was to have been made by the British navy, assisted by the Austrian troops; and, while his lordship was making the necessary arrangements with the Austrian commander on shore at Leghorn, he sent, on the night of the 16th, the Queen Charlotte, having 837 persons

persons on-board, to re-connoitre the island.—On the morning of March 17, he had the mortification of discovering the *Queen Charlotte* on fire, four or five leagues at sea. This sight rendered lord Keith almost frantic; he immediately gave orders for all the vessels and boats to put off, and every assistance to be given; and in this service he was zealously seconded by the Austrian general, and all ranks in Leghorn. An American vessel, several tartans, and some ships of the line, immediately bent their sails. The fire, however, notwithstanding all the efforts of the crew, continued to increase. Between eight and nine o'clock, the masts and rigging caught fire, and made a most awful blaze: the crew, however, cut the masts by the board; and they going over the ship, no longer threatened mischief: but the fire had taken strong hold of the body of the vessel, and continued to rage. The guns now began to go off, and the people in the boats, and other vessels, who had gone from Leghorn, were so much alarmed for fear of the shot, that they would not approach the ship. Here we must mention, that a part of the *Queen Charlotte's* own crew behaved with the most generous bravery. Despising all danger, they approached the ship, and saved many of their gallant countrymen. The ship, at 11 o'clock, blew up with a tremendous explosion, sunk, and, in a moment, left not a wreck behind. The reports are various respecting the origin of the fire; but the most credible account is, that it was occasioned by some hay which had been put on board, and lodged on the booms. It was necessary to remove this hay, to make room for the launch; and some of it falling upon the match-

tub, caught fire, and blazed up with astonishing rapidity. It suddenly caught the sails and rigging, and spread the flames so quickly, on all sides, that they could not be overcome by any exertions. Immediately after the accident, the wind freshened, and prevented the other ships from returning into port. At length, about 11 at night of the same day, a tartan came in with 30 English seamen, together with the admiral's lieutenant Mr. Stuart. Shortly five other tartans came in, among which was an Austrian one, the *General Ott*. She had saved 85 sailors, two soldiers, two quarter-masters, and two mates; they were quartered at Della Scalla Sancta. Yesterday, the xebec the *Prince de Conti* came to an anchor: she had on board 23 English, of whom three were dead. The *Triton* also came in, in her company, with 26 English seamen, and one officer. On the 28th, at noon, a large sloop, which belonged to the burned vessel, arrived, with 24 seamen, and three officers. The number of the crew saved amounts to 158. The captain remained to the last moment upon the quarter-deck, giving directions for saving the crew, without regarding his own safety in the least. The *Queen Charlotte* was lord Howe's ship in the memorable first of June; and it was on board of her that the royal family went, when the king reviewed the fleet at Spithead after that glorious victory. We regret her loss; but we most deeply lament the fate of her gallant crew, which consisted of some of the most choice and brave men in our navy. The *Queen Charlotte* was launched in 1790, in immediate succession off the slip of the Royal George, and was allowed, both as a prime sailer, and for her other superior

superior qualities, to be the finest ship of war that ever displayed English colours: though rated 110 guns, she carried 120.—The following account is dated off Leghorn on the 17th of March.

“Mr. John Braid, carpenter of the Queen Charlotte, reports, that, about 20 minutes after six o'clock yesterday morning, as he was dressing himself, he heard throughout the ship a general cry of ‘Fire.’—On which he immediately ran up the fore-ladder, to get upon deck, and found the whole half-deck, the front bulk-head of the admiral's cabin, the main-mast's coat, and boat's covering on the booms, all in flames; which, from every report and probability, he apprehends was occasioned by some hay, which was lying under the half-deck, having been set on fire by a match in a tub, which was usually kept there for signal guns. The main-sail at this time was set, and almost entirely caught fire; the people not being able to come to the clue-garnets on account of the flames. He immediately went to the fore-castle, and found lieutenant Dundas and the boatswain encouraging the people to get water to extinguish the fire. He applied to Mr. Dundas, seeing no other officer on the fore-part of the ship (and being unable to see any on the quarter-deck, from the flames and smoke between them), to give him assistance to drown the lower decks, and secure the hatches, to prevent the fire falling down. Lieutenant Dundas accordingly went down himself, with as many people as he could prevail upon to follow him; and the lower deck-ports were opened, the scuppers plugged, the main and fore-hatches secured, the cocks turned, and water drawn in at the ports, and the pumps kept

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going by the people who came down, as long as they could stand at them. He thinks that by these exertions the lower deck was kept free from fire, and the magazines preserved, for a long time, from danger; nor did lieutenant Dundas or he quit this station, but remained there with all the people who could be prevailed upon to stay, till several of the middle deck guns came through that deck. About nine o'clock, lieutenant Dundas and he, finding it impossible to remain any longer below, went out at the foremost lower-deck port, and got upon the fore-castle; on which he thinks there were then about 150 of the people drawing water, and throwing it as far up as possible upon the fire. He continued about an hour on the fore-castle; and finding all efforts to extinguish the flames unavailing, he jumped from the jib-boom, and swam to an American boat approaching the ship, by which he was picked up, and put into a tartan, then in the charge of lieutenant Stewart, who had come off to the assistance of the ship.

JOHN BRAID.”

J U N E.

Admiralty Office, June 3.

A letter from vice-admiral lord Keith, commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship *Minotaur*, off Genoa, May 7.

SIR,

The inclosed is a copy of a letter from captain Dixon, of his majesty's ship *Lion*, to sir Thomas Troubridge, bart. containing a narrative of the circumstances attending the capture of the *Guillaume*

(D)

Tell,

Tell, and a list of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships on that occasion. The honourable testimony borne by captain Dixon to the meritorious conduct of the officers engaged with him in the pursuit and capture of this ship, cannot fail to attract the lordships' attention, and ensure the honour of their countenance and support. I am, &c.

KEITH.

Lion at Sea, off Cape Passero,
SIR, *March 31.*

I have the honour to inform you, that yesterday morning, at nine o'clock, Cape Passero bearing N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. distant seven leagues, the French ship of war le Guillaume Tell, of 86 guns and 1000 men, bearing the flag of contre admiral Decres, surrendered, after a most gallant and obstinate defence of three hours and a half, to his majesty's ships Foudroyant, Lion, and Penelope. To detail the particulars of this very important capture, I have to inform you, that the signal rockets and cannonading from our batteries at Malta, the midnight preceding, with the favourable strong southerly gale, together with the darkness which succeeded the setting of the moon, convinced me the enemy's ships of war were attempting to effect an escape, and which was immediately ascertained by that judicious and truly valuable officer, captain Blackwood, of the Penelope, who had been stationed a few hours before between the Lion and Valette, for the purpose of observing closely the motions of the enemy; nearly at midnight an enemy's ship was descried by him, when the Minorca was sent to inform me of it, giving chase himself, apprising me by signals that the strange ship seen was hauled to the wind on the starboard tack. I lost not one mo-

ment in making the signal for the squadron to cut or slip, and directed captain Miller of the Minorca, to run down to the Foudroyant and Alexander with the intelligence, and to repeat the signal. Under a press of canvas I gave chase until five A. M. solely guided by the cannonading of the Penelope; and, as a direction to the squadron, a rocket and a blue light were shown every half-hour from the Lion. As the day broke, I found myself in gun-shot of the chase, and the Penelope within musket-shot, raking her, the effects of whose well-directed fire during the night had shot away her main and mizen-top-masts, and main-yard; the enemy appeared in great confusion, being reduced to his head-sails going with the wind on the quarter. The Lion was run close along-side; the yard-arms of both ships being just clear, when a destructive broadside of three round shot in each gun was poured in, luffing up across the bow, when the enemy's jib-boom passed between the main and mizen shrouds: after a short interval I had the pleasure to see the boom carried away, and the ships disentangled, maintaining a position across the bow, firing to great advantage. I was not the least solicitous either to board or be boarded, as the enemy appeared of immense bulk and full of men, keeping up a prodigious fire of musquetry, which, with the bow of the chaces, she could for a long time only use. I found it absolutely necessary, if possible, to keep from the broadside of this ship; after being engaged about 50 minutes, the Foudroyant was sent under a press of canvas, and soon passed, hailing the enemy to strike; which being declined, a very heavy fire from both ships, broadside to broadside, was most

most gallantly maintained, the *Lion* and *Penelope* frequently in situations to do great execution; in short, sir, after the hottest action that probably was ever maintained by an enemy's ship, opposed to three of his majesty, and being totally dismasted, the French admiral's flag and colours were struck. I have not language to express the high sense of obligation I feel myself under to captain Blackwood for his prompt and able conduct in leading the line of battle ships to the enemy, for the gallantry and spirit so highly conspicuous in him, and for his admirable management of the frigate; to your discriminating judgment it is unnecessary to remark of what real value and importance such an officer must ever be considered to his majesty's service; the termination of the battle must be attributed to the spirited fire of the *Foudroyant*, whose captain, sir Edward Berry, has justly added another laurel to the many he has gained during the war. Captain Blackwood speaks in very high terms of the active and gallant conduct of captain Long of the *Vincejo*, during the night; and I beg to mention the services of captains Broughton and Miller. The crippled condition of the *Lion* and *Foudroyant* made it necessary for me to direct captain Blackwood to take possession of the enemy, take him in tow, and proceed to Syracuse. I received the greatest possible assistance from lieutenant Joseph Patey, senior officer of the *Lion*, and from Mr. Spence, the master, who, together with the other officers and ship's company, showed the most determined gallantry. Captains sir Edward Berry and Blackwood have reported to me the same gallant and animated behaviour in the

officers and crews of their respective ships. I am sorry to say that the three ships have suffered much in killed and wounded, and that the loss of the enemy is prodigious, being upwards of 200. I refer you to the inclosed reports for further particulars as to the state of his majesty's ships, and have the honour to remain, sir, &c.

MANLEY DIXON.

P. S. The *Guillaume Tell* is of the largest dimensions, and carries 36-pounders on the lower gun deck, 24-pounders on the main-deck, 12-pounders on the quarter-deck, and 32-pound carronades on the poop.

Return of the number of killed and wounded in action with the *Guillaume Tell*, a French ship of 84 guns, March 30th.

Foudroyant, eight killed, 61 wounded.—*Lion*, seven killed, 38 wounded.—*Penelope*, two killed, two wounded.

Officers killed or wounded.

Foudroyant, captain sir Edward Berry, slightly wounded, but did not quit the deck; lieutenant J. A. Blow; Philip Bridge, boatswain; Edward West, Granville Proby, and Thomas Cole, midshipmen, wounded.—*Lion*, Mr. Hugh Roberts, midshipman, killed; Mr. Alexander Hood, midshipman, wounded.—*Penelope*, Mr. Damerel, master, killed; Mr. Silthorpe, midshipman, wounded.

4. The volunteers of London were again reviewed by his majesty in Hyde-park. (See June 4, 1799.) They amounted to 12,000, and went through their evolutions with correctness, notwithstanding an impetuous rain which lasted nearly the whole time they were on the ground.

Downing-street, June 7.

The following dispatch has been received from lieutenant-colonel Clinton, by the right honourable lord Grenville.

Head-quarters, Ulm, May 22.

MY LORD,

Since the army crossed the Danube at this place on the 12th inst. the enemy has not ventured to undertake any movement of consequence: in the night of the 18th he passed the Danube in considerable force at Erbach, and the following day reconnoitred the position of the Austrians, on the heights above the town, which he found so formidable, that he recrossed the Danube in the course of the night, and resumed his position between that river and the Iller, without attempting any thing. The result of the different affairs of advanced posts since the arrival of the army in its present position has uniformly been to the advantage of the Austrians.

Admiralty-Office, June 7. A letter from vice-admiral sir R. Curtis, commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope, dated February 3, introduces the following.

Tremendous, Cape of Good Hope,
SIR, *Feb. 3.*

I beg leave to inform you, that being off the Isle of France, in company with his majesty's ship Adamant, on December 11, we chased a French frigate, which ran on shore the west side of the river Tombeau, about three miles from Port Louis in that island; after firing several broadsides at her she cut away her masts; at seven P.M. the boats were sent to destroy her under the command of lieutenant Gray of the Adamant, assisted by lieutenant Walker of that ship, lieutenant Symes of the Tremendous, and lieutenant Owen of the

marines of the Adamant, who very handsomely requested to go upon that service. At half past nine the boats returned, bringing with them the officers and some few of the men whom they found on board the frigate, which proved to be la Precieuse, of 44 guns and 300 men, commanded by captain L'Hermite, to which they had set fire in several places, and which shortly after blew up. The prompt and spirited manner in which this service was performed under a very heavy fire from the batteries, reflects great honour on lieutenant Gray and the other officers and men under his command. During our cruize the Adamant captured the Benjamin, a French sloop laden with coffee, from the Island of Bourbon, bound to the Isle of France, and the Bienfait, a French brig, laden with rice, for the same place; and the Tremendous captured the Neustra Senora del Carmen, a Spanish brig, laden with coffee, indigo, and bale goods, from the Isle of France to Rio de la Plata, all of which I am happy to inform you are arrived.

J. OSBORN.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of the Le Risque à Tout, republican privateer, by the Rose, lieutenant Richardson.]

Downing-street, June 8.

The following dispatch has been received from the right honourable lord Minto, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Vienna, by the right honourable lord Grenville.

Vienna, May 28. I have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, that the citadel of Savona surrendered on the 15th instant. The garrison are prisoners of war. I have the honour
to

to inclose the extraordinary court gazette published on that occasion.

Extraordinary supplement of the Vienna gazette, May 28.

By captain Salomon, of the regiment of Lattermann, who arrived here last night as courier, count Melas, general of cavalry, has sent intelligence from Nizza, dated the 17th instant, that, according to the report of major general Francis count St. Julien, the enemy's general, Buger, who defended the citadel of Savona, finding himself under the necessity of capitulating, on the 15th a capitulation had immediately been concluded upon the following conditions: the garrison of the enemy was to march out on the 16th at three o'clock in the afternoon, with the usual honours, and, as will be seen by the following articles of capitulation, to be marched as prisoners of war into the states of Upper Austria. The general could not as yet specify the strength of the garrison, nor the amount of the cannon and ammunition and magazines of different sorts in the citadel, as major-general count St. Julien had delayed sending an account of them until the enemy shall have evacuated the place. Captain Salomon has on this occasion gained much reputation. General Melas mentions at the same time that the enemy's generalissimo had made several attacks on the 13th in considerable force, on field-marshal lieutenant count Hohenzollern, at Durazzo, but had been repulsed by our troops. The enemy's general of division, Soult, a chief of brigade, and many of the enemy have been made prisoners of war in these attacks; and the general promises to forward, by the first opportunity, the particulars

sent him by the field-marshal lieutenant.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation, by which the garrison are allowed the honours of war; the officers to keep their swords and horses, and the privates their knapsacks; and the troops of Liguria are permitted to follow the garrison. The capitulation is signed by Francis count St. Julien, imperial major-general, and the French general Buget.]

Admiralty-Office, June 10.

Letter from vice-admiral lord Keith, K. B. commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board the *Minotaur*, off Genoa, May 16.

SIR,

You will be pleased to acquaint their lordships with the reduction of the important fortress of Savona this day by famine, in consequence of the vigilance and activity of his majesty's officers and those of the king of Naples, whose boats have rowed guard during 41 nights with a perseverance highly creditable to them all, particularly captain Downman of the *Santa Dorotea*, captain Settimo of the Neapolitan brig *Strombolo*, and lieutenant Jackson, acting captain of his majesty's sloop *Cameleon*, to whose care the blockade of Savona has been more especially committed. I have seen the terms proposed, accepted them, and authorised captain Downman to sign the capitulation, in conjunction with major-general count St. Julien, in my absence.

I understand the garrison consisted of about 800 men. A copy of the articles of capitulation, and a return of the military stores, &c.

(D 3)

shall

shall be transmitted by the next opportunity. I am, &c. KEITH.

Admiralty-Office, June 17.

A letter from lord St Vincent introduces the following.

Impetueux, at Quiberon,

MY LORD, *June 7.*

I have the honour to inform your lordship of my arrival at this anchorage with the ships under my orders, on the 2d instant, and in my way down collected the Thames. On the 3d I was joined by the Amethyst, Amelia, and the Winchelsea troop ship. On the 4th the Thames, Cynthia, and small force, attacked the south-west end of Quiberon, silenced the forts, which were afterwards destroyed by a party of troops landed under major Ramsey; several vessels were brought off, and some scuttled; the only loss, two killed and one wounded on board the Cynthia. On the 5th the Ramilies joined with the Diadem, Inconstant, and Viper cutter; and on the 6th, before day, we succeeded in an attempt upon the Morbihan, from whence were taken two brigs, two sloops, two gun-vessels, and about 100 prisoners; a corvette brig, L'Infolente, of 18 guns, was burnt, with several other small craft, the guns all destroyed, and the magazine blown up. Three hundred of the Queen's regiment were employed upon this service: and the gun-launches and naval force were under the direction of lieutenant John Pilfold, of this ship, who boarded the corvette with much bravery, and performed the service with much judgment and officer-like conduct; the loss was only one seaman killed in his boat, and some slight hurts. A lieutenant of the Thames, and some few men in

different ships, have been wounded since here; but I am happy to say all the coasting trade has been most completely stopped, with the provisions and wine for the Brest fleet.

EDW. PELLEW.

Admiralty Office, June 21.

The following is introduced by a letter from the earl of St. Vincent, K. B. &c. to Mr. Nepean.

Renown, off the Penmarks,

MY LORD, *June 11.*

I beg leave to inform you, that, having observed a convoy of brigs and chasse marées, at anchor near a fort within the Penmarks, destined for the fleet at Brest, and being of opinion that they might be cut out, I directed two armed boats from this ship, commanded by lieutenants Burke and Jane, together with lieutenant Killogrivoff, of the Russian navy, as well as from each ship of the detachment under my orders, to rendezvous on board the Fisgard, and to follow captain Martin's directions for their farther proceedings; whose letter to me is inclosed. And I am happy to say, that the service was performed with much gallantry and success, on the part of the officers and men of the ships employed. Although some loss on our part has been sustained, I trust the measure will meet your lordship's approbation.

J. B. WARREN.

Fisgard, off the Penmarks, June 11.

SIR,

In pursuance of the directions you gave me yesterday evening, two boats, from each ship named in the margin*, assembled on board the Fisgard, in order to attack the convoy lying at St. Croix; and at 11 o'clock, being as near the shore as the darkness of the night would permit (and the mode of attack previ-

* Renown, Fisgard, Defence, and Unicorn.

ously determined), they proceeded, under the command of the following officers: lieutenant Burke, Renown; lieutenants Dean and Gerard, Fisgard; lieutenant Stamp, Defence; and lieutenant Price, Unicorn; but the wind being fresh from the S.E. prevented their reaching the above anchorage till after day-light, when, in opposition to a heavy battery, three armed vessels, and a constant fire of musquetry from the shore, they took the three armed vessels, and eight others, laden with supplies for the fleet at Brest; the rest, amounting to 20 sail, ran upon the rocks, where many of them will certainly be lost. I have the pleasure to assure you, that the officers and men employed on this service showed a degree of zeal and intrepidity that can only be equalled by the cool steady conduct, which I had the satisfaction of observing in them when passing through a very intricate navigation, under a constant discharge of cannon from the shore. Lieutenants Burke and Dean speak highly in favour of Mr. Jane, acting lieutenant of the Renown; Mr. Fleming, mate of the Fisgard; and lieutenant Killogrivoff, of the Russian service (a volunteer); and I am glad they have had this opportunity of recommending themselves to your notice. The enemy have lost several officers and men; and I am sorry to annex the names of several wounded in our boats. I have inclosed a list of vessels captured.

B. F. MARTIN.

*Rear-admiral sir J. B. Warren,
bart. K. B.*

A list of vessels taken by the boats of a detachment of his majesty's ships under the command of rear-admiral sir John Borlase Warren, bart. K. B. June 10.

La Nochette gun-boat, of two 24 pounders; two armed chasse ma-

rées, of 6 and 10 guns each: two brigs, two sloops, and four chasse marées, laden with wine, brandy, flour, and pease, provisions for the fleet at Brest. J. WARREN.

The Renown had Robert Bulger, admiral's boatswain, wounded; and the Fisgard, Thomas Hall, quartermaster, one marine, and one seaman, wounded.

[This gazette likewise contains an account of the capture of a small cutter-privateer, of eight men, armed with musquetry, called Les Deux Amis, belonging to Cherbourg, by the Constance, armed brig, lieutenant Wright].

Admiralty-Office, June 24.

[This gazette gives an account of the capture of l'Heureux Courier French brig privateer, of Granville, carrying 14 six-pounders, and 54 men, by the Spitfire, captain Seymour].

24. A common hall was held for the election of sheriffs, when aldermen Perring, Cadell, Leighton, and Albion Cox, esq. being proposed to the livery, the two latter were returned. A poll, however, was demanded for Mess. Perring and Cadell, and

27. At the close of the poll the numbers were,

Perring,	1065
Cadell,	1055
Leighton,	855
Cox,	852

The latter declining, Mess. Perring and Cadell were declared duly elected.

Admiralty-Office, June 28.

Letter from vice-admiral lord Keith, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to E. Nepean, esq. dated on board the Minotaur, off Genoa, May 31.

SIR,

I have the honour of reporting to
(D 4) you,

you, for the information of their lordships, that, by private intelligence from Genoa, I understand the French had resolved on boarding our flotilla, in any future attempt to bombard the town; and yesterday, about 12, a very large galley, a cutter, three armed settees, and several gun-boats, appeared in array off the Molehead, and in the course of the afternoon exchanged distant shot with some of the ships as they passed them. At sun-set they took a position under the moles and the city bastions, which were covered with men, manifesting a determined resistance. I nevertheless arranged every thing for a fourth bombardment, as formerly, under the direction of captain Philip Beaver, of the Aurora, who left the Minotaur at 9 P. M. attended by the gun and mortar vessels, and the armed boats of the ship. About 1 o'clock, being arrived at a proper distance for commencing his fire, a brisk cannonade was opened upon the town, which was returned from various points; and captain Beaver having discovered, by the flashes of some guns, that they were directed from something nearly level with the water, judiciously concluded that they proceeded from some of the enemy's armed vessels, and calling a detachment of the ship's boats to his assistance, he made directly to the spot, and in a most gallant and spirited manner, under a smart fire of cannon and musquetry from the moles and enemy's armed vessels, attacked, boarded, carried, and brought off their largest galley la Prima, of 50 oars, and 257 men, armed, besides muskets, pistols, cutlasses, &c. with two guns, of 36 pounds, having about 30 brass swivels in her hold, and commanded by captain Patrizio Galleano. The bombardment suf-

fered no material interruption, but was continued till day-light this morning, when the Prima was safely brought off; her extreme length is 159 feet, and her breadth 23 feet six inches. On our part four seamen only have been wounded; one belonging to this ship, in the boat with captain Beaver; one belonging to the Pallas; and the other two to the Haerlem. The enemy's loss is not exactly known, but one man was found dead on board, and 15 wounded. I am, &c.

KEITH.

Another letter from lord^e Keith introduces the following:

MY LORD,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that his majesty's ship under my command has taken and destroyed nine vessels, laden, mostly for Genoa, with wine and corn, between the 2d and 6th inst. Six of them were cut out by two of our boats, under the direction of lieutenant Corbett; they were moored to a fort within the small islands near Cape Croisettes. I had seen them collecting all day; and, soon after sun-set, I went in with the ship, under the battery, within the range of grape-shot, and anchored with a spring on the cable; and, after cannonading the fort more than half an hour, I saw the six vessels, which Mr. Corbett had most ably got under weigh, coming out, when I followed them with the ship. I am happy to say that we have had no person hurt on this service; and a shot through our cutwater, which is of little consequence, is the only damage we have received.

R. D. OLIVER.

26. This morning came on in the Court of King's Bench, the trial of James Hadfield, for high treason. At 9, the four judges took their seats, and the prisoner was brought

brought into court. The officer of the court called over the pannel of names; from which, after nineteen challenges on the part of the prisoner, and two on the part of the crown, had been made, the jury were sworn. Mr. Abbott then opened the proceedings on the part of the crown; after which, the attorney general addressed the jury.

Joseph Calkin. I belong to the musical band of Drury-lane theatre, and was in the orchestra, opposite to where the king sits, on the 15th of May. I saw the prisoner in the pit; and, at the moment when his majesty came into the box, I turned my eyes towards the audience, saw the prisoner above all the rest, with a pistol in his hand, which at that instant went off, pointed at his majesty, as it appeared to me; the pistol was then dropped to the ground. I helped to secure the prisoner, by handing him over the rails, and conducted him to the music-room, where the duke of York and Mr. Sheridan came soon after. On the duke's entering the room, the prisoner said, "Your royal highness is a good fellow; but this is not the worst that is brewing."

After several others had deposed to the same effect, the duke of York was called. When his royal highness appeared on the judges' bench, the prisoner, who had previously shown not the least emotion, but surveyed with a sort of vacant stare the objects around him, started up, and said, "Ah! God blefs his highness, he is a good soul."

Duke of York. I was at Drury-lane the 15th of May. I cannot swear I saw the prisoner in the house, but saw him after he fired the pistol, in the music-room. The moment I entered, he said, "God blefs you! I know you." I instantly recognised the man's face,

but where I had seen him I knew not. I said to the prisoner, "You have been one of my *orderly* dragoons, have you not?" The prisoner replied, he had been with me since the day after the battle of Famar. His answers on other topics were such as to assure me he was *perfectly* acquainted with what I asked him. He said, his life was forfeited; that he was tired of life; and that he regretted nothing but that his wife would only be a wife to him a few days longer. He said, once or twice, "The worst has not happened yet." During this time he did not pourtray the least appearance of *derangement*; he was as collected as a person possibly could be. After his majesty was gone, I remained to see the house searched. A perforation was traced 14 inches higher than where his majesty sat, and, on looking about, a flag was found in the orchestra; there was a smell of powder about it.

Joseph Richardson, Esq. said, that he was present at the examination of the prisoner, in the music-room. When the duke of York entered, the prisoner said, with enthusiasm, "God blefs him! he is the soldier's friend, and I love him." He denied any intention to take away the life of the sovereign. There did not appear in the conduct of the man any one indication of lunacy.—When preparations were made to examine him, he said, that there was no need of so much trouble—if they would use him well, he should tell the whole truth: "I was tired of life," said he, "and my plan was to get rid of it by other means. I did not mean any thing against the life of the king: I knew the attempt alone would answer my purpose."

W. Harman and George Webbe were the next witnesses called.—

The

The former deposed to the effect of his having seen a pair of pistols in Hadfield's possession on the 15th of May; and the latter, that on the same day he purchased an ounce of gunpowder at his master's shop. Here the attorney general closed the evidence for the prosecution.

Mr. Erskine then addressed the jury on behalf of the prisoner; and called witnesses.

Major Ryan, Hercules M'Gill, and Charles Price, officers of the 15th regiment, on the part of the defence, proved the previous good conduct of the prisoner, and his derangement in consequence of the wounds he received in his head. The latter, who met with two wounds in attempting to rescue the prisoner in the action near Lisle, stated, that he very narrowly escaped from being stabbed by him with a bayonet in a paroxysm of his madness, in 1796, at Croydon.

Mr. Cline, the surgeon, and Dr. Creighton, said, they examined the wounds of the prisoner on Wednesday; had no doubt but that the false cuts in his head had injured the brain, nor any difficulty in assigning this as the probable cause of his present madness.

Mary Gower, sister-in-law to the prisoner, gave a long account of his malady. She stated, that on the 13th of May, two days before this offence, he started from bed with a view to kill his child, because, he said, "God had ordered him to do it." On that and the two following days he was more violent than usual. On other occasions he was extremely fond of the infant. In this last fit he repeatedly said that Jesus Christ was a bastard, and the Virgin Mary a ——. He said, he had been to see God; and he sent her and his wife to see God, who was Mr. Truelock, the cobbler, now

confined in a mad-house. On the morning of Thursday, May 15, he started from bed, saying he had lost a great deal of blood; that he had a great deal to do, and a great way to go. When he came home, at three on that day, to clean himself, he told her and his wife that he was going to be made a member of a club of *Odd Fellows*. He said, that he had seen God in the night; that he dined with the king; and that he wished to have his permission to have another cut at the French. He always spoke with loyalty and affection of his majesty, to whom, he said, he was indebted for his pension.

In this stage, lord Kenyon interrupted the proceedings, and asked the attorney general, and the counsel, if, after what they had heard, they thought fit to carry the inquiry farther? The attorney general replied, "Certainly not, if his lordship thought the evidence conclusive."

Lord Kenyon.—I think, Mr. Attorney General, there can be no doubt of his insanity; and, if the man was out of his senses at the time, by the laws of England he cannot be found guilty; and, when one looks at the evidence, it brings some conviction to one's mind, that he is most dreadfully deranged. Yet such a man is a most dangerous enemy to society; and it is impossible, with safety, to suffer such a man to be let loose upon the public, and to permit him to range at large; it must not be. I, however, only ask if it is necessary to proceed farther on the trial, unless, indeed, you think that this case has been drawn up to give a false colouring to the defence."

Mr. Attorney General—"I have no reason to suppose it a covering; the circumstances now disclosed were unknown to me before."

Lord

Lord Kenyon.—“ The result, then, being such as it is, in the present state of the case he cannot be discharged; it alike concerns the king upon the throne, and the beggar at his gate; for the sake, therefore, of common justice, he must not be discharged, but so disposed of as that all relief may be administered to his unfortunate case.—My brothers agree with me in thinking that he was not so far under the guidance of reason as to be capable of knowing what he did; therefore the court are of opinion, that he should be carried to his late place of confinement till he can be farther disposed of.”—The jury delivered their verdict, *Not guilty, being under the influence of insanity at the time the act was done*; and on that ground the court ordered him to be remanded. He was therefore conducted to a coach, and conveyed back to prison.

J U L Y.

Admiralty-Office, July 1.

A letter from earl St. Vincent introduces the following :

Renown, at Sea, June 24.

MY LORD,

Having observed a small squadron of the enemy's vessels at the mouth of Quimper river, I anchored on the 22d, at night, off the Glensans, and directed a detachment of marines, together with three boats, manned and armed from the *Renown*, *Defence*, and *Fisgard*, under my orders, to rendezvous on board the *Fisgard*, to follow the commands of captain Martin, and to endeavour to take or destroy the above vessels: and I beg leave to refer you to the inclosed letter from captain Martin for the transactions in this service. JOHN WARREN.

SIR,

Fisgard, at sea, June 23.

I beg to inform you, that the boats of the squadron and marines employed under my direction, in attacking the vessels of war and convoy of the enemy in Quimper river, arrived off its entrance at daylight this morning; and, in order to protect the boats in the execution of this service, the marines were landed in two divisions; the one on the right bank of the river, under lieutenant Burke, of the *Renown*, and the other on the left, under lieutenant Gerrard, of this ship.—Lieutenant Parker commanded the boats, and was going, with great expedition and good order, to the attack; but, finding that the enemy had removed to an inaccessible distance up the river, he immediately landed, stormed, and blew up a battery with several 24-pounders.—The other detachment also took and blew up two strong works. It gives me great pleasure to say, this affair terminated without any loss on our part; and the preparations made by the enemy, in consequence of reconnoitring their position yesterday morning, gives the most satisfactory testimony in favour of the spirit and conduct of the officers and men; who, in less than half an hour, gained complete possession of both sides of the river to a considerable extent, and, if a frigate of 28 guns, brig of 12 guns, lugger of 16 guns, cutter of 10 guns, and several sail of merchant vessels, had not moved upwards, they would certainly have fallen into our hands.

T. B. MARTIN.

P. S. The three forts had seven 24-pounders, which, with their magazines, were blown up.

[This gazette contains a letter from captain Curzon, of the *Indefatigable*, giving an account of the capture.

capture of le Vengeur French privateer, of 16 guns, and 100 men.]

Friday, July 4.

THE KING v. RUSBY, FOR *regrating*.

This was an indictment against the defendant, an eminent corn-factor, for having purchased, by sample, on the 8th of November last, in the corn-market, Mark-lane, 90 quarters of oats, at 41s. per quarter, and sold 30 of them again in the same market, on the same day, at 44s. The most material testimony on the part of the crown, was given by Thomas Smith, a partner of the defendant's, from whom Mr. Garrow drew the alarming confession, that the same identical parcel of corn was frequently sold and re-sold on the same day, and that, in some instances, it had been advanced, at each successive sale, 3s. 6d. 9d. 1s. 1s. 6d. 2s. and 2s. 6d. Mr. Garrow. "Have you never sold corn over again in the same market at a profit of more than 5s. per quarter?" The witness refused to answer this question. Mr. Garrow. "That will do for my purpose the same as if you had said 'Yes.'" "My lord, it is a standing practice of the corn-market, for a man to buy his own corn five times over." After the evidence had been gone through, lord Kenyon made an admirable address to the jury, who almost instantly found the defendant GUILTY. Lord Kenyon. "You have conferred, by your verdict, almost the greatest benefit on your country that ever was conferred by any jury."—Another indictment against the defendant, for engrossing, stands over.

Admiralty-Office, July 8.

Copy of a letter from sir Charles Hamilton, bart. captain of his Majesty's ship Melpomene, to

Mr. Nepean, dated at Goree, April 23.

SIR,

You will be pleased to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that having been informed that three French frigates were at anchor under the forts of Goree, this intelligence, with the force and situation of these frigates, induced me to take his majesty's ship Ruby, then watering at Port Prava, under my command; and with this additional force I proceeded immediately in quest of them.—In the afternoon of the 4th inst. I reconnoitred the roadstead of Goree; but not finding the frigates there, and conceiving our appearance sufficient to alarm the garrison, I dispatched lieutenant Tidy with a verbal message, summoning the island to surrender (the inclosed letter having passed between me and the governor). At midnight lieutenant Tidy made me the signal agreed on, that my terms were complied with; the marines of the squadron were instantly landed, under the command of captain Mac Cleverty, and the garrison in our possession before day.—Their lordships will be aware of the strength and consequence of this acquisition; which, I am happy to say, has been obtained so easily; Mr. Davis, of the Magnanime, being the only person wounded before our flag of truce was observed from the forts. On the 13th instant I dispatched Mr. Palmer, with two boats, and 30 men, to Jool (a factory dependent on Goree); he returned on the 22d. having executed his orders most perfectly to my satisfaction, and bringing with him, from thence, a French brigantine and sloop, loaded with rice.

C. HAMILTON.

Goree

Goree, 1st Germinal, 8th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

Liberty. Equality.

The commander of Goree to the commander of the English squadron.

I have received the verbal summons which you sent to me by two officers of your squadron. Anxious to defend the place entrusted to me, I am likewise to spare bloodshed. —I expect, therefore, to receive from you, to-morrow morning, the conditions for the surrender of the place, to which I shall agree, if they are admissible. **GUILLEMINE:**

Melpomene, off the island of

SIR, *Goree, April 4.*

I have received your answer to my verbal message to surrender the island of Goree, and have to inform you, the only conditions I can accept are, to be in possession of the forts and island of Goree by 12 o'clock to-morrow noon. I allow you, sir, and your garrison, to march out with all the honours of war; and these conditions only will be accepted. **C. HAMILTON.**

N. B. All private property will be respected.

To the commander of Goree.

[This gazette also contains accounts of the capture of l'Auguste French letter of marque, of 10 guns, and 50 men, by the Melpomene, sir Charles Hamilton; and la Françoise French schooner privateer, of 12 guns, and 42 men, by the Loire, captain James Newman.]

Admiralty-Office, July 12.

Letter from captain Inman, of the Andromeda, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated off Dunkirk, July-8.

SIR,

I beg you will be pleased to inform their lordships, that, agreeable

to their orders to me of the 17th of June, to take under my command the fire-vessels, and others, named in the margin *, and endeavour to take and destroy the enemy's frigates in Dunkirk roads, we joined, at the appointed rendezvous, the 27th following; but, from contrary winds, and the tide not answering, could not make the attempt before last night, when, I fear, the enemy had been apprised of my intention, as we were much annoyed by gun-vessels, and others, lying advanced some distance, which afforded the frigates an opportunity to cut their cables, and avoid our fire-ship. I had directed captain Campbell of the Dart to get in, if he could, to the easternmost, and lay her on board, at the time I hoped the first fire-ship would have been entangled with the westernmost. The handsome and intrepid manner of his completely carrying her in less than a quarter of an hour, and bringing her out, must convince their lordships of his unparalleled bravery, and the very gallant conduct of his officers and ship's company, as the enemy's frigate was so much superior in force; and, had it not been so instantly done, the ship could not have been got over the banks, as the water had begun to fall. By captain Campbell's report to me, great praise is due to lieutenant M'Dermitt, who, I am sorry to say, is badly wounded. I enclose captain Campbell's letter to me, giving an account of this transaction; and have the pleasure to observe, that one spirit seemed to actuate the whole; but am sorry that, notwithstanding the steady conduct of captains Edwards, Butt, Leef, and Car-

* Wasp, captain Edwards; Falcon, captain Butt; Dart, captain Campbell; Comet, captain Leef; Rosario, captain Carthew; Selby, captain Williams; Boxer, lieutenant Gilbert; Teaser, lieutenant Robins; Biter, lieutenant Norman; Stag cutter, lieutenant Humphreys; Nile lugger, lieutenant Whitehead; Ann cutter, lieutenant Young; Kent, lieutenant Kooban; Vigilant lugger, lieutenant Dean.

thew, of the several fire-vessels, in remaining on board till completely in flames, the three enemy's ships, from cutting their cables, escaped before the wind, and ran out of Dunkirk roads some little distance down the inner channel, within the Braak sand: one of them got on shore for a short time, but, at daylight, we had the mortification to observe her working back on the ebb-tide, and, with the other two, regained their anchorage, though not without considerable damage, having received the fire of the Dart, Biter, and Boxer gun-brigs, within pistol-shot, before they cut. I kept the Selby in the rear to act, had any remained long enough on shore, to have destroyed them by firing carcasses; and have now to regret I reserved her for that purpose, as I am confident, had captain Williams been directed to lay one of the enemy's ships on board, he would have been successful in bringing her out. I put Mr. Scott, first lieutenant of the Andromeda, in the command of the boats in a gig, and Mr. Cockran, third lieutenant, in another boat; and, as I had all the cutters to attend on the fire-vessels except the Kent, directed their lieutenants, in gigs, to put themselves under his command; and by which means not any lives were lost. The Kent, lieutenant Cooban, I directed to attack the gun-vessels, who trimmed them pretty handsomely, and prevented any boats from annoying ours that were employed to take out the crews of the fire-ships. I feel particularly indebted to captains Mainwaring, Baker, and Seater; as also to lieutenant King, 2d lieutenant, who was left in command of the Andromeda, for their perseverance, in getting over the banks to render us every assistance by boats, and to

be in readiness to meet the enemy, had they ventured over the Braak sand; which position they maintained for that purpose, in spite of fresh gales, and direct opposition to the established pilots, who gave up the charge of each ship on their hands while in this situation; and before, when I first made the proposition, positively refused taking charge of any of the vessels, of the lightest draught of water, intended for this service; but, with the assistance of Mr. Moor, master (whom I put on board the Dart to lead in), and Mr. Wheatland, mate of the Ann hired cutter, who very handsomely volunteered their services to take any of the ships in, on my suggesting it to them, and some men which I got out of smugglers, I was enabled to put one on board each of the gun-vessels and fire-brigs; I feel an inward satisfaction at bringing the whole of the squadron through the roads without the least difficulty. I cannot omit mentioning, that Mr. Butcher, master of the Nile, and Mr. Dean, master of the Vigilant (luggers), at my request would have laid, as a leading mark, at Gravelines Hook: the former performed this service, and I embarked, with 30 volunteers from the Andromeda, in the latter: and, through the whole of this service, I feel particularly indebted to the commanders of the several vessels and cutters for their very steady conduct. I enclose a list of killed and wounded, and am sorry to say captain Leef of the Comet is among the latter, having been blown up. I have also to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that, from the mangled and unhappy state of many of the prisoners, I was induced to send a flag of truce with them into Dunkirk.

H. INMAN.

Dart,

Dart, off Dunkirk, July 8.

SIR,

Agreeable to the directions you honoured me with, to board the easternmost of the enemy's frigates in Dunkirk-roads, should it be practicable, I have complete satisfaction in acquainting you, that, about one A. M. I succeeded in carrying *La Desirée* national frigate, mounting 40 guns, long 24-pounders, on the main-deck, with a complement of 350 men, some of whom were on shore. From your being so nearly situated to me during the attack, I have only to anticipate your approbation of the *Dart's* conduct; but, as individual merit could not be distinguished but by those present, I trust I may be permitted to speak of lieutenant M'Dermeit, who gallantly led the boarders on this occasion, and who, I fear, will lose his arm by a severe wound he received: indeed, I cannot say enough in praise of his gallantry in this unequal contest, having every reason to believe the enemy were fully apprized of your intentions, from the resistance they made, and the preparations that were found on board. Lieutenant M'Dermeit, with much presence of mind, on being wounded, called to me he had possession of the ship, but feared they would rally, and requested an officer might be sent to take charge. Lieutenant Pierce gallantly anticipated my wishes, by jumping on board, completely repulsed the enemy, who were rallying at the after hatchway, instantly cut her cables, got her under sail, and over banks, which could not have been effected half an hour later. I also beg to state Mr. Ingleton the master's conduct, as highly meritorious, in placing the *Dart* so completely on board the *Desirée*,

and who nearly lost his life supporting the boarders, by falling between the ships: indeed, all the officers whom I had the honour to command behaved in a manner that will ever merit my warmest acknowledgements; and, when I think of the support given me by my brave crew, I feel confident I shall never forget their loyalty and merit. Inclosed I send you a list of killed and wounded.

P. CAMPBELL.

To captain Inman.

A list of the French squadron in Dunkirk-roads on the evening of July 7.

La Pour suivante, of 40 guns, 24-pounders on the main-deck, wears a broad pendant, commodore's name *Castagnie*, chief of division.—*La Desirée*, of 40 guns, 24-pounders on the main-deck, commanded by citizen *Deplancy*, taken by his majesty's sloop *Dart*.—*L'Incorruptible*, of 40 guns, 24-pounders on the main-deck.—*La Carmagnole*, of 50 guns, 18-pounders on the main-deck.

A return of killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships, in the action with the French squadron in Dunkirk-roads.

Dart, one killed, 11 wounded.—*Comet*, two wounded.—*Biter*, gun-vessel, 2 wounded.—*Ann* (hired cutter) one wounded.—*Kent* (hired cutter) one wounded.

Names of the officers wounded.

Comet, captain *Thomas Leef*, slightly.—*Dart*, lieutenant *James M'Dermeit*, badly; *Mr. James Hall*, master's mate, badly.—*Biter*, gun-vessel, lieutenant *Norman*, commander, slightly.

[This gazette also contains a letter to lord Keith, from captain *Oliver*, of the *Mermaid*, stating, he had captured the French brig
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La Cruelle, of six guns, and 43 men; laden with provisions, and bound, as supposed, from Toulon to Malta.]

12. This day was laid the first stone of the intended new wet dock, near the Isle of Dogs. A grand aquatic procession took place, and a number of persons of very considerable distinction were present.

Admiralty-Office, July 22.

Copies of two letters, one from captain Baker, of his majesty's sloop Calypso, and the other from captain Loring, of the Lark, to Sir H. Parker, commander, &c. at Jamaica, and transmitted by him to Evan Nepean, esq

Calypso, Port-Royal, April 21.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that on the 12th inst. at night, Cape Tiberon bearing S. by E. distance four or five leagues, I dispatched Mr. William Buckley, master of his majesty's sloop under my command, in a six-oared cutter, with ten men, properly armed and provided, and a swivel in her bow, to cruize for two days under the Cape, with a view to intercept some of the small craft, which navigate in general within a mile of the shore. In pursuance of this intention, on the 13th, at eleven P. M. they perceived a schooner becalmed under the land, and pulled immediately towards her: as the boat approached within hail, she was desired to keep off; and, upon their not complying, a discharge of musquetry commenced upon them, under which they boarded, and, after a short but very smart conflict, upon the schooner's deck, the gallantry of the attempt was rewarded by gaining complete possession of her. She proved to be La Diligente French armed schooner, of about 70 tons, mounting six car-

riage guns, 30 stand of arms, and laden with coffee, having on board when she was captured, 39 men. Of the boat's crew one man only was wounded, and seven dangerously on the side of the enemy. The great disparity of numbers and force in this little enterprise placed the very spirited conduct of Mr. Buckley in so strong a light, that I have left me nothing to say, but to express my hope, sir, that it will recommend him to your notice. I feel much pleasure in adding, that by his report, he was most gallantly seconded by the few brave men under his orders.

J. BAKER.

Lark, off St. Jago de Cuba, March 20.

SIR,

On the 14th inst. observing a privateer in-shore, I sent the boats under the command of lieutenant Lane, to bring her out. The enemy had taken an advantageous position of two heights, forming the entrance of the bay, where the schooner was lying, and, notwithstanding the gallant attack of lieutenant Lane and his people, the boats were repulsed and returned, he himself being shot through the heart. The service in him has lost a brave and good officer. Mr. Pasley, the junior lieutenant, was landed with a party of men in a bay, at ten miles distance, to march round and attack the enemy in the rear; whilst I went myself in the boats to repeat the attack in their front. On my arrival, Mr. Pasley had executed his orders with such expedition and judgment, that he left me no other employment than that of being a satisfied spectator to the steady and good conduct of himself and his people. The vessel mounts two carriage guns, a great quantity of small arms, and is one of those which has so long infested the coast of Jamaica. I have destroyed her, that

that she may not again fall into the hands of the enemy.

J. W. LORING.

[Captain Loring also states, by way of postscript, his operations between the 9th and 20th of March last, viz. the capture and destruction of five French and Spanish vessels, and the retaking of the *Lively* sloop.]

[The gazette here gives a letter of admiral Parker's, with a list of vessels taken, detained, or destroyed, in the West-Indies, amounting to 114, since February 28.]

Copy of a letter from rear-admiral sir John Borlase Warren, to the earl of St. Vincent, transmitted to him by Evan Nepean, esq.

Renown, Bourneuf-Bay, July 2.

MY LORD,

I beg leave to inform your lordship, that, having received information that a ship of war, with a large convoy of the enemy, were lying within the island of Noirmoutier, which had assembled there from Sable d'Olonne, destined for Brest, I judged the destruction thereof might be of great consequence to his majesty's service: I anchored, therefore, with his majesty's ships *Renown*, *Fisgard*, and *Defence*, on the 1st inst. in the bay of Bourneuf, and directed the boats of the Squadron to follow captain Martin's orders for their farther proceedings; and I take the liberty of referring your lordship to the inclosed letter for a particular account of the transactions on the 1st and 2d inst. Although, owing to an accident, a part of the men have been made prisoners, and four wounded in their retreat upon this occasion; yet, from the loss the enemy has sustained, I hope the enterprize will meet your lordship's approbation, as well as the gallantry and presence of mind displayed by

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lieutenant Burke upon the above critical service, with the zeal and bravery of the several officers and men employed under him, and I trust will recommend them to your lordship's notice and protection.

J. B. WARREN.

Fisgard, in Bourneuf-Bay, July 2.

SIR,

I beg to inform you, the boats of the ships *Renown*, *Fisgard*, and *Defence*, were formed into three divisions yesterday evening, under the directions of lieutenant Burke, to attack the armed vessels and convoy lying within the sands in Bourneuf-Bay, moored in a strong position of defence, and under the protection of six heavy batteries at the south-east part of Noirmoutier, besides flanking-guns on every projecting point. At 12 o'clock, after much resistance and considerable loss on the part of the enemy, we had possession of *la Terese*, 4 armed vessels, and 15 sail of merchantmen, the whole of which were burnt on finding it impossible to bring them out; and this essential service would have been accomplished in the most satisfactory manner, if the boats, in returning, could have found a passage over the sand-banks; but unfortunately they took the ground, and, in less than ten minutes, were perfectly dry, at the same time exposed to a continual fire from the forts, and 400 French soldiers formed in the rear; but, in opposition to this, they determined to attack other vessels of the enemy, and secure one sufficiently large to receive all the party, which they did, and with great intrepidity, exertion, and strength, drew her upwards of two miles over the sands, until they were up to their necks in water, before she would float: but I am sorry to add, that four officers, and 88

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of the valuable men employed in this glorious enterprise, are prisoners, though, from every report, there are only a few wounded. I sincerely congratulate you on having succeeded, with so little loss, in this important service, all the vessels being laden with corn and valuable cargoes, much wanted for the fleets in Brest; and I am sure you will be highly gratified with the gallantry and uncommon perseverance manifested by the officers and men upon this occasion.

T. B. MARTIN.

A list of vessels taken and burnt.

Armed vessels.—Ship *la Terese*, of 20 guns; a lugger, of 12 guns; two schooner gun boats, of six guns each; one cutter, of six guns.—Total, 50 guns.

Merchant vessels.—15 sail, all laden (as well as the armed vessels) with flour, corn, provisions, bale goods, and ship-timber, for the fleet at Brest.

[Number of men employed in this service:—seven officers, 11 petty officers, 113 seamen, and 61 marines; 100 of whom forced a retreat.]

Number of men taken prisoners.

Renown. One officer, 4 petty officers, 21 seamen, and 13 marines. Total 36.—Fisgard, two seamen.—Defence, three petty officers, 30 seamen, and 21 marines. Total 54.—Total, one officer, four petty officers, 53 seamen, and 34 marines.

Officers' names employed.

Renown. Lieutenants Burke, Thompson, and Ballingham, marines (wounded and taken prisoners).—Fisgard. Lieutenants Dean and Gerard, marines.—Defence. Lieutenants Garrett and Hutton, marines. I am, &c.

T. B. MARTIN.

Admiralty-Office, July 26. This gazette contains a list of 96 vessels captured by the ships under lord Keith, in the Mediterranean, from April 1, to June 14.

Windsor, July 30. This evening their majesties, and the three elder princesses, set off, attended by an escort of light horse, for Gloucester-Lodge, Weymouth.

31. Sam. Waddington, esq. was tried at Worcester for forestalling of hops, and found guilty.

AUGUST.

Admiralty-Office, Aug. 2. In this gazette is inserted a letter from captain Cockburn, of his majesty's ship *Minerva*, dated in the Tagus, 29th June, referring to a letter from captain R. Middleton, of his majesty's ship *Flora*, dated at sea the 23d of the same month, relating his having captured the king of Spain's packet *Cortes*, pierced for 14 guns, having four mounted, and 44 men, which ship was of such value, that "he thought it necessary to see her safe off the bar of Lisbon." It likewise contains a letter to Mr. Nepean, from Mr. J. Hocquard, commander of the *Hazard* private ship of war, dated at Jersey, July 17, stating his having captured the *Ajax* French privateer, of four brass guns and 23 men; and also a letter from captain Ferris, of his majesty's ship *Ruby*, dated off the Start, July 30, intimating that on the 13th July, lat. 45 N. long. 29 W. he fell in with, and on the 14th captured *La Fortune* privateer, of Bourdeaux, of 16 long eight-pounders, four long 12lb. and two 36lb. carronades, all brass, and a complement of 202 men; 24 of whom were on board the *Fame* brig from Sierra Leona to London, which ship he captured on the 14th. Captain Ferris

Ferris adds, that the *Fortune* is a fine ship, and fit for his majesty's service.

Admiralty-Office, August 9.

Letter from the earl of St. Vincent, K.B. admiral of the white, &c. to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on-board the *Royal George*, at sea, the 4th instant.

SIR,

I did not think the enterprize of sir Edward Hamilton, or of captain Campbell, could have been rivalled, until I read the inclosed letter from sir Edward Pellew, relating the desperate service performed by acting lieutenant Coghlan, of the *Viper* cutter, on the 29th July, which has filled me with pride and admiration; and although the circumstance of his not having completed his time in his majesty's navy operates, at present, against his receiving the reward he is most ambitious of obtaining, I am persuaded the lords commissioners of the admiralty will do all in their power to console him under his severe wounds, and grant him promotion the moment he is in a capacity to receive it.

ST. VINCENT.

Impetueux, Palais-Road, Aug. 1.

MY LORD,

I have true pleasure in stating to your lordship the good conduct of lieutenant Jeremiah Coghlan, to whom, for former gallant behaviour, you had given an active commission to command the *Viper* cutter, from this ship. This gallant young man, when watching Port Louis, thought he could succeed in boarding some of the cutters or gun-vessels which have been moving about the entrance of that harbour, and, for this purpose, he entreated a ten-oared cutter from me, with 12 volunteers; and on Tuesday night the 29th inst.

he took this boat, with Mr. Silas H. Paddon, midshipman, and six of his men, making, with himself, 20, and accompanied by his own boat, and one from the *Amethyst*, he determined upon boarding a gun-brig, mounting three long 24-pounders, and four six-pounders, full of men, moored with springs on her cables, in a naval port of difficult access, within pistol-shot of three batteries, surrounded by several armed craft, and not a mile from a 74, and two frigates, bearing an admiral's flag. Undismayed by such formidable appearances, the early discovery of his approach (for they were at quarters), and the lost aid of the two other boats, he bravely determined to attack alone, and boarded her on the quarter; but unhappily, in the dark, jumping into a trawl-net, hung up to dry, he was pierced through the thigh by a pike, and several of his men hurt, and all knocked back into the boat. Unchecked in ardour, they hauled the boat further a head, and again boarded, and maintained against 87 men, 16 of whom were soldiers, an obstinate conflict, killing six, and wounding 20, among whom was every officer belonging to her. His own loss, one killed and eight wounded; himself in two places, Mr. Paddon in six. I feel particularly happy in the expected safety of all the wounded. He speaks in the highest terms of Mr. Paddon, and the whole of his party, many of whom were knocked overboard, and twice beat into the boat, but returned to the charge with unabated courage. I trust I shall stand excused by your lordship for so minute a description, produced by my admiration of the courage, which, hand to hand, gave victory to a handful of brave fellows over four times their number;

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and of that skill which formed, conducted, and effected, so daring an enterprise. *Le Cerbère*, commanded by a lieutenant de vaisseau, and towed out under a very heavy fire, is given up as a prize by the squadron, to mark their admiration, and will not, I know, be the only reward of such bravery; they will receive that protection your lordship so liberally accords to all the young men in the service who happily distinguish themselves under your command. I inclose lieutenant Coghlan's letter.

EDWARD PELLEW.

*Viper cutter, Tuesday morning,
eight o'clock.*

DEAR SIR,

I have succeeded in bringing out the gun-brig *Le Cerbère*, of three guns, 24-pounders, and four six-pounders, and 87 men, commanded by a lieutenant de vaisseau; pray forgive me when I say, from under the batteries of Port Louis, and after a most desperate resistance being made, first by her, and afterwards by the batteries at both sides, and a fire from some small vessels which lay round her: but nothing that I could expect from a vessel lying in that inactive situation, was equal to the few brave men belonging to your ship, whom I so justly confided in, assisted by six men from the cutter, and Mr. Paddon, midshipman, who, I am sorry to say, was wounded in several places, though I hope not mortally. I am sorry to state the loss of one man belonging to the cutter, who was shot through the head, and four of your brave men, with myself, wounded in different parts of the body; the principal one I received was with a pike, which penetrated my left thigh. Mr. Patteshall, in the cutter's small boat, assisted with two midshipmen from the *Amethyst*

in one of their boats. The loss of the enemy is not yet ascertained, owing to the confusion.

J. COGHLAN.

N. B. There are five killed, and 21 wounded, some very badly.

A return of killed and wounded.

Viper cutter.—One seaman killed; lieutenant Jeremiah Coghlan, Mr. Silas H. Paddon, midshipman, two seamen, wounded.--*Impetueux*, four seamen wounded.--Total, one killed, eight wounded.

Admiralty-Office, August 16.

A letter from the earl of St Vincent, K. B. introduces the following.

SIR, *Uranie, at sea, July 28.*

Cruizing according to your instructions in his majesty's ship under my command, I beg leave to acquaint you of my having captured, this day, *La Revanche* French schooner privateer, mounting 14 six-pounders, with 80 men, belonging to Bayonne; had been out from thence about four months, but last from Vigo (nineteen days), into which port she had carried three prizes, an English brig called the *Marcus*, a Portuguese ship, and a Spanish brig, prize to the *Minerve*.

G. H. TOWRY.

R. G. Keats, esq. captain of his majesty's ship *Boadicea*.

16. About a fortnight ago a refractory spirit discovered itself among the felons confined in the prison in Cold-bath-fields, which was chiefly attributed to various publications that have appeared of late on the state of this gaol. On Wednesday night last it assumed a more serious aspect, for, on locking up the prisoners, many of them were heard to murmur very loudly, and even to threaten the keepers. The next day, as usual, about sixty of them were liberated from their cells, and suffered to take the air in the most

most open places in the prison, but not without a strict eye being kept on their conduct; and they were observed to whisper frequently among themselves, which gave the governor some concern lest they should attempt any thing serious. When the bell rung as the signal for locking-up, they mustered together instead of separating, and appeared to have some plan to execute, but were afraid to begin their operations. However, after a trifling resistance, and a great deal of grumbling, they all suffered themselves to be locked-up in their different cells. It was then that they began to call, and encourage each other to cry out "Murder!"—"Starving," &c. They also abused the magistrates in the grossest terms. Their noise was so loud as to collect round the prison a large mob, who answered them in loud shouts. When they heard the shouting, they again called to the mob to force the gates, and pull down the wall. This kind of conduct alarmed the governor; and he immediately sent for the high constable, who readily attended with a number of assistant constables; at the same time the Clerkenwell association came to the prison, but it was nearly 12 o'clock before they succeeded in dispersing the populace, which consisted of five or six thousand people. One man only was apprehended for riotous conduct on the outside, and taken into the prison. After the felons had become more silent, some of them were heard to call to each other, that it would be best to remain quiet for that night, lest they should not be let out the next day, which was the chapel morning, and that would be a good opportunity to knock down the keepers, and force the gates. This circumstance being communicated to Mr. Baker and

other magistrates, who had attended to give their advice, it was thought prudent not to let the prisoners out of their cells the next day, as usual, a few excepted who were not refractory. Mr. Baker, and three other magistrates, attended the prison a great part of yesterday, and inspected almost every cell for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of their complaint; but they either could or would not give any explanation, except one person, who said that he was starved; but on examining a basket, in which he kept his bread, there was found a pound and a half, which he had saved from his daily allowance, and what his friends had been permitted to send him, besides about two pounds of pudding. The Bloomsbury, St Sepulchre's, St. Clement's, and Clerkenwell associations, all attended by turns to watch the prison; and the Clerkenwell cavalry were parading round the outer gates last night, to keep the mob off, who had again collected in great numbers, but the prisoners seemed to be quiet.

19. Between five and six P.M. there fell at Upper Heyford, in Oxfordshire, a most violent storm of hail, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and succeeded by a tremendous gust of wind: a storm so dreadful in its effects, and so alarming to the beholder, was seldom or never experienced in that country. The hail, or, more properly speaking, large irregular pieces of ice, of the size in general of a hen's egg, broke the windows of many houses that were in the direction of the storm; and the whole of Heyford affords a spectacle truly shocking. The corn, a greater part of which was barley, and very little of it cut, appeared entirely threshed out by the violence of the hail;

scarcely an ear remained whole on the straw, and the ground was totally covered by the shattered corn. The violence of the storm lasted about a quarter of an hour, during which time the poultry suffered much; and the smaller birds of every description were found dead in great numbers on the ground.

Edinburgh, Aug. 23. Miss Ayres, only daughter of Mr Ayres, and Miss Anderson, a young lady residing at Yarrow, were last week on a visit to the family of Mr. Scott, of Singlee, near Selkirk. On Saturday afternoon, Mr. and Mrs. Scott being from home, these ladies, accompanied by two Miss Scotts, went into the garden to walk, having previously inquired at what hour dinner would be ready. The river Ettrick runs past the bottom of the garden. Having been absent considerably beyond the usual hour of dinner, one of the maid-servants went out to inform them that dinner was on the table. On entering the garden, she was struck by the sight of their clothes lying on the bank of the river; and on rushing forward, she discovered the hapless victims four lifeless corpses at the bottom! The distracted creature flew back to the house, and immediately returned with assistance. The bodies were taken out of the river, but every effort to restore animation was ineffectual. This catastrophe is as singular as it is afflicting. The young ladies had gone in to bathe; the Ettrick, where it passes the garden of Singlee, is in general remarkably shallow; but there is one small part of it which is very deep. Into this fatal spot, it is supposed, one of the young ladies (perhaps one of the strangers) had by some unhappy means been conveyed; and the others, witnessing her ineffectual struggles, had either lost

their lives in attempting to rescue their companion, or, deprived of all consciousness by the dreadful scene, had rushed desperately forward to share her fate. These hapless females had scarcely risen into the bloom of womanhood, and one of them was on the eve of her nuptials.

Admiralty-Office, Aug. 23.

Letters from admiral earl St. Vincent, K.B. dated on-board the Royal George, at sea, the 11th inst. and from captain Keats, dated on-board the Boadicea, at sea, the 4th, refer to the following:

SIR, *Fisgard, at sea, Aug. 3.*

I have to inform you, that his majesty's ship under my command has captured the following vessels since the 20th of last month: Saint John Baptist, Spanish lugger (burnt). La Gironde, 16 guns, 141 men, French privateer. L'Alerte, 14 guns, 84 men, French privateer. The Joseph, an English South-Sea ship, prize to the Minerve French privateer. It will, I am sure, give you particular satisfaction to find La Gironde one of the number, as she has long been an active and successful cruizer against the commerce of our country, and was now returning to port with 53 English prisoners taken in the vessels hereafter specified. L'Alerte is only six days from Bourdeaux, and was fitted purposely to cruize for the homeward-bound West-India convoy.

T. B. MARTIN.

R. G. Keats, esq. captain of his majesty's ship Boadicea.

List of vessels captured by La Gironde, French privateer brig:

Swan sloop, Andrew Miller master, from Oporto, laden with wine. Countess of Lauderdale, Thomas Bennett master, from Demerary, laden with sugar and cotton. Ac

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tive brig, Benjamin Tucker master, from Bermuda, laden with sugar and cotton. Young William, Charles Bacon master, from the South-Seas, laden with oil, &c.

Copy of a letter from captain John Wright, commander of his majesty's sloop *Wolverene*, to E. Nepean, esq. dated at St. Marcou, Aug. 9.

SIR,

This morning having been informed by captain Price, that some part of the enemy's convoy, consisting of two large sloops, were attempting to make their escape from the mouth of the river Ifigny, and proceeding along shore to the eastward, I lost no time in giving chase, having in company the *Sparkler* and *Force* gun-brigs. The enemy, finding themselves so hard pressed, and no probability of escape, ran themselves on shore in the bay of Grand Camp, commanded on both sides of the entrance by heavy batteries, which I attacked for near an hour, and was ably assisted by lieutenant Stephens, of the *Sparkler*, and lieutenant Tokely, of the *Force*, covering lieutenant Grégory of the *Wolverene*, with the cutter and jolly-boat with a party of marines, who gallantly boarded the largest vessel, under the fire of three field-pieces, and near 200 men with musquetry, within half-pistol-shot of the shore, and set her on fire, and otherwise disabled her. The other was so completely shot through as to stop her further proceedings. I am happy to have it in my power to inform their lordships, that neither the vessels nor men suffered any thing, excepting three of the *Wolverene's*, who were a good deal burnt, on board the sloop, by an explosion of gunpowder. The enemy lost four men killed on the beach.

JOHN WRIGHT.

Copy of a letter from captain Durham, of his majesty's ship *Anson*, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated Gibraltar, June 27th.

SIR,

This morning, at day-light, I discovered a large convoy, between forty and fifty sail, of different descriptions, in the Straits of Gibraltar. I immediately got under weigh, and gave chase. On our approach they got under the batteries, where they were covered by 25 gun-boats, who, together with the forts, very much annoyed us; notwithstanding, with the assistance of two Gibraltar row-boats, we captured eight, one of which was afterwards re-taken; they proved to be Spaniards, bound from Malaga to Cadiz. I have the satisfaction to inform their lordships, that I have this moment returned to my anchorage with the prizes. I feel much obliged to captain Hay, of the *Constance*, for his disposition of the armed boats, which, had it been calm, would have rendered our success much more complete.

P. C. DURHAM.

Copy of another letter from captain Durham, of his majesty's ship *Anson*, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated Gibraltar, June 30.

SIR,

I have great satisfaction to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that last night I had an opportunity of cutting off two of the Spanish gun-boats (the *Gibraltar* and *Salvador*) who had been, for several days, a very great annoyance to my convoy; they are fine vessels, commanded by king's officers, mounting two 18-pounders in the bow, and eight guns of different dimensions, manned with 60 men; they defended themselves very gallantly, and, I am afraid, have lost a number of men.

P. C. DURHAM.

(E 4)

Admiralty.

Admiralty-Office, Aug. 30.

Letter from captain Mudge, commander of the *Fly*, to Mr. Nepean, dated Guernsey Roads, 24th instant.

SIR,

The heavy gales from the N.N.E. to N.N.W. obliged me to quit the coast of Cherbourg, and, with much difficulty, cleared La Hogue, off which place I captured the *Trompeur* French cutter privateer; had been from Cherbourg two days, and had taken nothing.

ZACHARY MUDGE.

SEPTEMBER.

Downing-Street, Sept. 6.

The following dispatch has been this day received at the office of the right honourable Henry Dundas, from lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, bart. dated on board his majesty's ship *Renown*, at sea, August 27.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that the fleet, on board of which the troops under my command were embarked, arrived before the harbour of Ferrol on the 25th instant. I determined immediately to make a landing, with a view, if practicable, to attempt the town of Ferrol; being certain, if I found either the strength of the place or the force of the enemy too great to justify an attack, that in the landing there was no considerable risk. The disembarkation was effected, without opposition, in a small bay near Cape Prior; the reserve, followed by the other troops as they landed, immediately ascended a ridge of hills adjoining the bay: just as they had gained the summit, the rifle corps fell in with a party of the enemy, which they drove back. I have to regret that lieutenant-colo-

nel Stewart, who commanded this corps, was wounded on the occasion. At day-break the following morning, a considerable body of the enemy was driven back by major-general the earl of Cavan's brigade, supported by some other troops, so that we remained in complete possession of the heights which overlooked the town and harbour of Ferrol; but from the nature of the ground, which is steep and rocky, unfortunately this service could not be performed without loss: the 1st battalion of the 52d regiment had the principal share in this action. The enemy lost about 100 men killed and wounded, and 30 or 40 prisoners. I had now an opportunity of observing minutely the situation of the place, and of forming, from the reports of prisoners, an idea of the strength of the enemy; when, comparing the difficulties which presented themselves, and the risk attendant on failure on one hand, with the prospect of success, and the advantages to be derived from it, on the other, I came to the determination of re-embarking the troops, in order to proceed, without delay, on my farther destination. The embarkation was effected, the same evening, in perfect order, and without loss of any kind. The spirit and alacrity shown by the troops merit every commendation; and, if circumstances had admitted of their being led against the enemy, I should have had every reason to expect success. I am under the greatest obligations to the admiral sir John Borlase Warren, and the officers of the navy, for the judicious arrangements made for the landing and re-embarkation of the troops, and the activity with which they were put in execution. The immediate direction of this service was intrusted to sir Edward Pellew, who per-

formed

formed it in a manner highly creditable to himself, and advantageous to the service.

JAMES PULTENEY.

Return of killed and wounded of the troops landed at Ellaya de Dominos, Aug. 25, under the command of lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, bart. off Ferrol, August 27.

Royals, 2d battalion, one rank and file killed; one rank and file wounded.—23d regiment, three rank and file wounded.—27th ditto, 2d battalion, two rank and file wounded.—54th ditto, 2d battalion, one rank and file wounded.—52d ditto, 1st battalion, nine rank and file killed; one captain, one serjeant, one drummer, 37 rank and file, wounded.—52d ditto, 2d battalion, two rank and file killed; three rank and file wounded.—63d ditto, four rank and file killed; two rank and file wounded.—Rifle corps, one lieutenant-colonel, two captains, one subaltern, eight rank and file, wounded.—79th regiment, two serjeants, two rank and file, wounded.—Total, 16 rank and file killed; one lieutenant-colonel, three captains, one subaltern, three serjeants, one drummer, 59 rank and file, wounded.—Captain Torrens, of the 1st battalion, 52d regiment, dead of his wounds.—Hon. lieutenant-colonel Stewart of the 67th regiment, captain Hamilton of the 27th regiment; captain Trevors of the 79th regiment, lieutenant Edmonston of the 2d battalion Royals (attached to the rifle corps), wounded.

J. PULTENEY, lieutenant-general.

L. Z. VASSALL, dep. adj.-general.

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 6.

Letter from the earl of St. Vincent, K. B. admiral of the white, &c. to Evan Nepean, esq. dated off Ushant, September 2.

SIR,

For the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, I inclose a letter this moment received from rear-admiral sir John Borlase Warren, of his majesty's ship *Renown*, and another from captain Keats, of his majesty's ship *Boadicea*.

ST. VINCENT.

Letter from rear-admiral sir John Borlase Warren, K. B. to admiral the earl of St. Vincent, K. B. dated *Renown*, Bay of Playa de Dominos, August 27.

MY LORD,

I beg leave to inform you, that the squadron and convoy under my command arrived off this bay on the 25th instant, without having fell-in with any thing excepting the *St. Vincent* schooner, who had parted from captain Curzon. General sir James Pulteney having desired that the troops might be disembarked, I desired sir Edward Pellew to superintend that service, assisted by captains Hood, Dalrymple, Fyffe, and Stackpool, with captains Guion, Searle, and Young; which was most ably performed on the same night in the bay above-mentioned, after a fort of eight 24-pounders had been silenced by the fire of the *Impetueux*, *Brilliant*, *Cynthia*, and *St. Vincent* gun-boat: the whole army were on shore, without the loss of a man, together with 16 field-pieces, attended by seamen from the men of war, to carry scaling-ladders, and to get the guns up the heights above Ferrol. On the morning of the 26th the general informed me, by letter, that, from the strength of the country and works, no farther operations could be carried on, and that it was his intention to re-embark the troops; which I ordered to take place, and the captains of the squadron to attend; and I have the satisfaction

tisfaction to add, that, by their indefatigable exertion, the whole army, artillery, and horses, were again taken on-board the transports and men of war before day-break on the 27th. I shall immediately proceed with the squadron and convoy, in pursuance of the latter part of your lordship's orders.

J. B. WARREN.

Boadicea, off Ferrol, Aug. 20.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to inform your lordship of the capture of the Spanish ship *La Union*, of 650 tons, 22 guns, and 130 men, by his majesty's ship under my command, on the 14th inst.; the ship sailed from Corunna on the 13th, was bound to Buenos Ayres, and has on board various merchandise.

R. G. KEATS.

Admiral earl St. Vincent, &c.

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 13.

Copies of inclosures from rear-admiral sir John Borlase Warren to earl St. Vincent, and by him dispatched to Evan Nepean, esq.

Renown, Vigo-Bay, Sept. 2.

MY LORD,

I beg leave to inform you, that, on having ordered captain Hood, of the *Courageux*, to lead into this bay, I received a letter from him on the same evening, and immediately ordered two boats from this ship, the *Impetueux* and *London*; and refer your lordship to a letter which accompanies this, for the account of a gallant action performed by the boats of captain Hood's detachment, under lieutenant Burke's orders, whose merit upon this as well as former occasions will, I trust, induce your lordship to recommend him to the favour of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, more especially as he has been severely wounded in the service.

I am, &c. J. B. WARREN.

Courageux, Vigo-Bay, Aug. 30.

SIR,

Perceiving yesterday afternoon the French privateer in the harbour had removed, for security, near the narrows of Rendonella, close to the batteries, where I thought there was a probability of her being attacked with success, I ordered two boats from each of his majesty's ships *Amethyst*, *Stag*, *Amelia*, *Brilliant*, and *Cynthia*, with those of the *Renown*, *Impetueux*, and *London*, you sent me, and four from the *Courageux*, commanded by lieutenants volunteering their services, to be ready at nine o'clock; and placed them under the direction of lieutenant Burke, of the *Renown*, whose gallant conduct has so often merited your commendation. About 40 minutes past twelve they attacked her with the greatest bravery, meeting with desperate resistance, her commander having laid the hatches over to prevent her people giving way, and cheered as the boats advanced; but notwithstanding this determined opposition, she was carried in 15 minutes. I am sorry to add, lieutenant Burke has received a severe wound, but I hope not dangerous. Our loss has been as per inclosed list, the greater part occasioned by the desperate conduct of her commander, who was mortally wounded. Too much praise cannot be given to these deserving officers and men, who so gallantly supported lieutenant Burke, and towed her out with so much coolness through the fire of the enemy's batteries. I need not, sir, comment on the ability and courage of the commanding lieutenant, his former services having gained your esteem; and I have no doubt the sufferings of his wound will be alleviated by that well-known attention shown to officers who have so gallantly distinguished

guished themselves, for which I beg leave to offer my strongest recommendation. The privateer is a very fine ship, named *La Guipe*, of Bourdeaux, with a flush-deck, 300 tons, pierced for 22 guns, carrying 18 nine pounders, and 161 men, commanded by Citoyen Dupan, stored and provisioned in the completest manner for four months.—She had 25 men killed, and 40 wounded.

I am, &c. SAMUEL HOOD.

Killed, wounded, and missing.

Lieutenant Henry Burke, of the *Renown*, wounded; lieutenants John Henry Holmes and James Nourse, of the *Courageux*, slightly wounded; three seamen and one marine killed; three officers, 12 seamen, five marines, wounded; one seaman missing.

SAM. HOOD.

A letter from vice-admiral lord Hugh Seymour to Evan Nepean, esq. introduces the following:

Tamer, Barbadoes, June 3.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that on Sunday last, the 1st instant, I fell in with and captured, after a chase of eight hours, within gun-shot (his stern chaces constantly flying over the *Tamer*), the French privateer ship general *Massena*, pierced for 18 guns, besides a bridle-port, but had only 16 on-board, and 150 men; his guns, except four brass 12-pounders, with all his boats, spars, &c. he threw overboard during the chase. She is 40 days from Bourdeaux, and coming as a cruizer amongst these islands, he had captured the *Adventure*, of Liverpool, laden with coals, bound to Demarara, and burnt her; and two Americans, one of which he burnt, and the other he sent to Guadaloupe.

T. WESTERN.

14. Last night and this morning some infamous attempts were made to induce the populace of the metropolis to follow the example of the provincial towns where outrages have been committed in the markets. Hand-bills in writing were thrown about the town, particularly in the public markets, provoking the people to rise; and inviting them, “as they valued their rights as Englishmen, to attend at the corn-market on Monday, which would soon produce a diminution in the price of bread of 6d. in the quartern loaf.” Two inflammatory hand-bills of the above tendency, one of a foot square, and written in large Roman characters, the other in a kind of running-hand, were stuck up against the Monument. These provocations to popular outrage induced the lord mayor to take the necessary measures of precaution to secure the public peace. He collected all his civil officers; and received an assurance from the united volunteer corps of the Tower, Langbourne, Billingsgate, and Bridge wards, that they would await his orders.

15. About nine this morning large groupes collected before the Corn Exchange, which increased to about 1000 persons. At 10, they began hissing the mealmen and corn-factors going into the market. Some they hustled, others they pelted with mud. One lusty man, a Quaker, they threw down, and rolled in the kennel. He was much alarmed, and took shelter in a house, the windows of which were broken by the mob. Some others were also thrown down in the streets, and maltreated, by hustling, throwing of mud, &c. Acts of personal violence having been committed, and the disturbances beginning to wear a serious appearance, the lord-mayor

went

went to Mark-lane about 11, accompanied by Mr. alderman Hibbert, and was there joined by sir William Leighton and Mr. sheriff Flower. His lordship addressed the people on the danger and folly of their conduct. He reminded them, that they had as great an interest as himself in giving security to the markets; for, unless the dealers were protected in bringing their corn to sell, we must then indeed perish.—The spirit of discontent and riot, however, still prevailed through this day and the greater part of the evening.

16. An especial court of aldermen was held; who, in the most temperate yet manly terms, determined to protect the peace of the metropolis; and gave it as their decided opinion, “that, from the best information they were able to procure, had not the access to the corn-market been yesterday impeded, and the transactions therein interrupted, a fall in the price of wheat and flour, much more considerable than that which actually took place, would have ensued; and the court were farther of opinion, that no means can so effectually lead to reduce the present excessive prices of the principal articles of food, as the holding out full security and indemnification to such lawful dealers as shall bring their corn or other commodities to market.”

18. Copy of a proclamation for suppressing riots and tumults, and for protecting and encouraging the free supply of the markets.

GEORGE R.

Whereas it has been represented to us that riotous proceedings have taken place in several parts of our kingdom, in consequence of the high price of provisions; and that, in some instances, corn and other articles of provisions have been

violently taken from the owners, and in others the prices of those articles have been reduced by threats and intimidations; we, therefore, having taken the same into our most serious consideration, and being deeply sensible of the many mischievous consequences which must inevitably ensue to the peace of our kingdom, and to the lives and properties of our loving subjects, if such proceedings should not be effectually checked; and also considering that the present high price of corn and other provisions complained of, instead of being reduced, must necessarily be increased by the continuance of such outrages; and that, with a view to effecting any permanent reduction in the price of provisions, and ensuring the continued and regular supply of the accustomed markets, on which the subsistence of every class of our loving subjects must necessarily depend, it is essential that the most ample security be afforded to all farmers, and other lawful dealers in corn, and other articles of provision; we have, therefore, thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, hereby giving notice of our determined resolution effectually to exert our royal authority for suppressing and punishing every attempt tending to impede the regular supplies of the market, or to interrupt or disturb the free sale of the articles brought to the same, by acts of violence, or by intimidation, or by injuring or molesting the persons or properties of any such dealers in corn, or other articles of provision; and strictly commanding and requiring all the lieutenants of our counties, and all our justices of the peace, sheriffs and under sheriffs, and all our civil officers whatsoever, that

that they do take the most effectual means for suppressing all riots and tumults, and to that end do effectually put in execution an act of parliament made in the first year of the reign of our late royal ancestor, of glorious memory, king George the First, intituled, "An act for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies, and for the more speedy and effectual punishing the rioters," and all other laws and statutes made against riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies; and do also use their utmost endeavours for discovering, seizing, and apprehending, the persons who may be concerned in any such riotous and dangerous practices, to the end that they may be brought to justice; and that the said lieutenants of our counties, justices of the peace, and all other our civil officers to whom it may appertain, do give the necessary directions that sufficient watch and ward be duly kept at such times and places as they shall judge necessary for the preventing and suppressing the like disorders: and we do hereby farther strictly charge and command all our officers civil and military, and all our loving subjects, that they be aiding and assisting in the execution of our commands herein, and in the seizing, apprehending, and taking all persons who have offended, or shall offend in manner aforesaid. And we do hereby farther charge and command, that the said offenders be prosecuted according to law, we being resolved to suppress such riots and tumults by the punishment of all such offenders. And we do hereby command the said lieutenants of our counties, the respective justices of the peace, and other magistrates aforesaid, that they do from time to time transmit an exact account of what they shall do, pur-

suant to this our royal proclamation, to one of our principal secretaries of state.

Given at our court at Weymouth, the 18th day of September, 1800, and in the 40th year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.

Weymouth, Sept. 20. This morning Charles Sturt, esq. of Brownsea-castle, M.P. for Bridport, and who is owner of a fast-sailing cutter stationed in the bay, went out early in the morning; and after dinner, being about two leagues from shore, made a match for his cutter to sail against that of Mr. Weld, of Lulworth-castle. When in the onset, Mr. Sturt's cutter having the boat fastened to her stern, he ordered a boy to go into her, and convey it to shore, as he supposed it retarded and impeded the sailing. The child (the sea running high) being afraid, Mr. S. requested any man on board; but they also declined the task; on which he jumped into the boat, when just at that instant, the rope, by which it was lashed, parted from the vessel, and he was, by the force of the tide, drifted to sea at a considerable distance, when the boat, by the surges, upset. In this perilous situation, left at the mercy of the waves, he had the presence of mind to pull off all his clothes, except his nankeen trowsers and stockings, keeping his station as well as he could, sometimes on the keel of the boat, and then, dashed off by a tremendous wave, compelled to swim and regain his former station.— Giving up all for lost, previous to throwing away his clothes, he wrote with a pencil on a slip of paper, which he put into his watch-case, the following label:—"Charles Sturt, Brownsea, to his beloved wife."— The watch, in the case of which
Mr

Mr. Sturt placed the label, was of the most elegant kind, being enriched with diamonds, &c. and is reported to be worth upwards of 300 guineas. It was a present from his lady. This he preserved by fastening it to his trowsers, the only covering he left himself. But here may be seen the all-protecting care of divine providence. Some transports, which were intended to carry the troops to Guernsey and Jersey, by contrary winds were obliged to put back; all had passed but the last vessel, unnoticing him, when one of the mates exclaimed, "Good God! there is a man in distress!" on which every friendly British heart was ready. The transports could not bring to, as they lay full three miles to the windward, and a heavy sea, when four resolute fellows embarked in the boat, the man only being occasionally visible, and followed the line in which they perceived him; and, after near two hours, they came up with him, as he was only to be seen within a few yards, now almost worn out, when they lifted him into the boat; in which he had no sooner arrived, than he grasped his kind deliverers, lifting his hands to providence for their relief, and burst instantaneously into tears: thus the bold, the intrepid, in danger, never shrunk, yet on his deliverance sympathetic tears flowed from his eyes. After this, let no man arraign the inscrutable eye of providence. A few moments more and a most valuable member would have been lost to society—it being nearly dark, with a heavy sea, when they took him up. It is equally in justice to his liberality, as well as his intrepidity, to mention he has handsomely rewarded his brave protectors. What adds more to the illustration of his character is, he possesses an excellent fortune,

which, with a liberal hand and benevolent heart, is used to benefit society and for public good. In February, 1799, by his intrepidity, he saved the lives of a ship's crew, who would otherwise have perished, they were shipwrecked near his seat at Brownsea-castle, within a short distance of Poole, and were clinging to the wreck. In this perilous situation he offered 100 guineas to any person who would attempt their deliverance. The sea then running mountains high, and death appearing engulfed in every wave, every one declined; when he, with an intrepidity unparelled, jumped into his boat: this encouraged the rest; they ventured, and by these means the lives of these brave men were saved. The singularity of this event is, that he then saved four sailors; and in his late preservation he was saved also by four sailors, from the Middleton transport.

20. During the greater part of this week several alarming tumults occurred in the metropolis. Corn-dealers, butchers, bakers, and cheese-mongers, were the objects of popular fury; but the vigour and promptitude of the chief magistrate, aided by the zeal and alacrity of the volunteer associations, prevented the mob (except in two or three instances) from effecting any greater mischief than the breaking of windows and lamps.

23. At a court of aldermen held this day, the lord mayor congratulated his brethren on the restoration of good order and perfect tranquillity in every part of the city. After thanking, in the warmest terms, the officers and the private gentlemen of the city association, for their very manly, humane, and constitutional exertions; his lordship added, that he meant to continue his personal exertions, and, with a watchful eye

to guard the peace of the metropolis. He therefore firmly relied upon the support of the gentlemen volunteers, should there be any necessity for their service; which, however, he hoped and believed would not be the case. The court was exceedingly gratified on the occasion. A correspondence between his lordship and the duke of Portland was laid before them, in which his grace expresses his entire satisfaction at the measures pursued in the city.

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 20.

Letter from captain Price, of his majesty's sloop Badger, to E. Nepean, esq. dated at St. Marcou, September 16.

SIR,

I beg leave to represent to you, for the information of their lordships, the account of a very gallant action performed yesterday by two of the boats belonging to his majesty's gun-vessel, within four miles of the West island, under the command of lieutenant M'Cullen, of the marines. About 2 P. M. of the 15th, I observed a long lugger between Issegny and us, and thought I could cut her off from La Hogue. I directed lieutenant M'Cullen, with 24 picked men in my ten-oared galley and six-oared cutter, to endeavour to board her, and directed lieutenant Steevens (by signal) to slip and cover the boats with his majesty's gun-brig Sparkler, then for all boats manned and armed to support the leading boats. The service was so well performed, that the Sparkler took the fire of two batteries of two 4-pounders and two 12-pounders, which prevented its being directed against the boats. The lugger perceiving the boats determined, lowered her sails, rowed on shore, cut away all her masts and rigging, and got on shore; our cutter immediately boarded her, under the fire

of several hundred musquetry, and towed her off. She proves to be La Victoire privateer (row-boat), captain Barrier, belonging to Boulogne, mounting four swivels, rows 26 oars, quite new, from appearance had at least 40 men on-board; she is 60 feet long, nine feet beam, and the completest boat for the service of the islands that possibly could be constructed. In performing this, I beg you will mention the gallant manner lieutenant Steevens ran the gun-brig into two fathom water; kept up a continual fire for one hour under the batteries, which diverted their fire from the boats; lieutenant M'Cullen, of the marines, who so determinately led the boats, and the good conduct of the 24 men who so well performed the service; and from the continual fire of musquetry, I am happy to find so small a loss as my gunner's mate (Joseph Silk) wounded by a musket-ball in the shoulder. The Sparkler has received no other damage than a few shot through her sails, and some of her rigging cut.

I am, &c. CHARLES PRICE.

[This gazette likewise contains a letter from captain Ballard, of his majesty's ship Pearl, to lord Keith, dated off Mahon, July 23, giving an account of the boats of the Pearl, with their crews, under the direction of lieutenant Crawley, attacking two Spanish xebecs, one mounting eight guns, and six settees, mostly armed and deeply laden, and six smaller vessels, under their protection. Captain Ballard brought five of them to anchor; the other three he was obliged to scuttle, owing to a gale of wind, by which James Parker, seaman, was drowned, and the yawl of the Pearl sunk.—Also a letter from captain Fayerman to earl St. Vincent, giving an account of the capture of the Dragon, a very fast-

fast-sailing, copper-bottomed sloop letter of marque, from Guadaloupe to Bourdeaux, laden with sugar, coffee, and cotton, on the 27th ult. by his majesty's ship Beaulieu, and sloop Sylph in company.]

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 23. This gazette contains a list of ships taken and detained from May 20 to August 3, by the Squadron late under the command of sir Hyde Parker, at Jamaica, consisting of six armed vessels, and nearly 100 others; also a letter from lord H. Seymour, inclosing a similar list of vessels taken at the Leeward Islands, from March 26 to July 20, amounting together to 62 sail, of which 14 were enemy's privateers, eight trading vessels, five re-captured English vessels, 26 re-captured American vessels, and nine detained on suspicion, under neutral colours.

It likewise contains a proclamation, farther prohibiting the exportation, and encouraging the importation of corn, for 40 days after the commencement of the next session of parliament, which stands prorogued from Tuesday the 7th of October to the 11th of November next.

Foreign Letter Office, Sept. 24. The Hamburg mail of this day brings an extract from the Vienna court gazette, of the 6th inst. in which the emperor, after expressing his sincere inclination and wish for peace, notifies his intention of putting himself at the head of the army of the Danube; the French having unexpectedly, and without any reasonable cause, given notice of the cessation of the armistice. The emperor is to be accompanied by his brother, the archduke John. According to some accounts, the archduke Charles will likewise repair to the army from Prague. The Hungarian insurrection or general levy

has been ordered: a similar levy, it is said, will take place through all the hereditary states. The emperor left Vienna to go to the army on the 6th.

29. The election came on this day at Guildhall, for two proper persons to be returned to the court of aldermen, for their choice of one of them to be lord mayor for the year ensuing; when the show of hands was declared by the sheriffs to be in favour of the present lord mayor and sir William Staines; but a poll being demanded by the friends of Mr. alderman Newman, the same was granted, and immediately commenced.—[See October 6].

OCTOBER.

3. At a common hall this day, it was unanimously resolved to petition the king to convene his parliament, to take into consideration the present high price of provisions; and that the same shall be presented to his majesty *on the throne*. And the sheriffs were directed to attend his majesty, to learn his royal pleasure when he would be pleased to receive the same.

Admiralty-Office, Oct. 4.

A letter from lord Keith, dated on-board the Minotaur, in Leghorn Roads, July 10, introduces the following:

Phoenix, at sea, June 18.

MY LORD,

I beg to acquaint your lordship, that early yesterday morning, being off the Hieres Islands, and little wind, I sent lieutenant Thompson, with the boats of his majesty's ship Phoenix, in chase of a small vessel standing in for Hieres Bay; and at nine A.M. they captured her; she proved to be La Revanche, French national vessel, coppered, mounting four carriage-guns and four swivels.

vels, with twenty-seven men, partly laden with brandy, wine, cheese, and pork, two days from Toulon, and bound to Malta with dispatches, which were thrown over-board.—I am sorry to add, that in capturing the above vessel we lost one man; and unfortunately this morning, it blowing strong, she overset, but happily no lives were lost.

J. W. HALSTED.

6. On the close of the poll this day at Guildhall, the sheriffs declared the majority to be in favour of sir William Staines and the present lord mayor; and having reported the same to the court of aldermen, sir W. Staines was by them elected lord mayor.

This morning, between 7 and 8 o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out on the premises of Messrs. Tydy and Barbe, ship-builders, Wapping, by the boiling over of a pitch-kettle.—Every exertion was directed to save the goods and furniture of that and the neighbouring houses; and the greatest alarm was excited by the knowledge that several barrels of gunpowder were stowed in Mr. Tydy's warehouses; they were, however, all taken away from the neighbourhood, except three, which were rolled, by mistake, to Mr. Culmer's, mathematical instrument-maker, over the way; these took fire, and completely blew up all the floors, beams, and roof of the house; and Mr. Culmer's son, who was seen in the top room of the house a minute before, and an apprentice who was in the shop, were destroyed by the explosion. Mr. Conolly, a publican, in passing near Mr. Culmer's house, likewise lost his life; and a poor woman was killed by a fall of bricks and tiles from one of the burning houses. From Mr. Tydy's, the fire extended to the Dundee Arms, whence the Graves-

end boats set out, which was consumed; and thence to a pile of hoops, of from 20 to 30 feet high: the flames, proceeding from so large a quantity of light wood, were strong and violent, and, changing with the variations of the wind, seemed to direct their fury in all directions. Messrs. Wilkinsons' pottery and house, adjoining the yard, felt their fatal effects; and, presently after, a breeze from across the river turned them directly against a wooden house on the opposite side of the way, which took fire in a few minutes, and communicated the flames to a large cooperage and timber-yards behind it, which consumed an immense number of staves, casks, hoops, &c. Several of Messrs. Richard's stores and cooperages were destroyed; but their store of vats, and malt-house, containing 500 quarters of malt, were preserved, by supplying the engines with water from their large reservoirs, it being ebb-tide. Messrs. James and Co. coopers, sustained also a considerable loss, the greater part of their stock having been consumed. From Wilkinsons, and the Police Office, which were consumed, the flames communicated to Messrs. Curtis's dwelling-house, adjoining their brewery, when a sudden shifting of the wind fortunately turned the flames to the east and north, so that the brewery escaped. At the water side, every thing was destroyed from Curtis's brewhouse to the Phoenix wharf; and a lighter, which was aground at the back of the Dundee Arms, was burnt to the water's edge. Not less than 50 houses have been utterly destroyed, or burnt to the ground. Messrs. Jones, Weatherhead and son have lost at least 12,000*l*. Amongst the property which has suffered, are the premises of Messrs. Curtis and sons, (F) brewers;

brewers; Messrs. Wilkinson and sons, potters; Messrs. James and Co. coopers and hoop-binders; Mr. Minshaw, the Dundee Arms; Mr. Archibald, flosseller; Messrs. Pickard and Co. brewers; Mr. Cocks, cork-cutter; Mr. Gibbons, sail-maker; Mr. Culmer, mathematical instrument-maker; Mr. Kirkland, and the Thames Police-Office.—Messrs. Tydys had been accustomed to keep their bank-notes and valuable papers in a strong iron chest, surrounded with bricks, and, supposing that they would be safe there, they refused to have them moved; but, on opening the chest among the ruins, they found every paper in it was destroyed. The bricks and iron had been thoroughly heated, and had, of course, burnt the papers.—The fire was principally suppressed by pulling down some buildings, and by the execution performed by the floating fire-engine of the Sun fire-office. On Tuesday the 21st inst. as some women and children were employing themselves in picking rubbish on the site, the remaining part of a wall fell, and buried under its ruins two women and four children; who were in a few minutes all dug out alive, though dreadfully wounded, and conveyed to the London infirmary.

9. The sheriffs reported that they had attended his majesty at Weymouth, and obtained an audience immediately after their arrival. In answer to their request, his majesty said, "Please to inform the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, that I will receive their address and petition at my levee at St. James's, on Wednesday the 15th instant."—And on the remembrancer's reading the resolutions of the livery, his majesty observed, "That he was always ready to receive the petitions of

his faithful subjects, but that he was the best judge *where* he should do so."—On this the common hall resolved, "That whoever advised his majesty to persist in refusing to his faithful subjects free access in these times of peculiar difficulty and distress is equally unworthy of his majesty's confidence, and an enemy to the rights and privileges of the citizens of London."

Downing-Street, Oct. 11.

The following dispatch has been this day received by the right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from major-general Pigot, commanding his majesty's troops in the island of Malta.

SIR, *Malta, Sept. 6.*

Conceiving that it may be of the utmost consequence that his majesty's ministers should be acquainted, as soon as possible, with the surrender of the important fortress of La Valette, I have desired Mr. Paget to dispatch a messenger to England, with a copy of my letter to general sir Ralph Abercromby on the subject, and the articles of capitulation which are herewith sent you. We yesterday took possession of some of the works, and our ships entered the harbour, and I am in hopes the whole will be evacuated by the enemy tomorrow, except the island of Mangel, where, agreeable to the capitulation, such are to remain as cannot immediately be sent to France for want of ships to take them. I am, &c.

H. PIGOT, major-general.

SIR, *Malta, Sept. 5.*

I have great satisfaction in acquainting you with the surrender of the fortress of La Valette, with all its dependencies, after sustaining a blockade of two years. The capitulation has been signed this day. I had every reason to suppose that this most formidable fortress was likely

likely soon to fall, from the circumstance of the two French frigates, *La Justice* and *La Diane*, going out of the harbour a few nights ago; one of which, *La Diane*, by the vigilance of the blockading squadron, was soon captured, and there are still some hopes that the other may have shared the same fate. Judging of how much consequence it may be, that you should have the earliest intimation of this important capture, I have delayed, till another opportunity, sending returns of the stores, &c. found in the place, which could not yet be made up. During the short time you were here, you must have been sensible of the great exertions which brigadier-general Graham must have made with the limited force he had, previous to my arrival with a reinforcement: he has ever since continued these exertions; and I consider that the surrender of the place has been accelerated by the decision of his conduct, in preventing any more inhabitants from coming out of the fortress a short time before I came here. He was sent to negotiate the terms of capitulation with general Dubois, and I am much indebted to him for his assistance in that business. I am happy to say, that I have experienced every support from brigadier-general Moncrieff, and the officers of the British and allied troops, whose conduct in every respect has been most exemplary. The service of the engineer department, under captain Gordon, has been carried on with great zeal and perseverance. I think it right to mention to you, that lieutenant-colonel of the royal artillery, the assistant quarter-master-general, has rendered considerable service. He landed here, with his party, on the Strombolo bomb, at the commencement of the blockade;

and for a long time did duty with these few men, without any other British or regular troops of any description. I have great pleasure in acknowledging the constant and ready assistance and co-operation I have received from captain Ball, of his majesty's ship the *Alexander*, who has been employed on shore during the greater part of the blockade: his name and services are already well known to his majesty's ministers; and I am sure I need not say more than that those he has performed here do credit to his former character. I herewith transmit you the terms of the capitulation.— I have derived great assistance from my aid-de-camp captain Dalrymple, who has for some time been doing duty as assistant adjutant-general.

H. PIGOT, major-general.

General sir R. Abercromby, K. B. &c.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation.]

Admiralty-Office, Oct. 11.

Letter from captain George Martin, of his majesty's ship *Northumberland*, to E. Nepean, esq. dated off St Paul's, Sept. 5.

SIR,

As my lord Keith is now at Mahon, and it may be some time before he has an opportunity of communicating with their lordships, I have the honour to inclose a copy of my letter to his lordship, giving an account of the surrender of the French garrison of La Valette, and one of the 19th of August, acquainting him of the capture of *La Diane* French frigate.

I am, &c. GEORGE MARTIN.

Northumberland, off Malta, Sept. 5.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that the French garrison of La Valette surrendered yesterday to the allied forces serving at Malta, and to inclose the copy of the ar-

ticles of capitulation. I have not yet been able to obtain an account of the ordnance and stores in the garrison; the moment it can be procured I will transmit it to your lordship. I inclose a list of the ships and vessels found in the harbour.

I am, &c. GEORGE MARTIN.

To lord Keith, K. B. &c.

A list of the ships and vessels found in the harbour of La Valette, when the place capitulated.

L'Atenian, Maltese ship, of 64 guns, in good condition.—Le De-go, Maltese ship of 64 guns, not in a state to proceed to sea.—La Cartagenoise, Maltese frigate, not in a state to proceed to sea.—Two merchant ships, wanting repair.—One brig, fit for sea.—One zebeck, and two other small vessels.—Five or six gun-boats, not fit for service.

Northumberland, off St. Paul's, Aug. 29.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that the frigates La Justice and La Diane sailed from the harbour of La Valette on the night of the 24th, and were immediately pursued by his majesty's ships off that port; and that the latter, after a chase of some hours, and a running fight with the Success, struck to that ship, the Genereux, and Northumberland. La Justice, I am sorry to add, escaped under cover of the night, and has not since been heard of. La Diane mounts 42 guns, 18 and 9 pounders, but had only 114 men on board, having left the remainder to assist in the defence of the garrison.

I am, &c. GEORGE MARTIN.

To lord Keith, K. B. &c.

Admiralty-Office, Oct. 11.

Letter from vice-admiral lord Keith, to E. Nepean, esq. dated Foudroyant, Gibraltar Bay, September 15.

SIR,

My letter of the 11th inst. will have acquainted their lordships of my having formed the resolution of attempting an enterprise against two armed vessels, reported to be receiving stores in the roads of Barcelona for the relief of Malta. I have now the satisfaction of informing you, that this service has been very judiciously arranged by captain Louis, of the Minotaur, and most gallantly and successfully executed by captain Hillyer of the Niger, and lieutenant Schomberg of the Minotaur, in the boats of these ships, as will appear by the report made to me thereon by captain Louis, a copy of which is herewith inclosed. I have no doubt that their lordships will justly appreciate the merits of the officers by whom this gallant and enterprising service has been performed.

KEITH.

Minotaur, Sept. 6.

MY LORD,

Knowing how anxious and desirous your lordship was, as well as the service to my country, by cutting out or destroying the two corvettes, lying in Barcelona road, mentioned in your lordship's orders to captain Oliver, and in order to check the two ships sailing upon this intended secret expedition, induced me to persevere in the following attempt: on the evening of the 3d instant, after having delivered captain Hillyer of the Niger his orders to join your lordship, a breeze sprung up from the westward, with every appearance of a close night. I again called him on board, with the signal at the same time to prepare boats.—Captain Hillyer and lieutenant Schomberg volunteered the service, assisted by lieutenants Warrant, Lowry, lieutenant Healy of the Niger, Mr. Zeid, master, and lieutenant Jewell, of the marines. The boats left

the

the Minotaur about eight o'clock in the evening. The firing began from all quarters near nine; about 10 o'clock I had the pleasing satisfaction to see two ships dropping out of the road under a heavy fire from the ships, four strong batteries, ten gun-boats, two schooners with 42-pounders each—the fort of mount Joni the same time throwing shells. The Minotaur and Niger were placed in good season to cover the party. The service was performed throughout with an enterprising spirit, good conduct, and in a gallant style. The loss, which I shall inform your lordship, of killed and wounded fell principally upon two boats, not great, when compared to the situation the number of boats and so many men were placed in for a considerable time. The ships about 11 o'clock were perfectly clear from the enemy's batteries and gun-boats, the men of war checking the movements of the latter: the ships captured, named Conception, alias Esmiralda, and la Paz, about 400 tons, each mounting 22 brass guns, 12 and 9-pounders, laden with provision and stores, &c. &c. &c. supposed for Batavia, and on Dutch account: they were to have taken 300 troops of the regiment of Batavian-Swiss on board from the island of Majorca. I found several Dutch officers on board the Esmiralda. The officers and several of the men of la Paz, during the action, quitted her in boats. La Paz is a very fine ship, quite new, never at sea before, sails remarkably well, and, I make no doubt your lordship will find her in all respects calculated for his majesty's service; the Esmiralda is also a very fine ship. I beg leave strongly to recommend to your lordship's notice captain Hillyer and lieutenant Schomberg; their services upon

this occasion deserve the first attention and highest praises; at the same time I cannot pass without notice the general good conduct of every officer and man serving under my command. I herewith send the list of killed and wounded.

THOMAS LOUIS.

List of killed and wounded.—Minotaur, Mr. Reid, master, slightly wounded.—Niger, two seamen killed; four seamen and one marine (since dead) wounded.

Killed and wounded on board the enemy's ships.—La Paz, one seaman killed; four seamen wounded.—Esmiralda, two seamen killed; 17 seamen wounded.

THOMAS LOUIS.

Admiralty-Office, Oct. 14.

Letter from William Ricketts, esq. commander of his majesty's sloop El Corso, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated Trieste, September 14.

SIR,

I herewith inclose you a copy of a letter to the right honourable lord Keith, K. B. vice-admiral of the red, and commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean. I am, &c.

W. RICKETTS.

El Corso, Ancona, Aug. 28.

MY LORD,

In compliance with your order to destroy the vessels in the harbour, and make a proper example of the town of Cefenatico, I proceeded with his majesty's cutter the Pigmy off that port; but, finding it impossible to get within grape-shot of the Mole, was under the necessity of deferring the attempt till the night of the 26th, when the boats of both vessels, under the order of lieutenant Yeo, first of El Corso, proceeded to Cefenatico, and, soon after day-light, I perceived them in possession of the town, successfully maintaining a position against some

French troops in the neighbourhood; but about eight, observing a party of horse in full speed from Cervia, I judged it prudent to call them immediately on board, though not before we had the satisfaction of seeing, that the gallantry of lieutenant Yeo, aided by Mr. Douglass, master of the Pigmy, had been crowned with the fullest success; the vessels and harbour at that time forming but one flame; and that the intent of this enterprise might not be lost on the coast, I shortly afterwards sent in the attached note. I have the honour likewise to inclose the report of lieutenant Yeo, and remain, &c. W. RICKETTS.

To the inhabitants of Cefenatico.

"The treachery of your municipality, in causing to be arrested an officer with dispatches, has been long known to the British admiral in these seas. That municipality may now sadly know, that the severity of judgment, long delayed, is always exemplary. That the innocent suffer with the guilty, though much to be regretted, is the natural feature of war; and the more terrible the infliction on this occasion, the more striking should the example prove to surrounding municipalities. (Signed) W. RICKETTS."

Report.—Of 13 vessels of different descriptions, lying within the Mole of Cefenatico, two were sunk, and 11 burnt; one of them deeply laden with copper, money, and bale goods; the harbour choaked by the wreck of four sunk in the mouth of it; and both piers entirely consumed.

(Signed) JOHN LUCAS YEO.

A letter from lord St. Vincent introduces the following:

Boadicea, at sea, Oct. 4.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to inform you, that the Fisgard chased from the Squadron, on the 30th ultimo, and

on the day following brought in the Spanish brig (sloop of war), as reported by captain Martin's accompanying letter, El Vivo; and also, that captain Griffiths, of the Diamond, returned to the Squadron on the 1st inst. with a French brig-privateer, of 14 guns and 60 men, named la Rancune, taken by that ship on the 27th ult.

R. G. KEATS.

Fisgard, at sea, Sept. 30.

SIR,

I beg to inform you, that his majesty's ship Fisgard, under my command, has captured the Vivo Spanish brig of war, of 14 18-pounder carronades and 100 men; two days from Ferrol, bound to America with sealed orders and dispatches, which they threw overboard in the chase.

T. B. MARTIN.

Captain Keats, Boadicea.

[This gazette also contains a letter from lord Keith, which incloses a list of armed and merchant vessels, of different nations, captured, recaptured, &c. in the Mediterranean, amounting to 84 in number].

14. At a court of common council, the following address was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be presented to his majesty by the whole court:

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble address and petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled.

"Most gracious sovereign,

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, humbly approach your throne with deep concern, to represent that every class of your majesty's subjects, but more especially those of the laborious and industrious

ous poor, are now suffering extreme distress, arising from the excessive price of bread, and of every other necessary article of life. Under circumstances so trying, your majesty may rest assured, that your faithful citizens of London, steady in their attachment to your majesty's person and government, and in their confidence in that happy constitution under which we live, have discouraged, and will continue to discourage, every attempt to excite tumultuous and disorderly proceedings, not only unjustifiable in themselves, but directly tending to continue and to increase the present calamity, and will, both by active exertions and by example, do their utmost to encourage a strict and uniform obedience to the laws, looking to the legislature, and to that only, under divine providence, for relief; and trusting in your majesty's paternal regard for your people, that its utmost energy will be exerted for that purpose. We, therefore, humbly pray, that your majesty will be pleased speedily to convene your parliament, that they may concert such measures as they in their wisdom shall judge most effectual to remove the sufferings, and supply the wants, of your people; thereby preserving to them the blessings they have long enjoyed under your majesty's mild and gracious government.

Signed, by order of the court,
Rix."

16. This day the lord mayor and corporation of London attended his majesty with their address; which being presented to the king on the throne, his majesty was pleased to make this most gracious answer: "I am always desirous of recurring to the advice and assistance of my parliament on any public emergency; and, previous to receiving

your petition, I had given directions for convening my parliament for the dispatch of business."

Admiralty-Office, Oct. 18. This gazette contains an inclosure from lord Keith, stating the capture of a Spanish privateer, of 10 guns and 55 men, by the *Flora*, captain Middleton; and of *La Mouche*, French ship, of 20 guns and 145 men, and a small Spanish privateer, by *La Minerve*, captain Cockburne.

Margate, Oct. 22. The weather, which on Monday might have vied with the finest day of summer, has in the course of a few hours changed to the rigour of a Siberian winter. The few swallows left are on the wing for warmer climes. Cold and uncomfortable as the atmosphere of London sometimes is, it can in no degree compare to the rude blasts that sweep the Northern sea, and are here felt in their utmost severity.— A most tremendous storm of wind came on about three o'clock this morning. It is said to have exceeded all description; and the morning's dawn presented a scene of devastation on the parade, without a parallel in the memory of the oldest inhabitant. The jutting, for 30 yards, and all the shops, including the fishmonger's, watchmaker's, and Mantle's the fruiterer, were beat down by a collier, who broke from her moorings in the harbour, and was driven in by the hurricane.— Soon after, a heavy swell from the north washed away at least half the parade, which stood about six feet above the surface of the water when at high tide. The inhabitants on the other side the parade were first alarmed by the fishermen; and when they got up, and saw no barrier between their houses and the sea, their apprehensions increased, and sentiments of horror took possession of their

their minds, which were not calmed until the storm abated.

Admiralty-Office, Oct. 25.

Copy of a letter from the earl of St. Vincent, K. B. admiral of the white, &c. to E. Nepean, esq. dated the 17th inst.

SIR,

By the Lord Nelson cutter I have this day received the inclosed letter from captain Knight, of his majesty's ship *Montague*, detailing a very meritorious piece of service performed by the boats of that ship and of the *Magnificent*; and lieutenant Percy informs me, that, on the 1st inst. in the Lord Nelson, he captured and burnt a sloop from Camaret, bound to Bourdeaux, laden with empty casks; and on Monday last drove on shore, under a battery, three brigs and three sloops, apparently empty, which had made their escape from within the Penmarks during the late gales of wind.

I am, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

Montague, at sea, Oct. 13.

MY LORD,

On returning westward yesterday before L'Orient, I saw at noon a small convoy of brigs, sloops, &c. taking refuge in Port Danenne; which I approached, and prepared the armed boats of the two ships to attack; and while placing this ship to cover them, dispatched the *Montague's* boats, under the direction of lieutenants Bysett and Knight, who were followed and ably supported by those of the *Magnificent*, in which were lieutenants Dunlop and Griffiths, who, notwithstanding the fire kept up from two of the vessels who were armed, and a battery firing round and grape (under which the vessels lay, touching the ground), they boarded, took possession, and brought out 11 vessels, and burnt one: another had

been sunk by the enemy's shot, leaving only one, whose situation in the creek would not admit of getting her out. This little piece of service, completely and expeditiously performed, with the loss of only one seaman killed, and two wounded of the *Montague*, and one of the latter of the *Magnificent*, has won my approbation, and, I trust, will merit your lordship's. On this duty, lieutenants Alexander, Montgomerie, Mitchell, and Jordan, of the marines, were employed, as was lieutenant Samarin, of the Russian navy, who volunteered his service, all entitled to applause, as were the seamen and marines, for their regular and spirited conduct.

JOHN KNIGHT.

List of vessels.—Three sloops, (one of them sunk), three brigs, and five luggers.

A letter from lord Keith to E. Nepean, esq. introduces the following:

Termagant, Leghorn, Sept. 6.

MY LORD,

I have to acquaint your lordship, that on the 1st inst. in his majesty's sloop under my command, 30 leagues to the westward of Corsica, after a chase of two hours, I captured a French national polacre, called *La Capricieuse*, commanded by citizen Gandferrand, enseigne de vaisseau, mounting six guns, manned with 68 men, was victualled for two months, had left Toulon three days, and was bound to Egypt. She had on board 350 stand of arms, a quantity of shot, a French general, and a chef de bataillon; but the dispatches (except the two letters I have the honour to inclose) were destroyed before I boarded her. I have also to add, that on the 4th instant, after a short chase, ten leagues from this place, I took the General Holtz French privateer, with

with two guns and 26 men, which I scuttled and sunk.—I am, &c.

W SKIPSEY.

Letter from captain Cunningham to earl St. Vincent.

Clyde, Plymouth-Sound,

MY LORD, O^r. 22.

I have the honour to transmit, for your lordship's information, a list of vessels destroyed, captured, and re-captured, during the last cruize of his majesty's ship under my command: Deux Amis Spanish letter of marque, four guns and 27 men, from Vera Cruz to St. Andero, burnt in the harbour of St. Vincent; captured El Beloz, Spanish packet, four guns and 30 men, from the Havannah to Corunna; La Rose French schooner, from Bourdeaux to Guadaloupe; and La Magicienne French schooner, from Senegal to Bourdeaux; re-captured the Dick Guineaman, of Liverpool, taken by the Grand Decidé privateer; at this time the Fisgard was in sight, who, I apprehend, captured the latter about two hours after.

C. CUNNINGHAM.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of the Petit Chasseur French privateer, by captain Durban, of the Weazle sloop; L'Active French letter of marque, loaded with sugar; Victorieux French merchant brig, laden with cotton and coffee; El Rey Carlos Spanish packet, laden with sugar, indigo, and cochineal, by captain Cockburne, of the Minerve; and the Victor Natalie, a small French cutter, by the Profelyte, captain Fowke.]

29. At a meeting at Hackney of the freeholders of Middlesex, to consider the propriety of presenting a petition to parliament, to entreat it to investigate the causes of the high price of provisions, and to ef-

fectuate their reduction, the proposal was unanimously received; a petition was agreed to; and resolutions to this effect were passed: That the excessive dearness of provision is attended with much inconvenience to the middling classes of society, and crushes the industrious poor with distress which they cannot support. — That a continuance of the high prices of the necessaries of life must either increase the price of labour, or the rates of the poor; must injure the national commerce, diminish the public revenue, and create general discontent. — That the deep-rooted and extensive causes of this dangerous evil cannot be destroyed but by legislative interference; and that the adoption of palliative regulations, and temporary remedies only, will give vigour to its growth, and permanence to its duration. — That a petition be presented from this county to parliament, entreating its immediate attention to the subject, and the introduction of such measures as shall afford not only immediate but permanent relief. — That the principal cause of the present distress is the war in which we are engaged; and that our representatives be instructed to vote against its continuance on every opportunity in parliament.

Admiralty-Office, O^r. 31. This gazette reports that the boats of the Excellent, honourable captain Stopford, under the command of lieutenant Bain, had cut out three large brigs, in a creek to the eastward of Abreverak. The service was very dexterously and completely executed, and they were all brought out through a very intricate navigation.—One seaman mortally wounded.

31. The alterations in the house of commons, preparatory to the meeting

meeting of the Imperial parliament, began in August. The oaken wainscoting at each side has been removed, and this removal gives again to the view the venerable walls of what was once St. Stephen's chapel. The Gothic pillars, the finished scroll-work, and the laboured carvings, are, generally speaking, in good preservation. But what is more observable is, that the paintings which fill the interstices, having been protected from the action of the air for so many centuries, are, in many parts, as fresh and vivid as if they could only boast a twelvemonth's date. In the right-hand corner, behind the speaker's chair, and about five feet from the ground, there is a virgin and child, with Joseph bending over them, well preserved, and tolerably executed in colour; and Edward III. and his queen and suite making their offering to the virgin. Under them, in six niches, as many knights in armour, with their tabards of arms, and in each angle an acolyte holding a taper. Adjoining these, and on the same level, are two whole length figures of angels, their heads reclining on the shoulders, and holding each, extended before them, a piece of drapery, or mantle, charged with various devices, or armorial bearings; their wings composed of peacock's feathers, very highly finished, and in which the green and gold are, in general, as lively as if they had been newly laid on. The same may be said of the gilding of the cornices, which, as far as they have been laid bare, are very richly decorated. On each side of the altar are pictures of the nativity, the presentation in the temple, the marriage in Cana; and a fourth, in which the devil is introduced coming through the air, perhaps repre-

senting the temptation. On the south wall, near the altar, are three beautiful stone stalls, with rich flowered arches, and west of them a narrower one, reaching below them. Over the figures, on each side, on an inverted frieze, are the arms of the royal family and nobility in 18 shields, and between each shield grotesque figures of men and animals. On the opposite side of the chapel are figures of men in complete armour, with inscriptions under them, which are nearly illegible. Under two of them, however, were distinctly to be read the names of "*Eustace*" and "*Mercuré*" in black letter characters. The interior roof of the building, which has at all times been visible over the house of commons, speaks sufficiently as to the style of the architecture, and the laboured *minutiæ* of the ornaments; but, not having been covered in the same manner with the lower parts, it offers but a very faint idea of the superb finishing and expensive decoration bestowed by our ancestors upon a building, which has been so strangely converted to a purpose very foreign indeed from its primitive use.

31. This night, about nine o'clock, a fire broke out at Mr. Smith's, a shoe-maker, close to Aldgate pump, which in a short time consumed his house and three others adjoining; namely, Shuter's toy-shop, Jones, optician, and Holdsworth, leather-seller. They were wooden houses, and burnt with great rapidity. At the toy-shop, a lady suddenly finding the fire burning through to the house in which she was, and supposing there was no escape by the staircase, threw herself out of the top pair of stairs window. By the fall her arms were broken, and she was otherwise much bruised. She was carried

carried to the hospital, and recovered her senses, but her life is in great danger. No other personal accident happened till about 11 o'clock, when the fronts of three of the houses fell forward on the street, and crushed several persons in the ruins. Two of the firemen were dug out before 12 o'clock. Four firemen were on the tops of the houses when the fronts were falling; but they clung to a stack of chimneys, and were saved. The calamity was occasioned by a person who was manufacturing squibs and rockets, preparatory to the celebration of the 5th of November; and who, by some accident or other, suffered a part of the apparatus to take fire.

NOVEMBER.

4. His majesty's ship Marlborough, of 74 guns, commanded by captain Southby, was totally wrecked off Belleisle. The whole of the officers and crew arrived safe at Plymouth, having been rescued from the wreck by the Captain man of war, and the Amity, a ship from Malaga, detained by the Captain.

Admiralty-Office, Nov. 4. In this gazette a letter from lieutenant Butcher gives an account of the capture of the Renard French cutter privateer, by the Nile lugger.

Admiralty-Office, Nov. 7.

Letter from captain Hotham of the *Immortalité*, to admiral the earl of St. Vincent.

— *Immortalité, at sea,*

MY LORD, Oct. 24.

I have the honour to report to your lordship, that on the 12th of September I captured a small Spanish vessel, laden with stone, which I was obliged to scuttle, to enable me to chase two French privateer

ships (*Le Brave* and *La Bellone*), who hove in sight, coming out of the Gironde, at the time I was boarding the Spaniard; but, as it was late in the evening, and as they tacked, and stood from me under every sail, as soon as they discovered *L'Immortalité* to be a man of war, they did not leave it in my power to get near them, although by steering the course in the night that I judged they would adopt to avoid me, I kept them in sight all the next day; but in the second night they escaped, after my having chased them 259 miles to the westward. However, on the 20th, I re-took an English ship (the *Monarch*), of 645 tons, laden with timber, which *La Bellone* had captured four days before, on her passage from Quebec to London. On the 22d of the same month, in the latitude of Cordouan light-house, blowing hard from the westward, a French brig of war came in sight to the northward, to whom I got near enough by sun-set to keep sight of after dark, and to ensure my coming up with her; but, at half past nine o'clock, when I was within musquet-shot, and about to bring her to, we both unexpectedly took the ground, going nine knots, on Noirmotier, where she was totally dismasted and destroyed; but I had the good fortune to get off at day-light the next morning, without any material damage, and with the loss only of a bower anchor and cable, and a boat. Not having seen the land before dark, and not having run the distance of it by the reckoning, I was unable to ascertain what was my exact situation till the day broke; and as it was ebb-tide when we went on shore, I was prevented from getting off before. In the morning, having got the ship under weigh, and worked

worked off from the land, finding myself able to keep the sea, I returned to my station; and the next morning, the 24th, I fell in with a French schooner letter of marque, bringing coffee and sugar from Guadaloupe to Bourdeaux; but a Guernsey privateer lugger, who was also in sight, and nearer to the schooner than I was, brought her to before I got up with her.

H. HOTHAM.

Letter from the honourable captain Curzon, of the *Indefatigable*, to captain Keats, of the *Boadicea*, transmitted to the lords commissioners of the admiralty by the earl of St. Vincent.

Indefatigable, at sea,

SIR,

Oct. 23.

The ship to windward I made the signal for, and afterwards chased, was *La Venus* French national frigate, carrying 32 guns and 200 men, from Rochefort, bound to Senegal, and accounted a very fast sailer, which I had the good fortune to come up with and capture so early as seven o'clock in the evening, owing to the *Fisgard* having come in sight in the afternoon directly in the wind of the chase, and turned her, so that both ships crossed upon her course: we arrived up with her nearly at the same time.

H. CURZON.

Letter from vice-admiral lord Hugh Seymour, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board the *Abergavenny*, Port Royal harbour, August 31.

SIR,

I have sincere pleasure in forwarding to you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter which I have received from captain Milne, of his majesty's ship *Seine*, describing an action which does great honour to him, his officers, and ship's company, and which ended in the cap-

ture of the French republican frigate the *Vengeance*, a ship of very superior force to that which he commanded. Captain Milne has done so much justice to his officers and men, by his report of their conduct on that occasion, that I have only to offer my congratulations to their lordships upon the success which attended their exertions, and to express my hope that it will receive marks of their lordships' favour proportioned to the satisfaction which they must derive from the event, which has brought forward the merit of those engaged in it.

I am, &c.

H. SEYMOUR.

His majesty's ship Seine, off St. Domingo,

MY LORD,

Aug. 22.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your lordship, that on the morning of the 20th instant, I observed a ship on the starboard tack standing to the northward through the Mona passage; I soon perceived she was an enemy, and made all sail in chase, with very light breezes. The wind having come to the northward obliged her to tack, as she could not weather Cape Raphael on the St. Domingo shore; she then stood S. S. E. and made all sail. By this time it was near sun-set, and I could perceive she was a large frigate; it was near midnight before I could bring her to action, and then not so close as I could wish, as she always bore up and kept at long shot; she, however, did us considerable damage in our rigging and sails, but to appearance she suffered equally; we separated for some time, and I took that opportunity to get our rigging, &c. again in complete repair. On the morning of the 25th I had the pleasure of bringing her to close action; and, after about an hour and a half's hard fighting, an officer came

came out on her bow-sprit, the only place he could be seen from, owing to the mists of confusion, by the loss of her fore-mast, mizen mast, and main-top mast having fallen overboard, and said they had struck to the British flag. She was immediately taken possession of, and proved to be the French frigate the *Vengeance*, citizen Pitot, capitaine de vaisseau, commander, mounting 22 18-pounders on her main deck, 16 12-pounders and eight 42-pounders carronades on her quarter deck and fore-castle, and brass swivels on the gun-wale, with shifting guns on the main and quarter-decks: the weight of the metal I have mentioned in French pounds. The behaviour of the officers and ship's company was such as has always characterised the British seamen. To my first lieutenant, Mr. Cheetham, I am greatly indebted for his cool and steady behaviour, and for the amazing fire kept up from the main-deck, which nothing could surpass. My second lieutenant, Mr. George Milne, fell fighting nobly about the middle of the action. In him his majesty has lost a valuable and as zealous an officer as any in the service. To my third lieutenant, Mr. Edeveair, whom I mentioned on a former occasion, when gunner of the *Pique*, I am equally indebted for his services; as likewise Mr. Barclay the master, and Mr. M'Donald, lieutenant of marines, who was taken down wounded, and came up again when dressed, but was obliged, from a second wound, to be taken below: but, I am happy to state, the life of this valuable officer will be saved, to render farther services to his majesty. The behaviour of the petty officers, seamen, and marines, was such as does them the highest credit. The

Vengeance is a very large frigate, five years old, and exactly the dimensions of the *Fisgard* in his majesty's service, and is the ship which had the action some time since with the American frigate the *Constellation*. Previous to her leaving Curacao, she had a large supply of seamen from Guadeloupe, and was every way completely found, and bound to France. His majesty's ship under my command has suffered much in her masts and hull; sails and rigging entirely cut to pieces. Your lordship will perceive the *Vengeance* is superior in size, guns, and number of men, to his majesty's ship I have the honour to command; but nothing could withstand the steady behaviour of this ship's crew. I have the honour of enclosing a list of the killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy has been very great, but I have not yet got a return.

I am, &c. DAVID MILNE.

A return of the killed and wounded.

Killed. One officer, and 12 seamen.—Wounded. Three officers, 22 seamen, three marines, and one boy.

[This gazette likewise contains letters received by the earl of St. Vincent, from captains Knight, Bowman, and Lukin, of his majesty's ships *Montague*, *Argo*, and *Thames*, giving accounts of vessels captured and re-captured by them during their respective cruizes on the coast of France, viz. a large brig, laden with wines and brandy, taken out under the walls of Port Louis, by the boats of the *Montague*, under the command of acting lieutenant Wells;—a lugger, with fire-wood, cut off and destroyed by the *Montague*;—a brig and two sloops, brought out from under the batteries of Croisie, with great intrepidity

trepidity and alacrity, by the boats of the Montague; in this affair a valuable seaman killed, one seaman and marine badly wounded, and two slightly;—two brigs and a galliot (French), taken possession of by the boats of the Montague, within the isle of Noirmotier; but so intricate and shallow the channel, it was judged expedient to fire them;—the Spanish letter of marque San Fernando, mounting 12 six-pounders, and 53 men, bound to La Vera Cruz, laden with bar iron and bale goods, of considerable value, belonging to the Royal Philippine company, by the Argo, who likewise took as under:—a French brig, Maria Louisa, in ballast, sent in; a Spanish barque, Sel Vincento, laden with iron ore, sent in; and two Spanish barques, names unknown, laden with iron ore, sunk;—Le Diable à Quatre, French ship privateer, of 16 twelve and six-pounders, and 150 men, by the Thames.]

[This gazette also contains a letter to Mr. Nepean, giving an account of a French cutter being driven on shore under the village of Gouberville, and rendered useless, by his majesty's sloop Wolverine, captain Wright.

9. A most tremendous storm this morning was the cause of great alarm to the inhabitants of London and Westminster. It was most violent about half past twelve. In and about the metropolis, the following occurrences have come within our knowledge:—In the Strand, and in Fleet-street, a variety of houses were untiled. In Liquor-pond-street, the roof of Mr. Price's house, hair-dresser, and that of the public-house adjoining, were stripped. In Guildford-street, near the Foundling-hospital, part of the stone-parapets

of houses was forced away. In Gray's-inn, and Lincoln's-inn, the attic stories of the chambers sustained much injury; and such was the violence of the wind, that persons in the field could not proceed against its direction. Part of the coping of Christ-church, Newgate-street, was forced into the vestry during divine service. A large barn on the Hampstead-road, a little beyond Mother Redcap's, at Camden Town, was levelled with the ground. In Kensington-gardens eight trees were torn up by the roots, and five broken off about six feet from the ground. Several trees blown down in St. James's and the Green-park. A sentry-box by Kensington-palace blown down; a stack of chimneys in Kensington blown down, and some people hurt. A public-house in Berwick-street, Soho, lost its roof; Mr. Byng's, corner of Berkeley-square, was unroofed; Mr. Vincent's stables, Berkeley-square, the same. At Dr. Frazer's in Lower Grosvenor-street, the stack of chimneys was blown down, part falling through the house and part across the street. At lord Rolle's, in Upper Grosvenor-street, the pots fell from the chimneys through a skylight; and at the Foundling-hospital, during divine service, the north windows were blown in, throwing the congregation into the utmost alarm. The lead upon the chapel, and other apartments, of Chelsea-hospital was rolled up by the violence of the wind like a piece of cloth. In Gee's court, Oxford-street, two houses were entirely blown down; they were full of lodgers, but no lives were lost. The gate of Hyde-park, next Piccadilly, was blown down. In the Strand, Somerset-house felt its effects, for a part of the roof was taken

aken off. A house on Holborn-hill was wholly unroofed. The newly erected manufactory for paper from straw, in Bermondsey-street, thorough, was blown down. In Salt-etre-bank, a house was blown down, whereby several persons were so dangerously hurt as to be taken to the hospital without hopes of recovery. The carriage of Mr. Crowther, the city comptroller, was blown over near his house on Highbury Terrace: but fortunately Mr. Crowther, and some ladies who were in it with him, escaped injury.

In consequence of some inflammatory hand-bills posted about the metropolis, inviting this day a mob in Kennington common, the life guards were ordered out. The volunteer corps were also stationed in the environs. The police officers, in case of disturbances, attended at the Axe and Gate in Downing-street; and the following hand-bill was circulated:

" TO THE PUBLIC.

Sunday, November 9, 1800.

" Whereas an inflammatory hand-bill has been distributed and posted up, inviting every journeyman, artisan, mechanic, and tradesman; every manufacturer, labourer, &c. to meet on Kennington common, under pretence of petitioning the king and parliament; and whereas there is reason to apprehend that such meeting would, from its circumstances, endanger the public peace; notice is hereby given, that the magistrates have taken measures to prevent any number of persons from assembling in consequence of such hand-bill; and all well disposed persons are exhorted to abstain from going to such meeting, and to return peaceably to their houses, avoiding the hazard which they must incur by join-

ing in any tumultuous proceedings."

10. This day the usual ceremonies took place on the swearing in of the new lord mayor; and at six o'clock the company at Guildhall sat down to an elegant dinner, which was well conducted. After several toasts lord Nelson was requested to come forward, that he might receive the sword lately voted to him on account of his very extraordinary services. The gallant hero of the Nile then presented himself to an admiring assemblage, taking his situation, as requested, under a triumphal arch; when he was thus addressed by Mr. Chamberlain Clark, supported by Mr. Crowther, the comptroller and vice-chamberlain:

" Lord Nelson,

" In cheerful obedience to an unanimous resolution of the right honourable lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, I present your lordship with the thanks of the court for the very important victory obtained by a squadron of his majesty's ships under your command, over a superior French fleet, off the mouth of the Nile, on the 1st of August, 1798; a victory splendid and decisive, unexampled in naval history, and reflecting the highest honour on the courage and abilities of your lordship and your officers, and the discipline and irresistible bravery of British seamen, and which must be productive of the greatest advantages to this country, and every part of the civilised world, by tending to frustrate the designs of our implacable enemy, and by rousing other nations to unite and resist their unprincipled ambition! And, as a further testimony of the high esteem which

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the court entertains of your lordship's public services, and of the eminent advantages which you have rendered your country, I have the honour to present to your lordship this sword. The consequences of the action I am thus called upon to applaud are, perhaps, unequalled in the history of mankind. A numerous army, which had triumphed in Europe over brave and veteran troops, commanded by officers of the most established reputation, landed in Egypt, under the command of him who now sways the Gallic sceptre, with designs of the most ambitious and extensive nature. One of their objects, as acknowledged by themselves, was to annihilate, by degrees, the English East India trade, and finally to get into their possession the whole commerce of Africa and Asia. Such were the gigantic views of our implacable foe; and such confidence had they in the fleet which conveyed them, and in the station it took on the coast of the devoted country, that it bade defiance to the whole navy of Britain. But, at this momentous period, the Almighty directed your lordship, as his chosen instrument, to check their pride and crush their force, as a maritime power, during the present contest. The circumstances attending this grand display of providential interposition and British prowess must interest the feelings of every Englishman. Had a space been chosen to exhibit to the world a struggle for superiority in nautical skill and personal valour, between the two greatest naval powers of the globe, none could have been more happily selected. The three grand divisions of the ancient world were witnesses; and the shores which had beheld the destruction of the Persian navy by the Greeks, and the

heroic acts of Sesostris, now resounded with the echo of British thunder! To your lordship belongs the praise of having added glory to such a scene. The heroes we applaud would themselves have applauded us; and he, who ages since led his 300 against an almost countless host, might, on that proud day, have wished himself a Briton. The thanks of your country, my lord, attend you; its honours await you; but a higher praise than even these imply is yours. In the moment of your unexampled victory you saved your country; in the next moment you did still more—you exemplified that virtue which the heathen world could not emulate; and in the pious "*Non nobis Domine,*" of your modest dispatches, you have enforced a most awful truth, that the most independent conqueror felt, in the most intoxicating point of time, the influence and protection of him, whom our enemies, to their shame and their ruin, had foolishly and impiously defied. May that same power, my lord, ever protect and reward you. May it long, very long, spare to this empire so illustrious a teacher, and so potent a champion!"

After which lord Nelson, amidst the plaudits of some hundreds of ladies and gentlemen, addressed the chamberlain in the following short but impressive speech:

"SIR,

"It is with the greatest pride and satisfaction I receive from the honourable court this testimony of their approbation of my conduct; and with this very sword (holding it up in his left and remaining hand), I hope soon to aid in reducing our implacable and inveterate enemy to proper and due limits; without which this country can neither hope for, nor expect,

foli

solid, honourable and permanent peace!"

His lordship's address was received with the most rapturous applause; and the whole assemblage was seemingly animated by one grand impulse of gratitude and sensibility for the most signal and most wonderful achievement recorded in any age, or in the history of any nation! The sword, which is of admirable workmanship, cost 200 guineas; it is richly ornamented; the handle gold, with blue enamel, studded with diamonds. The crocodile appears as emblematical of the grand event; and the guard is supported with anchors.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 15.

Letter from vice-admiral lord Keith, K. B. to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board the Foudroyant, at Gibraltar, October 29.

SIR,

I have just received the inclosed letter from captain Morris, acquainting me with the capture of a Spanish vessel of war, by the boats of the Phaëton, under circumstances very highly creditable to lieutenant Beaufort, and the officers and people who were employed on the occasion. I regret, with him, the loss and injury which have been sustained in the attack; but I anticipate with equal satisfaction the approbation with which I am sure their lordships will regard the gallantry that has been evinced in the execution of the enterprise.

I am, &c. KEITH.

Phaëton, off Malaga, Oct. 28.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that on the 25th inst. his majesty's ship under my command chased a ship polacre, which showed Spanish colours, ensign and pendant, to an anchor under the fortrefs of Fangerolle, where

1800.

a French privateer brig also took refuge: as the wind was on shore, and they were close into the surf, and directly under a battery of five heavy guns, there was no prospect of bringing them off then: the following night the brig escaped to the westward, and the ship made two attempts for Malaga, but was driven back. Last night the land-breeze appearing favourable, I sent the boats under the command of lieutenant Francis Beaufort, who, at five o'clock this morning, in opposition to a very obstinate resistance, on first boarding, at the hatchways with musketry, and from the rising of the quarter-deck with sabres, got possession, and brought her out. She proves his most catholic majesty's armed ship the San Josef, alias L'Anglies, mounting two 24-pounders, iron ordnance, in the bow; two brass eightheens for stern-chase, four brass twelves, and six four-pounders, and most completely found in small arms of all kinds, commanded by an auxiliary officer of the navy, and manned with 49 seamen (of which 15 were absent in her boat), and 22 soldiers, as marines, employed as a packet, and carrying provisions between Malaga and Melilla. From the force of the ship, her state of preparation, and situation with respect to the fort; also the unfortunate circumstance of the launch (from whose carronade much was expected in the plan for the attack) not having been able to keep up with the other boats, and being distant when they were discovered and fired on by a French privateer schooner that had come in unseen by us in the night, and was placed to flank the ship, and gave the alarm, on which the barge and two cutters immediately pulled to the ship and boarded—I am

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convinced

convinced more determined bravery could not have been displayed than has been shown by lieutenants Beaufort and Huish; lieutenant Duncan Campbell, of the marines; Messrs. Hamilton and Stanton, midshipmen; and Mr. Deagon, the gunner, and the boats' crews employed upon the service; and it is with extreme concern I add, that one seaman was killed on coming along-side, and that their very gallant leader (in whom I have ever found a most capable and zealous assistant) was first wounded in the head, and afterwards received several flugs through his left arm and body; lieutenant Campbell received several slight sabre wounds; Mr. Augustus Barrington Hamilton was shot, while in the boat, through the thigh, notwithstanding which he boarded, and his conduct is highly spoken of; and John Wells, a seaman, also shot through the thigh. The loss of the enemy appears to have been 13 wounded, six badly, and some are supposed to have been wounded and driven overboard. I give your lordship the detail of this service, feeling it incumbent on me to do so, to do justice to the parties employed upon it, humbly hoping that Mr. Beaufort's conduct and wounds will entitle him to the protection given in the present war to officers of distinguished merit; and I regret exceedingly that Mr. Hamilton wants some considerable part of his fervitude, as he is of an age and in all other respects well qualified for a lieutenant. Towards day-light, the signal being made to me that our people were in full possession of the prize, I chased a vessel that had passed us an hour before, and brought her to, under a battery, in Cape Malaga. She proves a light polacre, from Ceuta, bound for

Malaga. Afterwards, running down to pick up our boats and people, we were carried so far to leeward, that the French schooner (which we had not seen from the ship) passed to windward along-shore to Malaga, quite out of our reach.

I am, &c. J. N. MORRIS.

[By this gazette, likewise, the Childers, captain Crawford, belonging to lord St. Vincent's fleet, has captured the Spanish private lugger Diligence, two four-pounders, four swivels, and 80 men.]

Admiralty-Office, Nov. 25.

Letter from Mr. Thomas Alti, commander of the Hawke private ship of war, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated at Vianna, in Portugal, the 22d of October.

SIR,

You will be pleased to acquaint my lords commissioners of the admiralty, I yesterday afternoon fell in with and captured the Spanish Latine privateer, called the Atalante, of Ponte Vedra, captain don Bernardo Lopes, of 10 guns and 56 men, having come out of the port of Arosa the day before, and was just on the point of capturing a British vessel when I fell in with her. In running from me, she threw six of her guns over-board: the four I found on board were long sixes and nines. I brought her in here, and delivered the 56 men to his Britannic majesty's consul. I am, &c. T. ALTI.

Admiralty-Office, Nov. 29.

Letter from captain Frederic Watkins, commander of his majesty's ship Nereide, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated in Curaçao, Oct. 15.

SIR,

Be pleased to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that I have thought it indispensably necessary to send these dispatches to

England

England by my first officer, lieutenant Paul, to acquaint their lordships of the surrender of the valuable island of Curaçao to his majesty's frigate under my command. I beg leave to transmit duplicates of all my letters to the right honourable lord Hugh Seymour; and the articles of capitulation agreed between his excellency Johan Rudolph Lauffer and myself; as also inventories of warlike stores, shipping, &c. I hope their lordships will sanction my conduct, in taking possession of this central and valuable island in his majesty's name. Lieutenant Paul I cannot recommend in too strong language to their lordships, for his zealous exertions during the whole of the siege; and for any farther information he is perfectly able to describe every thing their lordships may be desirous of knowing respecting Curaçao.

FRED. WATKINS.

His Majesty's ship Nereide, off Amsterdam, Island of Curaçao, September 11.

MY LORD,

I wish not to lose a moment in sending a fast-sailing vessel to inform your lordship, that the island of Curaçao has claimed the protection of his Britannic majesty. I have in consequence felt it my duty to take possession of it in his name. I am now running for the harbour, as it is absolutely necessary to lose no time to save the island from the enemy, who threaten to storm the principal fort to-night; but I trust the Nereide's assistance will be the means of frustrating the enemy's views, and saving a most valuable colony for his majesty. I compute the force of the French to be about 1500, now in possession of the west part of the island, but no strong post of any consequence to prevent my holding the forts commanding

Amsterdam, until I am honoured with an answer from your lordship. There is great property afloat belonging to the Spaniards. Lieutenant Paul will have the honour of delivering this dispatch to your lordship, of whose exertions and zeal for the service I cannot speak in too strong terms. F. WATKINS.

Right hon. lord H. Seymour, &c.

Nereide, off Amsterdam, Sept. 14.

MY LORD,

Since sending my last dispatch of the 11th inst. governor Johan Rudolph Lauffer has finally surrendered the island of Curaçao, and its dependencies, to his majesty's arms. Inclosed I have the honour of transmitting to your lordship a copy of the terms of capitulation. I am, &c.

F. WATKINS.

Right hon. lord H. Seymour, &c.

[Then follow the articles of capitulation, which are in the usual terms, with the addition of the ports of Curaçao and its dependencies being open to all Spanish vessels coming from the Main, for the more ready subsistence of the inhabitants.]

Nereide, Curaçao harbour, Sept. 23.

MY LORD,

I have now the satisfaction to inform your lordship that the English colours are flying in this island; and that I have entered this harbour in consequence of the total evacuation of the French forces last night. I am now arranging affairs in such a manner as to tranquillize the minds of the inhabitants, and restore perfect peace, in the name of his majesty, in this valuable island. I have been received with great faith, and will do my utmost in establishing the security of the principal fortress till I receive your lordship's answer for my farther conduct. Inclosed I have the ho-

nour of transmitting to you an inventory of warlike stores, ammunition, &c. in the garrison, except those lately in possession of the enemy, which I have not yet received the regular returns of, but have given the necessary orders. It was my intention to have sent any farther dispatch to your lordship by the remaining lieutenant, Mr. James Hodgson; but as I do not exactly conceive myself in a perfect state of safety, without having perfect possession of the principal fortress which commands the town, I have appointed him, with a party of my own men, to that command; his zeal, bravery, and universal steady conduct in any service he is ordered on, make my mind perfectly easy in doing so: he has been of the utmost service in a new-erected battery in annoying the enemy, and indeed may be considered the principal cause of their retreat. Lieutenant Fitton, commanding the Active tender, I have much pleasure in recommending to your lordship's notice, from his activity and spirited conduct since he has joined me. From him, my lord, you will receive material information as to all situations of the island, and its valuable harbour. I am, &c.

F. WATKINS.

Right honourable lord

H. Seymour, &c.

[Then follows a list of Dutch, French, Spanish, American, and Danish vessels, captured in the harbour of Curaçao, consisting of two ships, five brigs, nine sloops, 27 schooners, and one cutter — total, 44. Together with an inventory of a large quantity of guns, naval and military stores, &c. taken on the island.]

Downing-Street, Nov. 29.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Penrose, his majesty's chargé d'affaires

at Florence, to lord Grenville, dated Monte Varchi, near Florence, October 16.

It is with the greatest satisfaction that I acquaint your lordship, that the property of his majesty's subjects at Leghorn has been, as well as circumstances would permit, prevented from falling into the hands of the enemy, under the protection of his majesty's ships of war stationed at that port, off which a frigate will still remain, to prevent any vessels from going in.

DECEMBER.

Admiralty-Office, Dec. 2.

Extract of a letter from captain Sir R. J. Strachan to the earl of St. Vincent.

Captain, at sea, Nov. 18.

MY LORD,

Your lordship will perceive, in the narrative of my proceedings, that a convoy of the enemy had got through the Teignouse passage yesterday, and that I was endeavouring to intercept them from the Morbihan, or passage on the coast. I had the mortification, in the morning to perceive that the greater part had got into the Morbihan; and that the others, at the entrance, were only waiting the tide, protected by the batteries on each side, and a ship corvette of 20 guns, the commodore of the convoy. By the skilful management of the Nile cutter, the first vessel up, under the command of lieutenant Argles, the corvette was kept from the north shore; and soon after, upon the Magicienne getting near her, she ran into port Navale, where she took the ground and her people began to quit her and her colours were struck: the boats of the Magicienne, under lieutenants Skottowe and Rodney, attempted to board; but the corvette

first

fired upon them, having re-hoisted her colours, and, making fail, ran farther into the port: the *Magicienne* re-called her boats; but lieutenant Rodney gallantly took a merchant vessel from under the batteries, as he was returning. As soon as I could get the boats out, I sent them all, to be under the orders of captain Ogilvy, with directions for them to be sent under the orders of the senior officer of this ship, lieutenant Hennah, to destroy the corvette, having under his orders lieutenant Clyde, of this ship, and lieutenant Clarke of the *Marlborough*; and the boats were manned by the Captain and *Marlborough's* men. The enterprize was conducted with great ability - by lieutenant Hennah, who, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the shore on all sides, bravely boarded the corvette, and, having set fire to her, she soon after blew up. He speaks in high terms of commendation of those under his orders; and I admire the spirit that pervaded all the officers and men employed upon this occasion. No prisoners were taken; and the conduct of captain Ogilvy, in the guidance and management of the *Magicienne*, by drawing the fire of the batteries from the boats, contributed to the service being effected with very little loss.

R. J. STRACHAN.

List of men killed and wounded in taking the vessels named below.

One killed, belonging to the *Suwarrow*; seven wounded, belonging to the Captain.

List of vessels.

A ship corvette, destroyed by the boats of the squadron; a merchant ship, taken by the *Magicienne's* boat, under lieutenant Rodney, and afterwards burnt; a merchant vessel, taken by the *Nile* cutter, likewise burnt.

4. Came on the election, in the prince's chamber, house of lords, of a Radcliffe travelling physician; when Dr. Vaughan, of All Souls college in Oxford (sixth son of Dr. Vaughan of Leicester), was elected. Dr. Ashe, of Holles-street, made the present vacancy. There are two only of these medical travellers belonging to the university of Oxford; who hold the appointment for ten years, the first five of which they are required to spend in medical pursuits abroad. No one can be a candidate, who is not a graduate of the university of Oxford. There are two spacious suites of apartments in University college belonging to the Radcliffe physicians, who become, by the appointment, fellows for the time being. Dr. Turton and sir Francis Millman formerly travelled under this appointment, which is reckoned the most honourable situation that can be held by a physician in this or any other country. It often requires more interest to obtain this, than to become a member of parliament. The following great personages are the electors, by virtue of their office, viz. the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the chancellor of the university of Oxford, the two lord chief justices of king's bench and common pleas, the two principal secretaries of state, the master of the rolls, and the bishops of London and Winchester.

Admiralty-Office, Dec. 6,

Extracts from letters from lieutenant Bond, of his majesty's schooner the *Netley*, to captain Halsted.

Netley, in the Tagus, Nov. 9.

SIR,

I have to acquaint you, that in his majesty's schooner we captured, on the 28th of September, the Spanish

nish privateer *Noftra Senora del Carmen La Confianza*, of two guns and 26 men; and that on the 19th ult. we re-took the brig *Mary*, from Dublin, and the *Lial Invieta Vianna*, a Portuguese government lugger of seven guns, both which had been captured the preceding day by a French privateer of 14 guns; the latter after an action of half an hour. As the *Mary* had on the 14th been cut from her anchorage under the fort of St. John's by a Spanish row-boat, the governor of Vianna thought it necessary to intercept her; and, accordingly, sent the lugger on that service, when both fell into the hands of the French: the crew of the *Netley* have in consequence given up, free of salvage, the *Lial Invieta Vianna* to the order of his excellency M. Pedro de Millo.

I am, &c. F. G. BOND.

Netley, river Tagus, Nov. 18.

SIR,

In addition to my letter of yesterday's date, I acquaint you, that on my arrival off the Rock of Lisbon, on the 7th instant, information was given of a Spanish privateer schooner lurking in the neighbourhood, and that the Newfoundland convoy, being dispersed, were daily approaching the Tagus. At night a pilot boat acquainted me of the recent capture of a brig loaded with salt fish, which induced me to close with the shore, in the hope of intercepting her: she had been taken 18 hours before, during light winds, in sight of a remnant of the convoy then in the offing. The privateer and her prize, the *Hunter of Greenock*, were discovered by us in the dark at anchor: while the boat was dispatched to the brig, we ran the other on-board, dropped our anchor, and, without mischief or firing, took possession of her, though they

were at quarters. She is called the *St. Miguel*, alias *Alertta*, of nine guns, eighteens and sixes, and 65 men, and had been off the stocks about two months. We all three anchored within St. Julien's the same day.

F. G. BOND.

Ancona, Oct. 27. His majesty's stores, and English ships and merchandize, at Leghorn, in value more than half a million sterling, have been saved from the plunder of the enemy.

Amberg, Nov. 30, five o'clock P.M.

In advancing towards Portsaal, a few small detachments only of the enemy, of the division of Collaud, were met with between Ratibon and Kelhaim, who were probably already on their march to Landshut. Colonel Walmoden surrounded the village of Lengenfeld, near Portsaal, and carried off the garrison which was left there, consisting of seven officers, 200 cavalry and infantry, and 60 horses. Colonel Walmoden found the garrison of Kelhaim, which consisted of a few hundred men, retiring. The loss of the Austrians in this march has been very inconsiderable. Captain Scheibler, of the houlans de Meerveldt, posted with a detachment of 60 horse near Freystadt, attacked in the morning of the 29th, near Pleinfeld, the 7th regiment of French cuirassiers of 300 men, during its march, put it into disorder, and made two officers and seven men prisoners; the colonel of the regiment was wounded, and two officers were killed. The loss of the enemy has been 20 killed and wounded. Captain Scheibler, who was slightly wounded in the arm, had two men killed, and two made prisoners. Pleinfeld is evacuated by the enemy, and none have passed through it since the last column, which passed through on the 29th.

Extract

Extract of a letter from his royal highness the archduke John, to the council of war at Vienna, dated Haun, December 1.

According to the intention which I yesterday communicated to the council of war, I advanced this morning, before day-break, with three columns, in order to attack them. We found them advantageously posted on a rising ground, and they defended themselves with the greatest obstinacy. Our attacks were repeatedly repulsed; at length, however, our brave troops remained victorious, after ten hours resistance on the part of the enemy, who disputed the ground inch by inch, but who were compelled to abandon us (in as far as I am at present informed) six pieces of cannon and 800 prisoners. Our out-posts are near Haag. From what I have been able to collect from the prisoners, the number of troops that opposed us amounted to three divisions. Those who have particularly distinguished themselves on this occasion are the regiment of Lacy, which had three staff-officers wounded; those of Weizy and Benioffscky hussars, the 60th regiment of infantry, the 3d battalion of Peterwardeiner, and the Gradiskaner, the Frontier hussars, and the artillery. Major-general Loppert, who commanded the vanguard, and captain Junger, of Weizy hussars, at the head of his squadron, attacked and carried one of the enemy's batteries. Field-marshal lieutenant Klenau mentions his having passed the Danube, pushed on as far as Arbach, made several prisoners, and invested Straubing and Ratisbon. Major-general Musery took at Landshut a company of French grenadiers, and three officers. Our loss in wounded is not inconsiderable. I shall send a detailed account of the whole affair,

as soon as circumstances enable me to do so.

Downing-Street, Dec. 20.

The following dispatches have been received from William Wickham, esq. by the right honourable lord Grenville.

Extract of a letter from William Wickham, esq. to the right honourable lord Grenville, dated head-quarters, Ampfing, Nov. 30.

On the 28th, after I had written my dispatch from Eggenfenden, the head-quarters were removed to Massing on the Rodt. The head-quarters were last night at Neumark, and arrived here this day about 12 o'clock: the roads being still in a most dreadful state, a great part of the army is still behind. On the archduke's arrival here, he found the enemy in force on the heights immediately in front of the town. The tête-de-pont of Wasserbourg was attacked yesterday, and the enemy repulsed with some loss, after having entered the abbatis in front of the work.

Head-quarters, Haag, Dec. 2.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to send your lordship the inclosed copy of a report I have this day received from his serene highness the prince of Condé, containing an account of the attack which the enemy made yesterday on a part of his serene highness's corps, commanded by the duke of Enghien, in front of Rosenheim.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

Account of the action at Rosenheim, December 1.

Our advanced posts, on the left side of the Inn, were attacked this day at noon; their right had been absolutely uncovered for three days past, and the enemy was already on the banks on that side of the river. The advanced posts, commanded

by the duke d'Enghien, were engaged upwards of four hours, disputing the ground inch by inch. The whole corps was not assembled on the right side of the Inn before five o'clock. A pretty strong column of the enemy having marched out of the town, it was allowed to advance till within the proper distance, when the prince of Condé ordered all the batteries to fire upon it at once: this fire, well-directed and well-sustained, compelled this column to retreat into the town immediately. Lieutenant-colonel de Sartige, of the engineers, protected by the fire of the artillery, broke down the bridge, but in such a manner as that it could promptly be re-established, if, as it is hoped, it should be necessary. Our loss is very small; that of the enemy must have been more considerable. An artillery man was wounded by the side of the duke d'Angoulême. No officers are known as yet to have been wounded, except Mr. de Vasse, adjutant to the duke d'Angoulême, and the engineer de Castre.

Head quarters, Haag, Dec. 2.

MY LORD,

The march of general Kienmayer towards the Iser, and the direction which the whole army had first taken towards Landshut, having drawn a considerable part of general Moreau's force towards Aerding, the heights between Ampfing and Haag had been occupied by one single division under general Ney. In the course of last night, however, general Moreau had reinforced his position with two more divisions, and had taken the command of the whole himself. Yesterday, at day-break, the heights were attacked. After an obstinate resistance on the part of the enemy, they were carried in succession as far as the hill on the side of Ramsau, where the

troops were obliged to halt, from excessive fatigue, about six in the evening. In the night general Moreau abandoned this place, and retired to his old position at Hohenlinden and Aerding. The whole ground from Ampfing to Ramsau was particularly favourable to the enemy, and consisted in heights covered with thick woods, and intersected by deep marshy valleys, where the Austrian cavalry could not possibly act. The Austrians took 800 prisoners, and two pieces of cannon. The cannon were taken, with four others, by the hussars of Veczey, who distinguished themselves very much during the whole of the affair, throwing themselves into the woods, in places where it was thought impossible for cavalry to have penetrated. The other four pieces of cannon were re-taken by a charge of the enemy's grenadiers, there not having been time to send a sufficient force to support the hussars. The loss of the Austrians is computed to be near 1500 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. General Moreau is said by the prisoners to have received a musket ball through his cloak. The archduke was on horseback twelve hours, and slept in a hovel on the heights.

W. WICKHAM.

Right hon. lord Grenville.

Admiralty-Office, Dec. 20.

A letter from the earl of St. Vincent introduces the following:

Thames, Plymouth Sound, Dec. 13.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship with the arrival of his majesty's ship I command at this anchorage; and of her having, on the 30th of last month, captured, fifteen leagues from the Tower of Corduan, after a chase of six hours, a French brig privateer, called L'Actif, of 14 six-pounders, two long

long brigs twelves, and 137 men: she is a particularly fine new vessel, coppered, and had been out only one day on her first cruize. I learn from the prisoners, that only two English vessels have been carried into any of the French or Spanish ports within these three months; that one of them was carried into Rochelle, the other into Passage. I conclude captain Hotham will have acquainted you of our having captured, on the 29th of October last, at night, a schooner letter of marque, from Guadaloupe to Bourdeaux, laden with coffee, &c. having chased her, in company with the *Immortalité*, all day.

I am, &c.

W. LUKIN.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of the *St. Jago* Spanish schooner privateer, of 10 guns, and 60 men, by the *Brilliant*, captain Paget.]

Downing-Street, Dec. 23.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, dated Head-quarters, Muhldorf on the Inn, Thursday, Dec. 4, has been received from William Wickham, esq. by the right honourable lord Grenville.

The army marched in the night of Tuesday, and before day-break yesterday morning, towards Hohenlinden, in three columns; the centre along the great road to Munich, which passed through Hohenlinden; the right and left in the woods on each side of the great road. The corps of general Kienmayer, which was destined to take the enemy in flank, marched from Dorfen, in the direction of Schwaben. The columns ought all to have arrived at their destination a little before day-break, or, at the latest, between eight and nine o'clock; but, from a heavy fall of snow and sleet, which continued all

night and the greater part of the morning, the centre column only was at its destination at eight o'clock, whilst both the left and right were still considerably behind; and the left, under general Risch, had, besides, lost its way, and marched to the left towards Eberberg, instead of turning to the right, in the direction of Hohenlinden. In this state of things, it appears that the division of general Richepanse pierced between the left and the centre about nine o'clock, got upon the great road behind the centre, and fell upon the left flank and rear of that column at the time that it had formed in front, and had just begun to attack the enemy's position. I have not yet been able to obtain any accurate account of what passed afterwards; but it seems that the disorder soon became irretrievable, and that the retreat towards the heights of Ramfau was made with very heavy loss, particularly in artillery. Generals Spaniorchi and Loppert are prisoners. I have not yet heard of the loss of any other officers of the same rank. General Kienmayer was attacked, on his march, by two divisions from Aerding, and suffered also severely in his retreat, which he made upon Isen in good order, on learning the disaster that had befallen the main army.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of *L'Eclair* French cutter privateer, carrying three two-pounders, small arms, and 20 men, by his majesty's hired cutter *Lord Duncan*, captain Wells.]

Admiralty-Office, Dec. 27.

Extract of a letter from captain King, to earl St. Vincent.

His majesty's ship Sirius, at sea, Dec. 12.

MY LORD,

I beg leave to acquaint you, that his

his majesty's ship *Sirius*, under my command, captured on the 11th inst. (*Sifaraga* bearing W. by N. three miles) the Spanish merchant brig *Melchura*, from *Corunna*, bound to *Monte Video*, out of port only 25 hours. It may be some satisfaction to your lordship in hearing it is the only Spanish vessel that has sailed from *Corunna* since the ship taken by his majesty's ship *Boadicea* in August last.

RICH. KING.

Letter from lieutenant Smith to the right honourable lord Keith.

Schooner Milbrook, off Oporto, Nov. 14.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that being off *Oporto*, in his majesty's schooner *Milbrook*, under my command, early on the morning of the 13th inst. we fell in with a French ship wearing a pendant, apparently a frigate, mounting 36 guns; and as I had, at that time, two brigs of the *Newfoundland* convoy under my protection, and several vessels appearing in the offing, which I have every reason to suppose part of that convoy also, I determined, as the only means of preserving them, to give her battle, and made sail to close with her accordingly: at the same time with a view of increasing our distance from the convoy. It was nearly calm when the action commenced at eight A. M. and continued till near 10, when the enemy's colours came down; but, the *Milbrook* at this time having her masts, yards, sails, and rigging, very much cut, and

ten of her guns disabled, I could not prevent his taking advantage of a light breeze springing up, assisted by his sweeps, to get away from us. The bravery and steady conduct of the officers and seamen under my command against such superior force, in the disabled state of the *Milbrook*, for a long time with only three guns opposed to the enemy's broadside, and their activity in changing her position with the oars (not a sail set), whilst exposed to his raking us for 15 minutes, merits my highest commendation, and does them the greatest credit. But I should fail in my duty if I did not, in the strongest manner, recommend to your lordship's notice Mr. Thomas Fletcher, the master; who, wounded in the beginning of the action, continued on deck, exerting himself with the greatest bravery; as did also Mr. Thomas Groves, the clerk, and Mr. Jose da Sa, the Portuguese pilot.

MATTHEW SMITH.

List of wounded.

Eight seamen and one marine (severely); Mr. Thomas Fletcher, master; Mr. J. Parster, surgeon's mate; and one seaman (slightly).—Total, two petty officers, and 10 seamen.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of a French *chasse-marée*, mounting three three-pounders, laden with hides; and a French brig letter of marque, *Rocou*, pierced for 14 guns, laden with cotton and rice; by the *Comus* private ship of war, Mr. Le Gallais commander.]

The LONDON GENERAL BILL of

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS, from December 10, 1799, to December 9, 1800.

Christened { Males 10112 } 19,176. Buried { Males 11605 } 23,068. Increas. in Burials
 { Females 9064 } { Females 11463 } this Year 4934.

Died under 2 Years	6657	20 and 30 - 1852	60 and 70 - 1973	101 - -	1107 - 1
Between 2 and 5	2553	30 and 40 - 2055	70 and 80 - 1459	104 - -	2118 - 1
5 and 10	848	40 and 50 - 2308	80 and 90 - 655	106 - -	1120 - 2
10 and 20	710	50 and 60 - 2163	90 and 100 - 97		

BIRTHS.

BIRTHS in the Year 1800.

- Jan.* 6. Lady Sondes, a son.
 8. Countess of Mansfield, a daughter.
 15. Lady Margaret Maclean, a daughter.
 16. Countess of Antrim, a daughter.
 20. Countess of Oxford, a son and heir.
 31. Lady of Sir Sam. Fludyer, bart. a son.
 —. Marchioness of Bath, a still-born child.
Feb. 3. Lady of Sir Henry Mildmay, bart. of her ninth son.
 —. Right hon. lady Charlotte Carr, a daughter.
 11. Countess of Berkeley, a son.
 18. Lady Elizabeth Talbot, a son.
 —. Hon. Mrs. Grenfell, a daughter.
 22. Countess of Yarmouth, son and heir.
 24. Countess of Errol, a daughter.
 25. Countess of Caithness, a son.
March 9. Countess of Derby, a son.
 19. Lady of Sir H. Harpur, bart. a daughter.
 —. Hereditary princess of Orange, a daughter.
 31. Lady Georgina Buckley, a son.
April 19. Lady Bagot, a daughter.
 —. Lady of Sir John Sinclair, bart. a daughter.
 25. Countess of Elgin, son and heir.
May 2. Lady of the hon. lieutenant-colonel Browne, a son.
 5. Lady of Sir William Rowley, bart. a son.
 8. Lady of Sir John Trollope, bart. son and heir.
 14. Lady Arabella Ward, a daughter.
 25. Duchess of Rutland, a daughter.
 25. Lady Wm. Beauclerk, a daughter.
June 8. Lady Porchester, a son and heir.
 17. Lady of the speaker of the house of commons, a daughter.
 22. Countess of Cassilis, a daughter.
 26. Countess Mount Edgecombe, a daughter.
July 10. Lady of Sir James Saumarez, a daughter.
 15. Lady of Lord Hervey, a son.
 —. Lady Rous, a son.
 20. Lady of the hon. John Rodney, a daughter.
 —. Lady of Hugh Lord Maffey, a son.
 —. Lady Harriet Gill, a daughter.
 —. Lady of the hon. and rev. Mr. Cathcart, a daughter.
Aug. 2. Lady Louisa Handley, a son.
 3. Hon. Mrs. Boyle, a son.
 5. Marchioness of Clanricarde, a daughter.
 —. Duchess of Manchester, a son.
 11. Lady Charlotte Campbell, a son.
 14. Lady Stewart, a daughter.
 16. Countess of Albemarle, a son.
 17. Countess of Ancram, a son.
 20. Countess of Hardwicke, a son.
 24. Marchioness of Tweeddale, three sons, two still-born.
 25. Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a son.
 27. Countess of Sefton, a son.
 31. Countess Cholmondeley, a son.
Sept. 3. Lady Mulgrave, a daughter.
 10. Lady of Sir Francis Ford, bart. a daughter.
 16. Lady of Lord Viscount Gallies, a son.
 17. Hon.

17. Hon. Mrs. Charles Ellis, a son.
24. Lady Charlotte Somerset, a son.

26. Lady of admiral sir Charles Cotton, bart. a son.

Oct. 7. At Madrid, the princess of Peace, a daughter.

24. Countess of Dalkeith, a daughter.

28. Countess of Mountcashel, a son.

29. Lady Ann Wombwell, a still-born son.

31. Lady Blaney, a daughter.

— Lady Bantry, a son and heir,

Nov. 2. Lady of the hon. Mr. Petre, a daughter.

14. Countess of Chesterfield, a daughter.

— Countess of Northesk, a daughter.

28. Countess of Banbury, a son.

29. Lady of sir Francis Burdett, bart. a daughter.

30. Hon. Mrs. Richard King, a daughter.

— Lady of sir Edward O'Brien, bart. son and heir.

— Lady of the hon. Robert Ward, a daughter.

— Lady of the hon. and rev. Richard Hill, a son and heir.

Dec. 1. Countess of Mansfield, a son.

6. Countess of Cork and Orrery, a son.

12. Lady of the bishop of Chester, a son.

14. Viscountess Chetwynd, a son.

17. Lady Grey, a daughter.

24. Lady C. Denys, a daughter.

26. Lady Harriet Sullivan, a daughter.

— Lady Elizabeth Lowther, a daughter.

— Lady of sir Francis Wood, bart. a son.

— Lady of sir Frederick Eden, bart. a daughter.

26. Lady of the bishop of Carlisle, her tenth son.

MARRIAGES in 1800.

1. Col. Lake to lady Graham.

Jan. 6. Hon. Rich. King to miss Bell.

29. Hon. Andrew Ramsay to miss Cock.

Feb. 6. Col. Charles Crawford to her grace the duchess of Newcastle.

20. Sir Fred. Hamilton, bart. to miss Collie.

7. Sir William Baganel Burdett, bart. to miss Maria Reynett.

24. Earl of Westmoreland to miss Saunders.

31. Lord Francis Godolphin Osborne to the hon. Elizabeth Charlotte Eden.

April 2. Colonel Lindsay to lady Charlotte North.

3. Marquis of Abercorn to lady Ann Hatton.

7. Sir George Berney Brograve, bart. to miss Emma Whitwell.

— Lord Bantry to miss Hare.

28. Major-general Morrison to lady Caroline King.

May 7. Hon. John Cochrane to miss Birch.

19. Sir Hugh Dalrymple, bart. to miss Duncan, daughter of lord Duncan.

21. Henry Slaughter, esq. to the viscountess Montague.

27. Lieut.-colonel Howard to lady Charlotte Primrose.

June 17. Cecil Forester, esq. M.P. to lady Catherine Mary Manners.

25. The duke of Somerset to lady Charlotte Hamilton.

July 1. Capt. Seymour to the hon. miss Byng.

8. Right hon. George Canning to miss Scott.

9. Hon.

9. Hon. Mr. Rice to miss Charlotte Lascelles.

—. Hon. Charles Herbert to miss Bridget Augusta Forrest Byng.

24. Lord Amherst to the countess of Plymouth.

31. Charles marquis of Winchester to miss Anne Andrews.

Aug. 7. Lord Dunfany to miss Smith.

14. Sir Brooke William Bridges, bart. to miss Foote.

9. Earl of Exeter to the duchess of Hamilton.

25. Hon. John Vesey to miss Brownlow.

28. Earl Talbot to miss Lambert.

Sept. 5. Lord viscount Tamworth to the hon. miss Curzon.

10. Sir Charles Henry Knowles, bart. to miss Charlotte Johnstone.

17. Marquis of Bute to miss Coutts.

Oct. 2. Lord Folkstone to lady Catherine Pelham Clinton.

18. Lister Caye, esq. to lady Amelia Grey.

20. Lord viscount Corry to lady Juliana Butler.

—. Sir Charles Syer to miss Winsor.

Nov. 10. Hon. and rev. Richard Bruce Stopford to the hon. miss Powis.

11. Lord viscount Aghrim to miss Eden.

Dec. 7. J. S. Harcourt, esq. M.P. to miss Henniker.

23. Admiral sir Hyde Parker to miss Onslow.

10. Henry lord Roper of Teynham.

11. William Newcombe, D. D. lord primate of Ireland.

—. Hon. major-general Charles Monson.

13. Sir Paul Pechell, bart.

14. Sir Edward Bayntun, bart.

16. Lady Elizabeth Worsley.

22. George Steevens, esq. F. R. and A. S. S.

24. Sir John Boyd, bart.

—. Right hon. Charles Nevill Howard, lord Andover.

—. Hon. Mrs. Hamilton.

26. Hon. W. Fortescue.

—. Thomas Powis, lord Lifford.

27. Dr. Warren, bishop of Bangor.

28. Marchioness of Bute.

Feb. 4. Hon. Eleonora Adams, daughter of lord Elphinston.

5. Hon. James Eden, son of lord Henry.

11. Right hon. John Sutton, lord mayor of Dublin.

16. Lady Hannay.

—. Hon. miss Howard, sister to the earl of Suffolk.

—. The lady of sir John Wardlaw, bart.

17. Admiral Macbride.

21. Sir Thomas Shirley, bart.

—. Jane, lady dowager Erne.

23. Rev. Dr. Joseph Warton, F. R. S.

24. Elizabeth, countess dowager Brooke and Warwick.

27. John viscount Arbuthnot, lord Inverbervie.

—. Princess Marie Adelaide, aunt to the late king of France.

March 14. Hon. Daines Barrington, F. R. and A. S. S.

—. Lady Charlotte Radclyffe.

15. Dame Sarah Chapman, wife of sir John Chapman.

17. Lady Hawkins, relict of sir Cæsar Hawkins.

19. Lady Jones of Ramsbury.

25. Hon. col. Rawdon, M. P.

26. Sir

DEATHS in 1800.

Jan. 3. Sir Will. Musgrave, bart.

6. Wilmot Vaughan, earl of Lisburne.

8. Lady Lucy Hope Johnstone, daughter of the earl of Hopetoun.

26. Sir John Menzies, bart.
 —. Lord viscount Wenman.
April 9. Lady Mary Juliana Howe, daughter of earl Howe.
 — Right hon. James Stewart Mackenzie, lord privy-seal of Scotland.
 11. Ladies Mary and Juliana Colyear, daughters of the earl of Portmore.
 22. George, marquis of Winchester.
 25. William Cowper, esq. the celebrated poet.
 28. Lady of Sir Clement Cotterel Dormer.
 — Countess of Strathmore.
 30. Admiral George Vandeput.
 — George Barnewell, viscount Kingsland.
May 6. Lady of sir Lionel Darell, bart.
 18. Field-marshal Suwaroff.
 24. Sir John Hunter Blair, bart.
June 3. Sir Godfrey Webster.
 5 Henry Bridgeman, lord Bradford.
 — Sir Francis Buller, judge of the common pleas.
 8. Emily lady Bagot.
 14. Henry Willoughby, lord Middleton.
 30. Thomas Townshend, viscount Sidney.
 — Hon. Mrs. Wiggins, sister to lord Kinnaird.
July 13. Hon. miss St. John.
 14. Basil, earl of Denbigh.
 —. Earl Grandison.
 16. Bryan Edwards, esq. M. P.
 18. The lady of Aubrey Beauclerk, earl of Burford.
 22. Sir Benj. Hammet, knt. M. P.
 30. Right hon. Frederic Montague.
 — Hon. lady Anne Powell, sister to lord Aldborough.
Aug. 9. Mary, countess dowager Howe.
15. Hon. Samuel Barrington, admiral of the white.
 24. Mrs. Montague, of Portman-square.
 — Hon. Mrs. Shirley.
 31. Miss Harriet Wingfield, sister of viscount Powerscourt.
 — Hon. Charlotte Clifford, daughter of Hugh lord Clifford.
Sept. 2. Mary, dowager lady Walsingham.
 4. Countess dowager Darlington.
 10. Lady Hoare, relict of sir Rich. Hoare, bart.
 13. Eleonora, dowager lady Saltoun.
 15. Hon. Lloyd Kenyon, son of lord Kenyon.
 — Lady Danvers, relict of sir John Danvers, bart.
 22. Lady Diana Capel, daughter of William earl of Essex.
 30. Hester lady Newdigate.
 —. Lady Hughes, relict of admiral sir Edward Hughes.
 John, earl and viscount Clanwilliam.
Oct. 7. The countess of Tyrconnel.
 9. Hon. Elizabeth Wandesford, aunt to the countess of Ormond.
 20. John lord Northwick.
 —. Earl of Bellamont.
 24. Sir Arch. Kinloch, bart.
 28. Lord William Seymour.
 —. Countess of Massarene.
Nov. 17. Thomas Boothby Parkins, lord Raneliffe.
 Hon. lieut. A. J. Stewart, son of the earl of Londonderry.
 26. Hon. Charles Henry Boyle.
 28. Dr. Matthew Young, bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduach.
 — Barbara countess of Coventry.
 30. Matthew Robinson Morris, lord Rokeby.
 — Earl of Farnham.
Dec. 1. Sir Edward Hulse, bart.
 9. Admiral sir George Bowyer, bart.

9. Earl of Tyrone.
 18. Hon. John Wynn, son of Lord Newburgh.
 — Lady Lucy Wheeler, relict of sir William Wheeler.
 19. Elizabeth countess of Bristol.
 24. Charles viscount Ranelagh.
 25. Frances, countess-dowager of Northampton.
 27. Dr. Hugh Blair.
 29. Sir Joseph Andrews, bart.
 30. Hon. baron Dimpsdale, M.D. F. R. S.
 — Sir George Leonard Staunton, bart.
 — Dowager lady Leigh.

PROMOTIONS in 1800.

Jan. 1. Lieutenant-colonels, Wm. Gooch, of the 4th dragoons; Henry Chaytor, 1st foot-guards; Stapleton Cotton, 27th light dragoons; Samuel Dalrymple, 3d foot-guards; Wm. Johnston, ditto; George-Frederick Koehler, royal artillery; Frederick-William Wollaston, 22d light dragoons; Rowland Hill, 90th foot; Wm. Stewart, 89th ditto; hon. Wm. Stapleton, 31st light dragoons; Denzell Onslow, late 97th foot; John Murray, 84th ditto; Wm. Twiss, royal engineers; hon. Charles Hope, 7th dragoon-guards; Rich. Mark Dickens, 34th foot; sir Geo. Pigot, bart. late 130th ditto; Frederick Maitland, 27th ditto; John Leveson Gower, on half-pay; Martin Hunter, 48th foot; John ld. Elphinstone, 26th ditto; Richard viscount Donoughmore, late 112th ditto; John Abercrombie, 53d ditto; Richard-William Talbot, 23d ditto; George-Charles Braithwaite Boughton, on half-pay; Carr Beresford, 88th foot; John Evelegh, royal engineers; Orlando Manley, royal artillery; Alexander Shand, ditto; George Earl of Dalhousie, 2d foot; Tho.

Baker, late 123d ditto; Geo. Porter, late 117th ditto; Jas. Erskine, 15th light dragoons; Henry Williams, late 120th foot; hon. Geo. Napier, late Londonderry regiment; Francis earl Conyngham, ditto; hon. John Vaughan, late loyal Sheffield regiment; Cha. Baillie, 51st foot; hon. Alex. Hope, 14th foot; John-Thomas Maddison, late loyal Kelso regiment; Peter Heron, late 2d battalion 90th foot; Rob. Lawton, royal artillery; Tho. Peter, on half-pay; Rob. Montgomery, 9th foot; Edw. Fage, royal artillery; hon. Montague Mathew, late 114th foot; John Ramsay, 3d foot-guards; William Earl Bulwer, on half-pay; John Delves Broughton, late 106th foot; Wm. Dyott, 25th ditto; Ronald Craufurd Ferguson, 31st ditto; Andrew Ganimell, of col. Edwards's fencibles; Rob. M'Farlane, 72d foot; Peter-John-James Duten, Minorca regiment; Samuel Achmuty, 75th foot; Jas. Thewles, 4th dragoon-guards; John-Gustavus Crosbie, 22d foot; to be colonels in the army.—Majors Rowland Edwards, 9th foot; Henry Baird, 54th ditto; hon. Alex. Murray, 4th ditto; Wm. Cullen, Scotch brigade; R. Sacheverell Newton, 9th foot; John Wingfield, 4th dragoons; William-Charles Fortescue, on half pay; Andrew Ross, Reay fencibles; Gerrard Goffelin, late 130th foot; Rich. Lee, late 124th ditto; H. Lewis Dickenson, 84th ditto; Wm. Pearce, late 123d ditto; Wm. Alexander, Essex fencibles; lord Henry Murray, late 2d battalion 90th foot; Andrew Hay, of a fencible regiment; Thomas-Robinson Grey, 20th foot; Frederick-Philip Robinson, late 134th ditto; Charles Campbell, late 132d ditto; Arthur Robert Dillon, late 115th ditto; hon. George Carnegie, late 110th ditto; Thomas-Partridge Thorpe,

Thorpe, on half-pay; Duncan Darrock, Rothfay and Caithness fencibles; Frederick Delme, late 103d foot; John Grey, late 113th foot; William-Henry Pringle, 4th ditto; hon. Rob. Clive, late 110th ditto; Wm. Hutchinson, on half-pay; Anthony Egan, late Irish brigade; count Philip Walsh, ditto; David Barry, ditto; William O'Shee, ditto; Jas. Conway, ditto; Francis Stewart, 79th foot; Geo. Jackson, late 96th ditto; Wm. Tomlinson, late 91st ditto; Gordon Skelley, Scotch brigade; Tho. Hockley, Suffolk fencibles; Hugh Antrobus, Somerset fencible infantry; John Murray, late 108th foot; Arthur Aylmer, 2d Manks fencibles; Wm. Maxwell, 32d foot; Wm. Say, late 99th ditto; John Mackenzie, 78th ditto; Edward Barnes, late 99th ditto; Henry Zouch, late 121st foot; John Shee, 33d ditto; Edmund-Reilly Cope, late Dublin regiment; Henry Davis, 9th foot; hon. E. M. Packenham, 23d light dragoons; John Bagwell, late 30th ditto; Phœneas Riall, late 128th foot; Rob. Bell, 86th ditto; Rob. Campbell, late 2d battalion 82d ditto; William Brooke, late 96th ditto; Wm. Ponsonby, 5th dragoon-guards; Tho. Molyneux, late 104th foot; Wm. Roberts, late 135th ditto; Hugh Baillie, 86th ditto; Edw. Macdonnell, 46th ditto; Edward-Edwin Colman, 84th ditto; hon. J. Butler Wandesford, late 104th ditto; Geo. A. Armstrong, on half-pay; James-Francis Bland, late 107th foot; Augustus Fitzgerald, ditto; Charles Smith, 22d light dragoons; John Bainbridge, Durham fencibles; John-Shaw Maxwell, 23d light dragoons; Benjamin Forbes, 75th foot; John-Charles Tuffnell, on half-pay; John Popham Watson, late 117th foot; Haviland Smith, late Corfi-

can corps; Wm. Peachy, late 108th foot; Geo. Vigoreux, late Corsican corps; Tho. Skinner, royal engineers; Thomas de la Beeche, late 123d foot; Cha. Newton, late 134th ditto; George-Lewis Hamilton, royal artillery; George Hart, 36th foot; Humphry Dennis, 9th dragoons; Geo. Glasgow, royal artillery; Geo. Johnson, 28th foot; Hen. T. Thompson, royal artillery; Rich. Donaldson, 9th dragoons; Abraham Duvernette, royal artillery; Jas. Butler, ditto; Wm. Inglis, 57th foot; David Robertson, 74th foot; Jas. Bragg, royal artillery; William Douglas, 74th foot; Matthew Jenour, 39th ditto; James Wynch, 4th ditto; Charles Robison, royal artillery; Tho. Judson, ditto; Wm. Bentham, ditto; William-Frederick M'Bean, 6th foot; John Vincent, 49th ditto; Wm. Booth, royal engineers; John Borthwick, 71st foot; Tho. Bassett, 5th ditto; William Wade, 3d dragoons; Geo. Lewis, royal artillery; Wm. Fyers, royal engineers; Sherborne Stewart, 1st life guards; John Hadden, 11th foot; Rob. Lethbridge, 60th ditto; David Gordon, 48th ditto; Frederick De Chambault, late 109th ditto; Alex. Cumine, 75th ditto; William-Frederick Spry, 77th ditto; Edw. Musgrave, 76th ditto; Patrick Maxwell, 19th light dragoons to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.—Captains Charles Duperry, 37th foot; Stephens Collins, 61st ditto; Charles Sutherland, 74th ditto; Edw. Wood, royal artillery; Tho. Paterfon, 19th light dragoons; Wm. Kersteman, royal engineers; Samuel Swinton, 74th foot; John William Evans, 19th ditto; Malcolm M'Pherson, 77th ditto; Geo. Johnstone, New South Wales corps; Wm. Buller, 9th foot; J. Killigrew, Dunbar, 69th ditto; sir Geo. Leit-

part. 73d ditto; Geo. Cookson, royal artillery; Philip Riou, ditto; Christopher Seaton, 54th foot; George Calland, 2d life-guards; to be majors in the army.

Jan. 4. Brevet. Captain the hon. Alex. Murray, to be major in the army.

8. Lieutenant-general the hon. Sir Charles Stuart; Sir Henry Harvey, vice-admiral of the white; and Sir Andrew Mitchell, vice-admiral of the blue; created knights of the bath.

11. Barracks. Thomas Fraser, gent. to be barrack-master at Fort-George, vice Maclean, superseded.

18. Invalids. Lieut. Robert Bullock, from the half-pay of the late 132d foot, to be lieutenant in Capt. Campbell's company of invalids at Guernsey, vice Sawkins, deceased.—Brevet. Major Walter Partridge, of the 5th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.—Garriſon. Lieut. Robert Robinson, of the royal fusileers, to be town-major in Prince Edward's Island, vice Lyons.—Staff. Major George Stracey Smyth, of the 83d foot, to be deputy-quartermaster-general to the forces serving in North America, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.—Hospital-staff. Hospital-mate Wm. Tytler, to be apothecary to the forces.

21. Invalids. Ensign Peter Whannel, from the late independent companies, to be ensign in Major Gordon's independent company of invalids in Alderney, vice White, dec.—Hospital-staff. John Wright, M. D. to be assistant-inspector of hospitals.

24. Brevet. Majors Hugh Bowens, on half-pay; Henry Proctor, of the 43d foot; John Brown, royal engineers in Ireland; Joseph Walker, royal artillery in Ireland;

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Wm. Hutchinson, 49th foot; Taylor White, 81st foot; Daniel Seddon, 22d light dragoons; to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.—Staff. Col. Geo. Milner, of the foot-guards, to be brigadier-general in the island of Jersey only.—Hospital-staff. Hospital-mates William Warcup and Peter Travers, to be apothecaries to the forces.

29. John M'Mahon, esq. (late lieutenant-colonel in the 87th foot) to be vice-treasurer and commissioner of accounts to his royal highness the prince of Wales; and Robert Gray, esq. to be deputy commissioner of accounts. Lieut.-col. George Leigh, of the 10th, or prince's own light dragoons, to be his equerry; and Mr. Gaskoin to be clerk of the stables.

Feb. 1. Mr. Wm. M'Farlane, appointed keeper of the minute-book of the new session-house of Edinburgh, and Mr. John Thompson to be commissary of the commissariat of Kirkcudbright.

—Edward Hamilton, esq. captain in the royal navy, and commander of his majesty's ship *Surprise*, knighted.

4. Brevet. Capt. W. A. Phipps, inspector of the royal military academy at Woolwich, to be major in the army.

15. His majesty has been pleased to appoint the under-mentioned officers of the East-India Company's forces to take rank by brevet in his majesty's army in the East Indies only: Majors Thomas Holland, John Barton, Nicolas Carnegie, James Gordon, John Horsford, Richard Humphries, Patrick-Alexander Agnew, Edward Gibbings, Robert Mackay, John-Tendal Evans, Hector Maclean, Robert Cameron, Thomas Dallas, John Torin, Keith Macalister, Charles-Frederick Mandeville, Richard Gore, Francis-Wil-

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Nam Bellis, John Little, John Wiseman, Henry Oakes, Thomas Marshall, Charles Reynolds, Burnaby Boles, George-William Mignan, William Home, Andrew Anderson, Charles Boyle, John Macdonald, James Romney, Henry Long, Jacob Thompson, Jeremiah Hawkes, John Baillie, Joseph Bland, and William-Henry Blashford, to be lieutenant-colonels. Captains Richard Walker, Edward Pennington, Thomas Polhill, Alexander Legertwood, Andrew Fraser, Edward Tolfrey, Samuel Jeannerett, John Chalmers, and George Knox, to be majors.—Brevet. Capt. Charles N. Cookson, of the royal artillery, to be major in the army.—Garrison. Lieutenant general David Dundas, to be governor of Landguard fort, vice Trelawney, deceased.

18. Edward King, esq. of Lincoln's-inn-fields, vice-chancellor of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster.

21. Right hon. Thomas lord Bolton, lord-lieutenant of the county of Southampton, and of the town of Southampton and county of the same.

25. Brevet. Major sir William Lowther, bart. to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

March 4. Dr. Wm. L. Brown, principal of Mareschal college in Aberdeen, to be one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary in Scotland.

4. Staff. Colonel John Stewart, of the royal artillery, to be brigadier-general at Gibraltar only.

15. Hon. Arthur Paget, to be his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of his Sicilian majesty. Hon. William F. Wyndham, his majesty's envoy extraordinary at Florence, to assume the additional character of minister-plenipotentiary at that court.—Archibald

McNiell, esq. to be his majesty's consulat Leghorn.—Joseph Pringle, esq. to be his majesty's agent and consul-general in the island of Madeira, vice Murray resigned.

19. Robert Coney and Robert Hickes, together with Charles Agar, John Pouchet, and Richard Bevan, esqrs. to be his majesty's commissioners for appeals and regulating the duties of excise.

21. Sir Charles Whitworth, K.B. created a baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the title of baron Whitworth, of Newport Prat, county of Mayo.

22. Sir Walter Farquhar, bart. to be physician to his royal highness the prince of Wales.

April 2. Lieut. col. John Douglas, late commander of a party of marines serving on board the Tigre, knighted.

5. Right rev. William lord bishop of Chester, to be bishop of Bangor, vice Warren, deceased.

8. Hospital-staff. ——— Frank, M. D. to be inspector of hospitals to the forces. Purveyor Robert Patrick, and surgeon ——— Jamieson, to be assistant-inspectors of hospitals to the forces. Surgeon ——— Cope, to be inspector of field-hospitals to the forces. To be purveyor to the forces: surgeon Geo. Dickson, from the 12th light dragoons. To be deputy-purveyors to the forces: Hospital-mate ——— Gunson, and Wm. James, gent.—Garrison. Surgeon Alex. M'Dowell, from the 60th foot, to be garrison surgeon of the island of St. Lucia, vice Bishop, deceased.

12. Hospital-staff. Joseph Phelan, M. D. to be physician to the forces.

May 10. Staff. Col. Alexander Buchanan, of the 37th foot, to be brigadier-general in the Leeward Islands only.—Hospital-staff Garrison.

Garrison-surgeon. — Walters, to be assistant-inspector of hospitals to the forces in Guernsey. — Barracks. B. Westropp Atkins, to be assistant-barrack-master to the south-west side of the Isle of Wight, vice Menzies, deceased.

13. Brevet. Major-general Henry Bowyer, to be lieutenant-general in British North America only. Hon. col. John Hope, to be brigadier-general in the Mediterranean only. — Staff. Brevet-major Charles Neville, to be deputy-quarter-master-general to the British troops serving in the kingdom of Portugal, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, vice lieutenant-colonel Lindenthal, resigned. — Garrison. Major-general William Goodday Strutt, to be governor of Quebec. Lieut.-col. Sam. Graham, of the 27th foot, to be deputy-governor of Stirling castle.

24. Henry William Majendie, D.D. one of the canons residentiary of St. Paul, London, to be bishop of Chester, vice Cleaver translated to Bangor.

— The earl of Carysfort to be his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

June 10. Alexander baron Bridport, K.B. admiral of the white, and vice-admiral of Great Britain, created a viscount of Great Britain, by the title of Viscount Bridport, of Cricket St. Thomas, county of Somerset. — Right hon. Henry Dundas, to be keeper of his majesty's privy-seal of Scotland, vice Mackenzie, deceased.

14. Thomas Wallace, esq. to be one of his majesty's commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

17. Brevet. Captain Peter Beaver, of the 27th foot, to be major in the army.

19. William Leighton, Edwin Joynes, Roger Kerrison, John Everitt, Thomas Carr, Matthew Bloxam, Robert Burton, John Brazier, Alexander Gordon, James Earle, Beaumaris Rush, and Robert Graham, esqrs. knighted.

24. Brevet. Capt. Hampson P. Thomas, of the 64th foot, to be major in the army. — Staff. Assistant-commissary Cha. Wright, to be deputy-commissary to the forces under the command of general sir Ralph Abercromby. James Pison, ditto.

— Lord Carrington, elected president of the Board of Agriculture for the year ensuing, vice lord Somerville.

25. Right hon. Wm. Dundas, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

July 1. Earl Temple to be one of the commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

4. Thomas Johnes, esq. appointed lieutenant of the county of Cardigan.

5. Hon. Wm. Elliot, to be a lord of the admiralty, vice Wallace.

10. Brevet. Capt. Thomas Macmahon, of the 27th foot, to be major in the army. — Staff. Assistant commissary — Affiotti, to be deputy-commissary-general of stores and provisions to the forces serving in North-Britain, vice Cochrane, appointed collector of the customs at Trinidad.

16. Philip-John Ducarel, esq. to be lieutenant of the yeomen of the guard, vice Roberts, resigned.

19. John Lane, of Upper Easton-street, Grosvenor-place, esq. to be receiver of the duties of sixpence in the pound and one shilling in the pound on salaries, fees, and wages, of any offices and employments payable by the crown.

26. Right hon. Thomas Grenville, to be warden, chief justice, and justice in Eyre, of all his majesty's forests, chaces, parks, and warrens, on this side the Trent, vice lord Sidney, deceased.—Lord Granville Leveson Gower, to be a lord of the treasury, vice hon. John Thomas Townshend, now lord Sidney.

Dublin, July 30. Charles Henry earl of Mountrath, to be baron of Castle Coote, county of Roscommon; and, in default of issue, to Charles Henry Coote, esq. of Forest Lodge, in the Queen's County; Hon. Clotworthy Rowley, baron Langford, of Somerhill, county of Meath;—Right hon. sir John Blaquiere, bart. K. B. baron de Blaquiere, of Ardkill, county of Londonderry;—Right hon. Lodge Morres, baron Frankfort, of Galmoye, county of Kilkenny:—Dame Dorcas Blackwood, widow of sir John Blackwood, bart. baroness Dufferin and Claneboye, of Ballyleidy and Killyleagh, county of Down; and the dignity of baron Dufferin and Claneboye to the heirs male of her body by the said sir J. Blackwood;—Sir John Henniker, bart. baron Henniker, of Stratford upon Slaney, county of Wicklow; Dame Charlotte Newcomen, wife of sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, bart. baroness Newcomen, of Mostown, county of Longford; and the dignity of baron Newcomen to the heirs male of her body by the said sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, bart.;—Sir Richard Quin, bart. baron Adare, of Adare, county of Limerick;—Sir Thomas Mullins, bart. baron Ventry, of Ventry, county of Kerry;—William Hare, esq. of Tivoli, baron Ennismore, of Ennismore, county of Kerry;—Joseph Henry Blake, esq. baron Wallscourt, of Ardfry, county of Galway; and, in default of issue,

to the heirs male of the body of his father, Joseph Blake, esq.;—Henry Moore Sandford, esq. baron Mount Sandford, of Castlereagh, county of Roscommon; and, in default of issue, to his brother, William Sandford, esq.; and, in default of his issue, to his brother, George Sandford, esq.;—Henry Prittie, esq. baron Donally, of Killboy, county of Tipperary;—John Preston, esq. baron Tara, of Bellinter, county of Meath;—Maurice Mahon, esq. baron Hartland, of Strokestown, county of Roscommon;—and John Bingham, esq. baron Clanmorris, of Newbrook, county of Mayo.

Aug. 2. Biorn Salvesin, esq. approved by his majesty to be consul for the king of Denmark in Scotland, and in the northern parts of England to Flamborough Head, conjointly with Thomas Mulderup, esq.

12. Brevet. Hon. colonel Thomas Maitland, of the 10th West-India regiment, to be brigadier-general to the forces serving under the command of lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney.

13. Right hon. Richard earl of Shannon, K. P. the right hon. Isaac Corry, chancellor of his majesty's exchequer in Ireland, the right hon. Robert Stewart, commonly called lord viscount Castlereagh, keeper of his majesty's signet, or privy-seal, and chief secretary to the lord-lieutenant-general and general governor of Ireland, the right hon. lord Frankfort, and the right hon. John Loftus Loftus, commonly called lord viscount Loftus, to be commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer in Ireland.

26. Right hon. Alexander lord Bridport, K. B. admiral of the white, to be general of his majesty's marine forces, vice Barrington, deceased;

ceased; and the right hon. John earl St. Vincent, to be lieutenant-general of the said forces, vice lord Bridport.

Sept. 6. Hospital-staff. Assistant-inspector Theodore Gordon, to be deputy-inspector-general of hospitals in the Leeward Islands.

9. Staff. Capt. Adolphus Hinaber, of the 68th foot, to be deputy adjutant-general to the forces serving in the island of Minorca, with the rank of major in the army.—Hospital-staff. Surgeon W. D. Lawlor, from the half-pay, to be garrison-surgeon at St. Kitt's.

10. Henry Luttrell, esq. to be clerk of the pipe and engrosser of the great roll, in the court of exchequer of Ireland.

27. Garrisons. Lieutenant Hector McLean, of the royal fusiliers, to be town major of Halifax, vice Tonge, resigned. Lieutenant Donald Campbell, of the royal fusiliers, to be fort major in Upper Canada, vice Eyre, resigned.

30. Brevet. Colonel Gerrit Fisher, of the 9th foot, to be brigadier-general to the forces serving under the command of lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney. Captain Robert Alexander Dalzell, of the 1st foot guards, to be major in the army.—Hospital-staff. Dr. Joseph D. A. Gilpin, to be assistant-inspector of hospitals to the forces.

Oct. 11. Staff. Major John Thomas, of the 28th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces serving in the West Indies, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, vice Cuyler, who resigns.—Garrison. Lieutenant Nash, of the Minorca regiment, to be town and fort adjutant to the garrison of Ciudadella and its dependencies, in the island of Minorca.

21. John Hookham Frere, esq. to be his majesty's envoy extra-

ordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of the prince-regent of Portugal.

22. Lieut.-colonel Marcus Beresford, to be lieutenant-general of his majesty's ordnance in Ireland.

Nov. 4. Sir Richard Carr Glynn, of Gaunts, county of Dorset, knight, late lord-mayor of the city of London; Robert Kingmill, esq. admiral of the blue squadron of his majesty's fleet; Robert John Buxton, of Shadwell Lodge, county of Norfolk, esq.; William Elford, of Bickham, county of Devon, esq. lieutenant-colonel of the South Devon regiment of militia; Nathaniel Holland, of Wittenham, county of Berks, esq.; Francis Millman, of Levaton, county of Devon, M. D. and physician to his majesty's household; Robert Peel, of Drayton Manor, county of Stafford, and of Bury, county of Lancaster, esq.; and Walter Stirling, of Faskine, county of Lancaster, esq. banker, of London, eldest son of the late sir Walter Stirling, of Faskine, knight, captain in the royal navy; created baronets.

—Garrison. Lieut. Wm. Kirk, of the 17th foot, to be town and fort-major of the garrison of Ciudadella and its dependencies, in the island of Minorca.

11. Rev. George Heath, D. D. to be prebendary of his majesty's free chapel of St. George, at Windsor, vice William late bishop of St. David's, resigned.

18. Brevet. To be brigadier-generals in the army serving under the command of general sir Ralph Abercromby: the hon. col. Edward Finch, of the Coldstream foot guards; and colonel Thomas Grosvenor, of the 3d foot guards.—Hospital-staff. Robert Jackson, M. D. late inspector of hospitals for the Russian troops, to be physician

to the forces, and head of the hospital at Chatham.

25. Hon. and rev. William Stuart, bishop of St. David's, translated to the archbishopric of Armagh, in Ireland, vice Newcome, deceased.

29. Lord Seaforth appointed governor of Barbadoes.

Dec. 2. Brevet. Lieut.-col. John Frazer, commandant of a corps of infantry, to be colonel in the army. — Barracks. Lachlan Maclean, to be barrack-master at Hamilton, vice Lockhart, deceased.

6. Brevet. Colonel Frederick Maitland, of the 27th foot, to be brigadier-general to the forces serving in the Leeward Islands only. — Staff. Lieutenant James Stevenson, on the half-pay of Elford's late corps, to be adjutant to the detachments in Hilsa barracks. — Hospital staff. J. Buchan, M.D. and — Luxmore, M.D. to be physicians to the forces.

9. John Hiley Addington, esq. to be one of the lords-commissioners of the treasury, vice Sylvester Douglas, created baron Glenbervie, of Kincardine, Scotland, and appointed governor of the Cape of Good Hope, vice sir George Yonge, resigned. — Right hon. Charles Sloane lord Cadogan, to be viscount Chelsea, county of Middlesex, and earl Cadogan. — Right hon. James lord Malmesbury, K.B. to be viscount Fitz-Harris, of Horn Court, county of Southampton, and earl of Malmesbury.

16. Right rev. William lord bishop of Armagh, and St. George Daly, esq. his majesty's prime serjeant at law, sworn of the privy-council of Ireland.

20. Rev. George Murray, commonly called lord George Murray, to be bishop of St. David's, vice Stuart, translated to Armagh.

20. Right hon. John Toler, to be chief-justice of the court of common pleas of Ireland, vice lord viscount Carleton, who retires.

23. Right hon. John Stewart, to be his majesty's attorney-general in Ireland, vice Toler; and William Smith, esq. to be his majesty's solicitor-general, vice Stewart.

— Lord viscount Loftus, John Stewart, esq. attorney-general, and Charles Henry Coote, esq. sworn of the privy-council of Ireland.

Dublin, Dec. 27. Lord Charles Fitzgerald created lord Lecale; admiral Waldegrave, lord Radstock; Sylvester Douglas, lord Glenbervie; John Toler, lord Norbury; and sir Alan Gardner, lord Gardner; the marchioness of Buckingham, to be baroness Nugent, and her second son, lord George Nugent Grenville, to be lord Nugent; Frederick Trench, lord Ashdown; general Eyre Massey, lord Clarina; and the hon. Robert King, lord Erris.

29. The earl of Inchiquin, created marquis of Thomond; earl of Beftive, marquis of Headfort; earl of Altamont, marquis of Sligo; and earl of Ely, marquis of Ely: — viscount Castle Stewart, earl of ditto; viscount Donoughmore, earl of ditto; viscount Caledon, earl of ditto; viscount Kenmare, earl of ditto; earl Clanricarde, the title in reversion to his daughters; lord Glentworth, viscount Limerick; lord Somerton, archbishop of Cashel, viscount Somerton; lord Yelverton, viscount Avonmore; lord Longueville, viscount ditto; lord Bantry, viscount ditto; lord Monck, viscount ditto; lord Kilconnel, viscount Dunlo; lord Tullamore, viscount Charleville; and lord Kilwarden, viscount ditto.

30. Henry earl of Exeter, advanced to be marquis.

— Staff. Col. John Abercromby,

by, of the 53d foot, to be deputy-adjutant general to the forces serving under the command of general sir Ralph Abercromby. Lieutenant-colonel John Duncan, of the royal artillery, to be deputy quarter-master general to the said forces. Lieut.-colonel William Henry Clinton, of the 1st foot guards, to be inspector-general of foreign corps in his majesty's service (the Dutch troops excepted), vice colonel John Ramfay.—Hospital-staff. Surgeon John Joberns, to be assistant-inspector of hospitals.

31. Lord Conyngham, elected a knight of the order of St. Patrick, vice marquis of Waterford, deceased.

Edward Christian, esq. barrister at law, and the Downing professor of the laws of England in Cambridge university, appointed, by the bishop of Ely, chief justice of his franchise in the isle of Ely, vice Henry Gwillim, esq. promoted to be one of the judges at Madras.

SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council for the Year 1800.

Bedfordshire, John Everitt, of Westoning, esq.

Berks, sir John Cox Hippefly, of Workfield Grove, bart.

Bucks, Mansell Dawkin Mansell, of Lothbury-house, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, Richard Kelley, of Alwalton, esq.

Cheshire, Roger Barnston, of Churton, esq.

Cumberland, sir Jon Charden Musgrave, of Eden Hall, bart.

Derbyshire, Eusebius Horton, of Catton, esq.

Devonshire, Runundo Putt, of Gittisham, esq.

Dorsetshire, Richard E. D. Grosvenor, of Charborough, esq.

Essex, George Lee, of Great Ilford, esq.

Gloucestershire, Charles Hanbury Tracey, of Doddington, esq.

Herefordshire, Thomas Beaby, of Willey, esq.

Hertfordshire, Justinian Casamajor, of Potterelle, esq.

Kent, John Larking, of East Malling, esq.

Leicestershire, Edward Manners, of Goadby, esq.

Lincolnshire, Matthew Bancroft Lister, of Burwell-park, esq.

Monmouthshire, Benjamin Waddington, of Llanover, esq.

Norfolk, Roger Kerrison, of Brooke, esq.

Northamptonshire, Edward Bouverie, jun. of Delapré, esq.

Northumberland, George A. Askew, of Pallingsburn, esq.

Nottinghamshire, W. G. Williams, of Remstone, esq.

Oxfordshire, Richard Williams, of Nathorp, esq.

Rutlandshire, John Havcock, of Ouston, county of Leicester, esq.

Shropshire, William Chaloner, of Duddleston, esq.

Somersetshire, Thomas Swimmer Champneys, of Orchard Ley, esq.

Staffordshire, Haughton F. Okeover, of Okeover, esq.

Southampton, Nathaniel Middleton, of Shamblehurst, esq.

Suffolk, W. Beaumaris Rusli, of Roydon, esq.

Surrey, George Griffin Stonefleet, of Clapham, esq.

Sussex, Thomas Carr, of Beddingham, esq.

Warwickshire, sir Theophilus Biddulph, of Burdington, bart.

Wilts, George Y. Forte, of Alderbury, esq.

Worcestershire, W. Smith, of Meadstone, esq.

Yorkshire, James Milnes, of Thornes-house, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthen, Gabriel Powell, of
Capel Thydis, esq.

Pembroke, John Mear, of Easting-
don, esq.

Cardigan, Thomas Lloyd, of
Kelgwyn, esq.

Brecon, Richard G. Awbrey, of
Ynyskedwin, esq.

Glamorgan, Robert Jerner, of
Wenvoe Castle, esq.

Radnor, John Brewster, of Caf-
cob, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Caernarvon, Rice Edwards, of
Porthyregwl, esq.

Anglesea, Evan Hughes, of Gwd-
ryn, esq.

Merioneth, Bulkely Hatchett, of
Carnngadale, esq.

Montgomery, Henry Proctor, of
Aberhaves, esq.

Denbighshire, John Wynne, of
Coed Cock, esq.

Flintshire, James Mainwaring, of
Saltney, esq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal
Highness the Prince of Wales, in
Council, for the Year 1800.*

County of Cornwall, Matthew
Mitchell, of Manger, esq.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

His Majesty's Speech on the Prorogation of Parliament, Tuesday, July 29.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IN putting an end to this laborious session of parliament, I must express the just sense I entertain of the diligence and perseverance with which you have applied yourselves to the various objects of public concern which came under your deliberation. It is with peculiar satisfaction I congratulate you on the success of the steps which you have taken for effecting an entire union between my kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

This great measure, on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign, being persuaded that nothing could so effectually contribute to extend to my Irish subjects the full participation of the blessings derived from the British constitution, and to establish on the most solid foundation the strength, prosperity, and power, of the whole empire.

I have witnessed with great concern the severe pressure on my people, from the continued scarcity of the season; but I trust that, under the blessing of Providence, there is now every reason to expect that the approaching harvest will afford a speedy and effectual relief.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my particular thanks for the zeal and liberality with which you have provided for the various exigencies of the public service. I regret deeply the necessity of these repeated sacrifices on the part of my subjects, but they have been requisite for the preservation of our dearest interests; and it is a great consolation to observe, that, notwithstanding the continuance of unusual burthens, the revenue, commerce, and resources of the country have flourished beyond all former example, and are still in a state of progressive augmentation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The course of the campaign upon the continent has, by a sudden reverse, disappointed the sanguine hopes which the situation of affairs at its commencement appeared fully to justify, and has unhappily again exposed a considerable part of Europe to those calamities and dangers from which it had recently been rescued by the brilliant success of my allies.

Much as these events are to be regretted, it will always be matter of just satisfaction to me to reflect, that, in the course of this important contest, my efforts, and those of my parliament, have been unremittingly employed for the maintenance

nance of our own rights and interests, and for animating and supporting the exertions of other powers in defending the liberties of Europe.

Notwithstanding the vicissitudes of war, your constancy and firmness have been productive of the most important and lasting advantages in the general situation of affairs; and the determination manifested in your recent declarations and conduct must afford me the best means of promoting, in conjunction with my allies, the general interests, and of providing, under every circumstance, for the honour of my crown, for the happiness of my subjects, and for the security and welfare of every part of the British empire.

His Majesty's Speech on opening the Parliament, Tuesday, Nov. 11.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

My tender concern for the welfare of my subjects, and a sense of the difficulties with which the poorer classes particularly have to struggle, from the present high price of provisions, have induced me to call you together at an earlier period than I had otherwise intended. No object can be nearer my heart than that, by your care and wisdom, all such measures may be adopted as may, upon full consideration, appear best calculated to alleviate this severe pressure, and to prevent the danger of its recurrence, by promoting, as far as possible, the permanent extension and improvement of our agriculture.

For the object of immediate relief, your attention will naturally be directed, in the first instance, to the best mode of affording the earliest and the most ample encourage-

ment for importation of all descriptions of grain from abroad.

Such a supply, aided by the examples which you have set on former occasions of attention to economy and frugality in the consumption of corn, is most likely to contribute to a reduction in the present high price, and to insure, at the same time, the means of meeting the demands for the necessary consumption of the year.

The present circumstances will also, I am persuaded, render the state of the laws respecting the commerce in the various articles of provision the object of your serious deliberation.

If, on the result of that deliberation, it shall appear to you, that the evil necessarily arising from unfavourable seasons has been increased by any undue combinations, or fraudulent practices, for the sake of adding unfairly to the price, you will feel an earnest desire of effectually preventing such abuses; but you will, I am sure, be careful to distinguish any practices of this nature from that regular and long established course of trade which experience has shown to be indispensable, in the present state of society, for the supply of the markets, and for the subsistence of my people.

You will have seen with concern the temporary disturbances which have taken place in some parts of the kingdom. Those malicious and disaffected persons, who cruelly take advantage of the present difficulties to excite any of my subjects to acts in violation of the laws and of the public peace, are in the present circumstances doubly criminal, as such proceedings must necessarily and immediately tend to increase, in the highest degree, the evil complained of; while they, at the

the same time, endanger the permanent tranquillity of the country, on which the well-being of the industrious classes of the community must always principally depend.

The voluntary exertions which have on this occasion been made for the immediate repression of these outrages, and in support of the laws and public peace, are therefore entitled to my highest praise.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

Under the circumstances of the present meeting, I am desirous of asking of you such supplies only as may be necessary for carrying on the public service, till the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland may conveniently be assembled. The estimates for that purpose will be laid before you; and I have no doubt of your readiness to make such provision as the public interests may appear to require.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have directed copies to be laid before you of those communications which have recently passed between me and the French government, respecting the commencement of the negotiations for peace. You will see in them fresh and striking proofs of my earnest desire to contribute to the re-establishment of general tranquillity. That desire on my part has hitherto been unhappily frustrated, by the determination of the enemy to enter only on a separate negotiation, in which it was impossible for me to engage, consistently either with public faith, or with a due regard to the permanent security of Europe.

My anxiety for the speedy restoration of peace remains unaltered; and there will be no obstacle

nor delay on my part to the adoption of such measures as may best tend to promote and accelerate that desirable end, consistently with the honour of this country, and the true interest of my people: But if the disposition of our enemies should continue to render this great object of all my wishes unattainable, without the sacrifice of these essential considerations, on the maintenance of which all its advantages must depend, you will, I am confident, persevere in affording me the same loyal and steady support which I have experienced through the whole of this important contest, and which has, under the blessing of Providence, enabled me, during a period of such unexampled difficulty and calamity to all the surrounding nations, to maintain unimpaired the security and honour of these kingdoms.

Speech of his Excellency Marquis Cornwallis, on opening the Irish Parliament, Wednesday, Jan. 15.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have received his majesty's commands to assemble you in parliament.

Upon a review of the important and glorious events that have distinguished the period which has elapsed since I last addressed you, the most gratifying and encouraging reflections present themselves to our consideration.

By the brilliant course of victories achieved by the combined imperial armies, the various kingdoms and states of Italy have been delivered from the ravages and the tyranny of the French.

The throne of Naples and our friendly connection with that kingdom have been restored.

The

The French expedition to Egypt has been checked in its career by the exertions of the Turkish arms, assisted by a small detachment of his majesty's forces, and the gallantry of their heroic commander.

The hostile plans of the common enemy in India have terminated in the total destruction of the power which had been misfed by their artifices, and through the timely, vigorous, and decisive counsels of the marquis Wellesley, and the consummate skill and valour of his majesty's generals, officers, and troops, the British possessions in that quarter of the globe have been beneficially extended, and effectually secured.

By the descent of his majesty's forces and of his Russian allies on the coast of Holland, the Dutch fleet has been happily rescued from the power of the enemy; and although the season, peculiarly unfavourable to military operations, produced the necessity of relinquishing an enterprise so fortunately begun, and prevented the complete accomplishment of his majesty's views, yet the result of that expedition has been peculiarly beneficial to this kingdom, in removing all fear of attack on our coasts from a quarter whence it had been so often planned, and in enabling his majesty's fleets to direct their vigilance exclusively to the single port from which the enemy can attack this country with any hope even of a temporary success.

My utmost care has been exerted to carry into execution the extraordinary powers which you have committed to my discretion, with vigour, and, at the same time, with moderation. All tendency to insurrection has been effectually repressed; but it gives me true concern to acquaint you, that the painful necessity of acting with severity has

been too frequently imposed upon me; and although public tranquillity has been in a great measure restored, yet I have to lament that a disposition to outrage and conspiracy still continues in several districts, that much industry is used to keep alive the spirit of disaffection, and to encourage among the lower classes the hopes of French assistance.

I trust that the recent revolution in France cannot fail to open the eyes of such of his majesty's subjects as have been deluded by the artifices which have been unremittingly employed to withdraw them from their allegiance; and that it will restore and increase the love of constitutional order and of regulated freedom, by demonstrating that the principles of false liberty tend ultimately to despotism, and that the criminal struggles of democratic faction naturally close in military usurpation.

So long as the French government, under whatever form it exerts its influence, shall persevere in schemes of destruction and projects of ambition, subversive at once of the liberties of Europe and of the security of his majesty's dominions, there can be no wise alternative but to prosecute the war with increasing energy. It is by great exertions alone that either their views of aggrandisement can be frustrated, or a solid peace procured; his majesty has therefore availed himself with peculiar satisfaction of the cordial and great assistance which has been afforded him by his faithful ally the emperor of Russia, and has thought right to make every exertion for augmenting the disposable military force of his own dominions. His majesty therefore has been highly gratified in accepting the service so generously offered by his English militia

militia; and I am to express to you the entire confidence which his majesty feels, that the zeal and loyalty of his militia of this kingdom, in forwarding at this important crisis the active operations of the empire, will not be less prompt and conspicuous.

The apprehensions of general scarcity which some time since took place, called for my early attention to this most important subject; and I was induced, with the advice of the council, to offer premiums for the early importation of grain. This measure will, I flatter myself, meet your approbation; and I have full confidence in your wisdom, if it shall be necessary to resort to any further extraordinary means for procuring a supply.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The evident necessity of securing this kingdom from every danger, whether foreign or domestic, and of rendering the success of invasion, if attempted, impracticable, will demonstrate to you the wisdom of continuing that enlarged system of defence you have so wisely adopted.

I have therefore ordered the public accounts and estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and have the fullest confidence, that, in the supply which such a situation shall appear to you to require, you will equally consult the safety of the kingdom, and the honour of his majesty's government.

I am induced to hope, that the great increase of the revenue which has taken place in the present year may enable you to raise the sums which may be wanted for the current services, without any distressing addition to the burthens of the people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
I recommend to your usual atten-

tion the agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture of Ireland; and I doubt not, that the Protestant charter schools, and those public institutions, whether of charity or of education, which have been protected by your liberality, will still receive a judicious encouragement.

It will be for your wisdom to consider how far it will be necessary to continue any of those extraordinary powers, with which you have strengthened the authority of his majesty's government, for the more effectual suppression and punishment of rebellious conspiracy and outrage.

His majesty places the most entire reliance upon your firmness and wisdom; and he has no doubt that you will anxiously pursue such measures as shall be best calculated for bringing the present war to an honourable termination, and for restoring the country to permanent tranquillity.

It will be my constant object to attend to your suggestions and advice, that I may by this means most beneficially accomplish the commands I have received from his majesty, and most effectually forward the interests and happiness of this kingdom.

Speech of his Excellency the Marquis Cornwallis, on concluding the Session of the Irish Parliament, Aug. 2.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The whole business of this important session being at length happily concluded, it is with the most sincere satisfaction that I communicate to you, by his majesty's express command, his warmest acknowledgments for that ardent zeal and unshaken perseverance which you have so conspicuously manifested,

ed, in maturing and completing the great measure of a legislative union between this kingdom and Great Britain.

The proofs you have given on this occasion of your uniform attachment to the real welfare of your country, inseparably connected with the security and prosperity of the empire at large, not only entitle you to the full approbation of your sovereign and the applause of your fellow subjects, but must afford you the surest claim to the gratitude of posterity.

You will regret, with his majesty, the reverse which his majesty's allies have experienced on the continent; but his majesty is persuaded, that the firmness and public spirit of his subjects will enable him to persevere in that line of conduct, which will best provide for the honour and the essential interests of his dominions, whose means and resources have now, by your wisdom, been more closely and intimately combined.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am to thank you, in his majesty's name, for the liberal supplies which you have cheerfully granted for the various and important branches of the public service in the present year.

His majesty has also witnessed, with pleasure, that wise liberality which will enable him to make a just and equitable retribution to those bodies and individuals whose privileges and interests are affected by the union; and he has also seen with satisfaction that attention to the internal prosperity of this country, which has been so conspicuously testified by the encouragement you have given to the improvement and extension of its inland navigation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have the happiness to acquaint

you, that the country in general has in a great measure, returned to its former state of tranquillity. If, in some districts, a spirit of plunder and disaffection still exists, these disorders, I believe, will prove to be merely local, and will, I doubt not, be soon effectually terminated.

The pressure of scarcity on the poorer classes, much relieved by private generosity, and by the salutary provisions of the legislature has been long and unusually severe; but I trust that, under the favour of Providence, we may draw a pleasing prospect of future plenty from the present appearance of the harvest.

I am persuaded, that the great measure which is now accomplished could never have been effected, but by a decided conviction on your part that it would tend to restore and preserve the tranquillity of the country, to increase its commerce and manufactures, to perpetuate its connection with Great Britain, and to augment the resources of the empire.

You will not fail to impress these sentiments on the minds of your fellow-subjects; you will encourage and improve that just confidence which they have manifested in the result of your deliberation on this arduous question; above all, you will be studious to inculcate the full conviction, that, united with the people of Great Britain into one kingdom, governed by the same sovereign, protected by the same laws, and represented in the same legislature, nothing will be wanting on their part but a spirit of industry and order, to insure to them the full advantages under which the people of Great Britain have enjoyed a greater degree of prosperity, security, and freedom, than has ever yet been experienced by any other nation.

I cannot

I cannot conclude without offering to you, and to the nation at large, my personal congratulations on the accomplishment of this great work, which has received the sanction and concurrence of our sovereign on that auspicious day which placed his illustrious family on the throne of these realms. The empire is now, through your exertions, completely united, and by union strengthened, that it can bid defiance to all the efforts its enemies can make, either to weaken it by division, or to overturn it by force. Under the protection of Divine Providence, the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland will, I trust, remain in all future ages the surest monument of his majesty's reign, already distinguished by so many and such various blessings conferred upon every class and description of his subjects."

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION, containing his Majesty's Declaration, That it is expedient that the Lords and Commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain should be the Members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the part of Great Britain; and commanding the said Lords and Commons to give their attendance accordingly.

GEORGE R.

Whereas by the fourth article of the Articles of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, as the same were ratified and confirmed by two Acts of parliament; the one passed in the parliament of Great Britain, intituled, An act for the union of Great Britain and Ireland, the other passed in the parliament of Ireland, so intituled, An act for the union

of Great Britain and Ireland, to have force and effect from the first day of January 1801, it is provided, that if we, on or before the said first day of January 1801, on which day the union is to take place as aforesaid, should declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the part of Great Britain; then the said lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the said united kingdom, on the part of Great Britain: and whereas it is our intention to appoint Thursday the 22d day of January next ensuing for the assembling of the first parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom; we do judge it to be expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom, on the part of Great Britain: and we do, pursuant to the said articles of union, and to the acts of parliament ratifying and confirming the same, hereby declare, under our great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the part of Great Britain; and the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain are accordingly to be the members of the respective

pective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the part of Great Britain; and the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, are hereby required and commanded to take notice hereof, and to give their attendance accordingly, at Westminster, on the said 22d day of January next ensuing.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 5th day of November, 1800, in the forty-first year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION.
GEORGE, R.

Whereas an address has been presented to us by our two houses of parliament, requesting us to issue our royal proclamation, recommending to all such persons as have the means of procuring other articles of food, the greatest economy and frugality in the use of every species of grain: we, having taken the said address into consideration, and being persuaded that the prevention of all unnecessary consumption of corn will furnish one of the surest and most effectual means of alleviating the present pressure, and of providing for the necessary demands of the year, have, therefore, in pursuance of the said address, and out of our tender concern for the welfare of our people, thought fit (with the advice of our privy-council) to issue this our royal proclamation, most earnestly exhorting and charging all those of our loving subjects who have the means of procuring other articles of food than corn, as they tender their own immediate interests, and feel for the wants of others, to practise the greatest economy and frugality in

the use of every species of grain and we do, for this purpose, more particularly exhort and charge all masters of families to reduce the consumption of bread in their respective families, by at least one third of the quantity consumed in ordinary times, and in no case to suffer the same to exceed one quarter loaf for each person in each week: to abstain from the use of flour in pastry, and, moreover, carefully to restrict the use thereof in all other articles than bread: and we do also, in like manner, exhort and charge all persons who keep horses, especially horses for pleasure, as far as their respective circumstances will admit, carefully to restrict the consumption of oats and other grain for the subsistence of the same. And we do hereby further charge and command every minister, in his respective parish church or chapel, within the kingdom of Great Britain, to read, or cause to be read, our said proclamation, on the Lord's day, for two successive weeks after receiving the said proclamation.

Given at our court at St. James's, the third day of December, one thousand eight hundred, in the forty-first year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Letters from the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France, and from General Bonaparte, with the Answers returned to them by the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Monday, Jan. 6, 1800.).

No. 1.

Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France.

MY LORD,

I dispatch, by order of general Bonaparte

Bonaparte, first consul of the French republic, a messenger to London: he is the bearer of a letter from the first consul of the republic to his majesty the king of England. I request you to give the necessary orders that he may be enabled to deliver it directly into your own hands. This step, in itself, announces the importance of its object.

Accept, my lord, the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND.
Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th year,
(Dec. 25, 1799.)

No. 2.

Letter from General Bonaparte.
French republic—sovereignty of the people—liberty—equality.
Bonaparte, first consul of the republic, to his majesty the king of Great Britain and of Ireland.

Paris, 5th Nivose, (Dec. 25, 1799).

Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your majesty.

The war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding?

How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory?

These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of rendering it happy.

1800.

Your majesty will only see in this overture my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step, speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary, perhaps, to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove only, in those which are strong, the mutual desire of deceiving each other.

France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still, for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted. But I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilised nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.

Of your majesty,
(Signed) BONAPARTE.

No. 3.

Letter from Lord Grenville to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France, dated Downing-Street, Jan. 4, 1800.

SIR,

I have received and laid before the king the two letters which you have transmitted to me; and his majesty, seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with foreign states, has commanded me to return, in his name, the official answer which I send you herewith inclosed. I have the honour to be, with high consideration, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

No. 4.

Official Note from Lord Grenville to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, dated Jan. 4, 1800.

The king has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the

re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is, nor has been, engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining, against all aggression, the rights and happiness of his subjects.

For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack; and for the same objects he is still obliged to contend; nor can he hope that this necessity could be removed by entering, at the present moment, into negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage can arise from such negotiation to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it shall distinctly appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it has since been protracted, and, in more than one instance, renewed.

The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, is that which has also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilized nations.

For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons (his majesty's ancient friends and allies), have successively been sacrificed: Germany has been ravaged: Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, has been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His majesty has himself been compelled to maintain an ar-

duous and burthenfome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdoms.

Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone; they have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries so remote both in situation and interest from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was perhaps unknown to those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors.

While such a system continues to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shown that no defence but that of open and steady hostility can be availing. The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way for fresh aggression; and it is to a determined resistance alone that is now due whatever remains in Europe of stability for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or for the free exercise of religion.

For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his majesty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all those who have successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe; and whom the present rulers have declared to have been all, from the beginning, and uniformly, incapable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace.

Greatly, indeed, will his majesty rejoice, whenever it shall appear that the danger to which his own dominions, and those of his allies, have been so long exposed, has really ceased; whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance is at an end; that, after the experience

experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction, which have endangered the very existence of civil society, have at length been finally relinquished:—But the conviction of such a change, however agreeable to his majesty's wishes, can result only from experience, and from evidence of facts.

The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad; such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negotiation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory; and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means.

But, desirable as such an event must be both to France and to the world, it is not to this mode exclusively that his majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid pacification. His majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation.

His majesty looks only to the security of his own dominions and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he shall judge that such security can in any manner be attained, as

resulting either from the internal situation of that country, from whose internal situation the danger has arisen, or from such other circumstances of whatever nature as may produce the same end, his majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of immediate and general pacification.

Unhappily no such security hitherto exists; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability. In this situation it can for the present only remain for his majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of just and defensive war, which his regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him either to continue beyond the necessity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other grounds than such as may best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

No. 5.

Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France to Lord Grenville, dated Paris, 24th Nivose, (Jan. 14, 1800.)

MY LORD,

I lost no time in laying before the first consul of the republic the official note under date of the 14th Nivose, which you transmitted to me; and I am charged to forward the answer, equally official, which you will find annexed.

Receive, my lord, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND.

No. 6.

No. 6.

Official Note referred to in the French Minister's Letter of Jan. 14, to Lord Grenville.

The official note, under date of the 14th Nivose, the 8th year, addressed by the minister of his Britannic majesty, having been laid before the first consul of the French republic, he observed with surprise, that it rested upon an opinion which is not exact respecting the origin and consequences of the present war. Very far from its being France which provoked it, she had, it must be remembered, from the commencement of her revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, and her disinclination to conquests, her respect for the independence of all governments; and it is not to be doubted that, occupied at that time with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations.

But from an opposite disposition, as soon as the French revolution had broken out, almost all Europe entered into a league for its destruction. The aggression was real, long time before it was public; internal resistance was excited; its opponents were favourably received; their extravagant declamations were supported; the French nation was insulted in the person of its agents; and England set particularly this example by the dismissal of the minister accredited to her. Finally, France was, in fact, attacked in her independence, in her honour, and in her safety, long time before the war was declared.

Thus, it is to the projects of subjection, dissolution, and dismemberment, which were prepared against

her, and the execution of which was several times attempted and pursued, that France has a right to impute the evils which she has suffered, and those which have afflicted Europe. Such projects, for a long time without example, with respect to so powerful a nation, could not fail to bring on the most fatal consequences.

Assailed on all sides, the republic could not but extend universally the efforts of her defence; and it is only for the maintenance of her independence that she has made use of those means which she possessed, in her own strength and the courage of her citizens. As long as she saw her enemies obstinately refused to recognise her rights, she counted only upon the energy of her resistance; but as soon as they were obliged to abandon the hope of invasion, she sought for means of reconciliation, and manifested pacific intentions; and if these have not always been efficacious; if, in the midst of the critical circumstances of her internal situation, which the revolution and the war have successively brought on, the former depositaries of the executive authority in France have not always shown as much moderation as the nation itself has shown courage, it must, above all, be imputed to the fatal and persevering animosity with which the resources of England have been lavished to accomplish the ruin of France.

But if the wishes of his Britannic majesty (in conformity with his assurances) are, in unison with those of the French republic, for the re-establishment of peace, why, instead of attempting the apology of the war, should not attention be rather paid to the means of terminating it? And what obstacle can prevent a mutual understanding, of which

which the utility is reciprocal, and is felt, especially when the first consul of the French republic has personally given so many proofs of his eagerness to put an end to the calamities of war, and of his disposition to maintain the rigid observance of all the treaties concluded?

The first consul of the French republic could not doubt that his Britannic majesty recognised the right of nations to choose the form of their government; since it is from the exercise of this right that he holds his crown; but he has been unable to comprehend how to this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, the ministers of his majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the republic, and which are no less injurious to the French nation and to its government, than it would be to England and to his majesty, if a sort of invitation were held out in favour of that republican government of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century, or an exhortation to recall to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a revolution compelled to descend from it.

If at periods not far distant, when the constitutional system of the republic presented neither the strength nor the solidity which it contains at present, his Britannic majesty thought himself enabled to invite a negotiation and pacific conferences; how is it possible that he should not be eager now to renew negotiations to which the present and reciprocal situation of affairs promises a rapid progress? On every side the voice of nations and of humanity implores the con-

clusion of a war, marked already by such great calamities, and the prolongation of which threatens Europe with an universal convulsion and irremediable evils. It is, therefore, to put a stop to the course of these calamities, or in order that their terrible consequences may be reproached to those only who shall have provoked them, that the first consul of the French republic proposes to put an immediate end to hostilities, by agreeing to a suspension of arms, and naming plenipotentiaries on each side, who shall repair to Dunkirk, or any other town as advantageously situated for the quickness of the respective communications, and who should apply themselves without any delay to effect the re-establishment of peace and good understanding between the French republic and England.

The first consul offers to give the passports which may be necessary for this purpose.

(Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND.
Paris, the 24th Nivose (14th Jan.)
eighth year of the French re-
public.

No. 7.

Letter from Lord Grenville to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, dated Downing-street, Jan. 20, 1800.

SIR,

I have the honour to inclose to you the answer which his majesty has directed me to return to the official note which you transmitted to me.

I have the honour to be, with high consideration, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

No. 8.

Official Note referred to in Lord Grenville's Letter of Jan. 20.

The official note transmitted by the minister for foreign affairs in

(I 3) France,

France, and received by the undersigned on the 1st instant, has been laid before the king.

His majesty cannot forbear expressing the concern with which he observes in that note, that the unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole cause and origin of the war, are systematically defended by her present rulers, under the same injurious pretences by which they were originally attempted to be disguised. His majesty will not enter into the refutation of allegations now universally exploded, and (in so far as they respect his majesty's conduct) not only in themselves utterly groundless, but contradicted both by the internal evidence of the transactions to which they relate, and also by the express testimony, given at that time, of the government of France itself.

With respect to the object of the note, his majesty can only refer to the answer which he has already given.

He has explained without reserve, the obstacles which, in his judgment, preclude, at the present moment, all hope of advantage from negotiation. All the inducements to treat, which are relied upon in the French official note; the personal dispositions which are said to prevail for the conclusion of peace, and for the future observance of treaties; the power of insuring the effect of those dispositions, supposing them to exist; and the solidity of the system newly established, after so rapid a succession of revolutions—all these are points which can be known only from that test to which his majesty has already referred them—the result of experience, and the evidence of facts.

With that sincerity and plain-

ness his anxiety for the re-establishment of peace indispensably required, his majesty has pointed out to France the surest and speediest means for the attainment of that great object. But he has declared in terms equally explicit, and with the same sincerity, that he entertains no desire to prescribe to a foreign nation the form of its government;—that he looks only to the security of his own dominions and of Europe; and that whenever that essential object can in his judgment be, in any manner whatever, sufficiently provided for, he will eagerly concert with his allies the means of immediate and joint negotiation, for the re-establishment of general tranquillity.

To these declarations his majesty steadily adheres: and it is only on the grounds thus stated, that his regard to the safety of his subjects will suffer him to renounce that system of vigorous defence, to which, under the favour of providence, his kingdoms owe the security of those blessings which they now enjoy.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Downing-street, Jan. 20, 1800.

Convention between the French Republic and the United States of America.

The first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, and the president of the United States of America, equally animated with a desire to put an end to the differences which have arisen between the two states, have respectively nominated their plenipotentiaries, and invested them with full powers to negotiate upon these differences, and terminate them. That is to say, the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, has nominated for plenipo-

plenipotentiaries of the said republic the citizens Joseph Bonaparte, ex-ambassador of the French republic at Rome, and counsellor of state Charles-Pierre Claret-Fleurieu, member of the national institute, and of the office of longitude of France, and counsellor of state, president of the section of marine; and Pierre-Louis Rœderer, member of the national institute, and counsellor of state, president of the section of the interior; and the president of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the senate of said states, has appointed for their plenipotentiaries Oliver Ellsworth, chief-justice of the United States, William Richardson Davie, *ci devant* governor of North Carolina, and Williams Vans Murray, resident minister of the United States at the Hague:

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, and patiently and carefully discussed their respective interests, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be a firm, inviolable and universal peace, and true and sincere friendship, between the French Republic and the United States of America, as well between their countries, territories, cities, and places, as between their citizens and inhabitants, without exception of persons or places.

II. The ministers plenipotentiary of the two parties, not being impowered at present to agree relative to the treaty of alliance of the 6th of February, 1778, to the treaty of friendship and commerce of the same date, and to the convention of the 14th of November, nor to the indemnities mutually due and claimed, the parties shall further negotiate upon these points at a convenient time; and until

they shall be agreed upon these points, the said treaties and convention shall have no effect, and the relations of the two nations shall be regulated as follows:

III. The ships belonging to the state taken on either side, or which may be taken before the exchange of ratifications, shall be given up.

IV. The properties captured and not yet definitively condemned, or which may be captured before the exchange of ratifications, except contraband merchandise destined for an enemy's port, shall be mutually restored upon the following proofs of property, viz.

On the one part and on the other, the proofs of property relative to merchant vessels armed or unarmed shall be a passport in the following form:

“ To all those to whom these presents shall come, be it known, that power and permission has been given to ——— master or commander of the vessel called the ———, of the city of ———, of the burden of ——— tons, or thereabouts, now lying in the port or harbour of ———, and destined for ———, laden with ———, that after his ship has been visited, and before his departure, he shall make oath before officers authorised for that purpose, that the said ship belongs to one or more subjects of ———, the execution of which form shall be annexed to these presents, in order that he may observe, and cause to be observed by his crew, the maritime ordinances and regulations, and give in a list signed and attested, containing the names and surnames, places of birth and abode, of the persons composing the crew of his ship, and of all on board her, whom he shall not receive on board without the knowledge and permission of the officers

(I 4) authorised

authorised for that purpose; and in every port and harbour where he shall enter with his ship, he shall show the present permission to the proper officers, and make to them a faithful report of all that has passed during his voyage, and carry the colours, arms, and flags of the French Republic, or the United States, during his said voyage: in testimony of which we have signed these presents, caused them to be countersigned by —, and thereunto put the seal of our arms.

“ Given at —, in the year of our Lord —.”

And this passport shall be sufficient without any other document, notwithstanding any regulation to the contrary.

It shall not be necessary to renew or revoke this passport, whatever number of voyages the said ship shall have made, unless they shall not have returned home within the space of a year.

With respect to the cargo, the proofs shall be certificates containing an account what place the ship has left, and where it is going to, so that prohibited and contraband merchandise may be distinguished by certificates, which certificates shall have been made by the officers of the place from whence the ship shall have set out, agreeable to the accustomed forms of the country. And if these passports or certificates, or both, shall have been destroyed by accident, or taken away by force, the want of them shall be supplied by every other proof of property admissible according to the general usage of nations.

For other ships besides merchant ships the proof shall be the commissions they bear. This article shall take effect from the date of the signature of the present convention; and if by the date of the said

signature property shall have been condemned contrary to the spirit of the said convention, and previous to the knowledge of this stipulation, the property so condemned shall be restored or paid for.

V. The debts contracted by either of the two nations towards the individuals of each shall be acquitted, or the payment shall be in course, as if there had been no misunderstanding between the two states; but this clause shall not extend to indemnities claimed for captures or condemnations.

VI. The trade between the two parties shall be free; the ships of the two nations, and their privateers, as well as their prizes, shall be treated in their respective ports as those of the most favoured nation; and in general the two parties shall enjoy in each other's ports, with respect to commerce and navigation, the same privileges as the most favoured nations.

VII. The citizens and inhabitants of the United States may dispose by will, donation, or otherwise, of their goods, moveable and immoveable property possessed in the European territory of the French Republic; and the citizens of the French Republic shall have the same power with regard to the goods, moveable and immoveable property possessed in the territory of the United States, in favour of such persons as they shall think proper. The citizens and inhabitants of one of the two states, who shall be heirs of the goods, moveable and immoveable property situated in the other, may succeed *ab intestato*, without there being any necessity for letters of neutrality, and without the effect of this stipulation being contested or impeached under any pretence whatever; and the said heirs, whether by

private right, or *ab intestato*, shall be exempt from all right whatever of any one in either of the two nations. It is agreed, that this article shall not derogate in any manner from the laws which are now in force, in either of the two nations, or which may be promulgated hereafter, against emigration; and also, that in case the laws of either of the two states shall limit to foreigners the exercise of the right of immoveable property, such immoveable property may be sold, or otherwise disposed, in favour of the inhabitants or citizens of the country where they shall be situate; and it shall be open to the other nation to establish similar laws.

VIII. To favour the commerce of both nations, it is agreed, that in case of war (which God forbid) should break out between the two nations, the merchants and other citizens, of each nation, and their respective inhabitants, shall be allowed on both sides six months after the declaration of war, during which period they shall have time to retire, with their effects and immoveables, which they may carry away, or sell, as they think proper, without the least impeachment; their effects, and still less their persons, shall not, during the period of six months, be seized. On the contrary, they shall have passports, which shall be valid for the time necessary to enable them to return home; and those passports shall be given for themselves, as well as for their ships and effects which they shall desire to take or send away. These passports shall serve as protections against all insults and all captures on the part of privateers, as well with regard to themselves as their effects; and if within the term above mentioned there shall have been committed by one of the parties, its citizens, or inhabitants, any

wrong towards their persons or their property, they shall have complete satisfaction.

IX. The debts due by individuals of one of the two nations to the individuals of the other shall not, in case of war or national dispute, be sequestered or confiscated, any more than the claims or funds which shall be found in the public funds, or in the public or private banks.

X. The two contracting parties may nominate, for the protection of trade, commercial agents, who shall reside in France and the United States. Each of the parties may accept such place as it shall judge proper, where the residence shall be fixed. Before any agent can exercise his functions, he must be accepted according to the received forms of the party to which he is sent; and when he shall be received and provided with his *exequatur*, he shall enjoy the rights and prerogatives which are enjoyed by similar agents of the most favoured nations.

XI. The citizens of the French Republic shall not pay, in any ports, harbours, roads, countries, islands, cities, and places of the United States, other or greater duties or imposts, of what nature soever they may be, and whatever names they may have, than those which the most favoured nations are or shall be bound to pay; and they shall enjoy all rights, liberties, privileges, immunities, and exemptions, relating to trade, navigation, and commerce, whether in passing from one part of the said States to another, or whether in going there or returning from some part to any part of the world, that the said nations enjoy, or shall enjoy; and, reciprocally, the citizens of the United States shall enjoy in the territory

territory of the French Republic, in Europe, the same privileges and immunities, as well for their goods as their persons, as for what concerns trade, navigation, and commerce.

XII. The citizens of the two nations may conduct their vessels and their merchandises (always excepting such as are contraband) from any port to another belonging to the enemy of the other nation. They may navigate and commerce, with full liberty and security, with their ships and merchandises, in the countries, ports, and places of the enemies of the two parties, or of the one or the other party, without obstacles or interruption, and not only pass directly from the places and ports of the enemy above mentioned to neutral ports and places, but from every place belonging to an enemy, to any other place belonging to an enemy, whether it be or be not subject to the same jurisdiction, unless those places or ports shall be really blockaded, besieged, or invested.

And in case, as it often happens, when vessels shall be sailing for places or ports belonging to an enemy, ignorant that they are blockaded, besieged, or invested, it is agreed that every ship which shall be found under such a predicament shall be turned from that place or port without any part of its cargo being retained or confiscated (unless it shall be contraband, or it shall be proved that the said ship, after having been informed of the blockade or investiture, attempted to enter the same port); but it shall be allowed to go to any other port or place it shall think proper. No ship of either nation, entered in a port or place before it shall have been really blockaded, besieged, or invested by

the other, shall be prevented from going out with its cargo: if it be there when the said place surrenders, the ship and cargo shall not be confiscated, but sent afloat to the proprietors.

XIII. To regulate what shall be understood by contraband warlike stores, under this denomination shall be comprised powder, saltpetre, petards, matches, balls, bullets, bombs, grenades, carcases, pikes, halberts, swords, belts, scabbards, saddles, harness, cannons, mortars, with their appurtenances; and, generally, all arms and ammunitions of war, and utensils for the use of troops. All the above articles, whenever they shall be destined for an enemy's port, are declared contraband, and subject to confiscation; but the vessels in which they shall be laden, as well as the rest of the cargo, shall be considered as free, and shall in no manner be vitiated by the contraband merchandise, whether it belong to the same or different proprietors.

XIV. It is stipulated by the present treaty, that the free ships shall equally assure the liberty of merchandise, and that all things shall be deemed free which are found on board ships belonging to the citizens of one of the contracting parties, even though the same, or part of it, shall belong to the enemies of one of the two; provided nevertheless, that contraband goods are always excepted. It is likewise agreed, that this same liberty shall extend to persons who may be on board the free ship, though they should be enemies of one of the two contracting parties; and that they shall not be taken from the said ships, unless they are in a military capacity, and actually in the service of the enemy.

XV. It is on the contrary agreed, that all property which shall be put on board the respective citizens on board of ships belonging to an enemy of either party, or their subjects, shall be confiscated without distinction of merchandise, prohibited or not prohibited, so and in like manner if it belonged to an enemy, with the exception always of property and effects which shall have been on board the said ships before the declaration of war, or even before the said declaration, if at the time of loading the party were ignorant of it; so that the merchandises of the citizens of the two parties, whether they be in the number of contraband or not, which, as has been already said, shall have been put on board a ship belonging to an enemy before the war, or even after the said declaration of war in ignorance of it, shall not be in any manner subject to confiscation, but shall be faithfully and truly given up without delay to the owners claiming them; provided nevertheless, that they shall not be permitted to carry into the enemies' ports merchandise which shall be contraband. The two contracting powers agree, that, after a term of two months has passed from the declaration, their respective citizens, in whatever part of the world they may be, shall not be at liberty to plead the ignorance mentioned in this article.

XVI. Merchant vessels belonging to citizens of either of the contracting powers, when they shall have a mind to pass to the port of an enemy of the one or the other, and that their voyage, as well as the nature of their cargo, shall afford no cause of suspicion, the said ship shall be obliged to exhibit at high sea, as well as in ports and roads, not only their passports, but further

their certificates, proving that these goods are not of the class of contraband specified in the 13th Article of the present convention.

XVII. And in order to prevent captures on frivolous suspicions, and the damage thence resulting, it is agreed that when one of the two powers shall be at war, and the other neutral, the vessels of the neutral party shall be provided with passports similar to those specified in the 14th Article; so that it may thence appear that the vessels belong to a neutral party. These passports shall be valid for any number of voyages whatever; but they shall be renewed every year, if the ship returns home within the space of a year. If these ships are laden, they shall be provided not only with the passports above mentioned, but also with certificates of the description of those mentioned in the same article, so that it may be known whether they have on board contraband goods. No other paper shall be required, all usages and regulations to the contrary notwithstanding: and if it should appear from these certificates that there is not contraband merchandise on board, the said ships shall be left to pursue their destination. If, on the contrary, it should appear from these certificates that the said ships have contraband merchandise on board, and the commander offers to deliver them up, the offer shall be accepted, and the ship left at liberty to prosecute her voyage, unless the quantity of contraband goods should be too great to admit of being taken on board of the ship of war or cruiser; in this case the ship shall be carried into port for the purpose of there delivering the said goods.

Should a ship be found without the passports or the certificates above

above required, the business shall be examined by competent judges or tribunals; and if it should appear from other documents or proofs admissible by the law of nations that the ship belongs to citizens of the neutral power, it shall not be condemned, and it shall be set at liberty with its cargo, contraband goods excepted, and shall have leave to prosecute its voyage.

Should the captain named in the passport happen to die or be removed, and another shall have been appointed in his place, the ship and cargo shall be nevertheless secure, and the passport shall remain in full force.

XVIII. If the vessels belonging to citizens of the one nation or the other shall be met along the coast, or on the high seas, by any ship of war or cruiser belonging to the other, to prevent all disorder, the said ships or cruisers shall keep beyond the reach of cannon shot, and shall send their boat on board the merchant vessel so met with. They shall not be allowed to send on board more than two or three men to demand from the master or captain of the ship the exhibition of his passport concerning the property of said ship, executed agreeable to the form prescribed in the 14th Article, as also the certificates above mentioned relative to the cargo. It is expressly agreed that the neutral captain shall not be obliged to go on board the visiting ship for the purpose of there showing the papers demanded, or for any other information whatever.

XIX. It is expressly agreed by the parties, that the above stipulations relative to the conduct to be observed at sea by the cruisers of the belligerent party towards the vessels of the neutral party shall

apply only to ships sailing without convoy: and in case, when the said ships shall be convoyed, the intention of the parties being to observe all the respect due to the protection of the flag hoisted on board ship of the state, no visit shall be made but the verbal declaration of the commander of the escort, that the ships under his convoy belong to the nation whose flag he carries, and that they have not any thing contraband on board, shall be taken by the respective cruisers as ample sufficient. The two parties bind themselves reciprocally not to admit under protection of their convoys any vessels carrying contraband merchandise destined for an enemy.

XX. In case when the ships shall be taken or stopped, under alleged grounds of their carrying any contraband articles to the enemy, the captor shall give a receipt of the ship's papers which he shall detain, which receipt shall be subjoined to a declaratory list of the said papers. He shall not be permitted to force or open the hatches, coffers, chests, drawers, bales, &c. found on board ships, nor to carry off the smallest article of the effects, before the cargo has been disembarked in presence of the officers competent to make an inventory of the said effects. They cannot in any manner be sold, exchanged, or alienated unless, after a legal process, the competent judge or judges have passed upon the said effects a sentence of confiscation (excepting always the ship and the other objects which it contains).

XXI. In order that the vessel and the cargo may be watched with care, and in order to prevent mistakes, it is decreed that the master, captain, or supercargo of the captured ship, cannot be taken from

on board, either while the
is at sea, after being taken,
ing the proceedings against it,
argo, or any thing relative to

a case of the ship belonging to
er party being taken, seized,
retained for judgment, its offi-
passengers, and crews, shall
treated with humanity: they
not be imprisoned nor robbed
their clothes or pocket-money,
exceeding for the captain, fu-
cargo, and second, five hundred
ars each, and for the sailors
passengers, one hundred dollars

XXII. It is moreover agreed on,
t, in every case, the tribunals
ointed for prize causes in the
untries whither the prizes shall
taken, shall alone be competent
ry them; and in every judgment
ich the tribunal of either party
nounces against a ship, or mer-
andise, or property reclaimed by
e citizens of the other party, the
entence or decree shall make men-
n of the reasons or motives
ich have determined this judg-
ent, of which an authentic copy,
well as of all the proceedings re-
ive to it, shall, on their requisi-
on, be delivered without delay to
e captain or agent of the said
ip, after paying the expences.

XXIII. And finally, in order
ore effectually to provide for the
pective security of the citizens
the two contracting parties, and
prevent the injuries to be feared
om ships of war or privateers of
ther party, all the commanders of
hips of war or privateers, and all
e citizens of both parties, shall
frain from all violence against one
other, and from every personal
ult. If they act in a contrary
anner they shall be punished, and
bund over in their persons and

properties to give satisfaction and
reparation for the damage, with in-
terest, of whatever kind the said
damage may be.

To this effect all the captains of
privateers, before receiving their
commissions, shall become bound
before a competent judge, to give
security by two responsible cau-
tions at least, who shall have no in-
terest in the said privateer, and
who each, as well as the captain,
shall engage individually for the
sum of 7,000 dollars, or 36,820
francs, and if the said vessels carry
more than 150 sailors or soldiers,
for the sum of 15,000 dollars, or
73,670 francs, which shall serve
to repair the damage that the said
privateers, their officers, or crews;
or any of them, shall have com-
mitted during their cruise, contrary
to the dispositions of the present
convention, or to the laws and in-
structions which ought to be the
rule of their conduct: besides this,
the said commission shall be re-
voked and annulled in every case
where an aggression has been com-
mitted.

XXIV. When the ships of war
of the two contracting parties, or
those which their citizens shall have
armed, shall be admitted with their
prizes into the ports of either of
the two parties, the said public or
private vessels, as well as their
prizes, shall not be obliged to pay
any duties, either to the officers of
the place, or to the judges, or to
any others. The said prizes enter-
ing in the harbours or ports of one
of the two parties, shall not be ar-
rested or seized, and the officers of
the place shall not take cognizance
of the validity of the said prizes,
which are to be suffered to go out,
and be conducted with full free-
dom and liberty to their ports, by
the commissions which the captains
of

of the said vessels shall be obliged to show. It is always understood, that the stipulations of this article shall not extend beyond the privileges of the most favoured nations.

XXV. All foreign privateers, having commissions from a state or prince at war with one or other nation, cannot arm their vessels in the ports of either nation, or dispose of their prizes there, or in any manner exchange them. They shall not be allowed to buy provisions further than the necessary quantity to gain the nearest port of the state or prince from whom they shall have received their commissions.

XXVI. It is further agreed, that neither of the two contracting parties shall receive pirates in its ports, roads, or cities, and shall not permit any of its inhabitants to receive, protect, support, or conceal them in any manner, but shall deliver up to due punishment such of its inhabitants as shall be guilty of the like acts or crimes: the ships of those pirates, as well as their effects and merchandise, shall be seized wherever they shall be discovered, and restored to their proprietors, agents, or factors, duly authorised by them, after having proved their right before judges competent to decide respecting the property.

If the said effects have passed by sale into other hands, and the purchasers were or might be informed, or have suspected that the said effects were carried away by pirates, they shall be equally restored.

XXVII. Neither of the two nations shall interfere in the fisheries of the other upon its coasts, nor disturb it in the exercise of the rights which it now has, or may acquire on the coasts of Newfoundland, in the Gulph of St. Laurence,

or elsewhere on the coast of America, or the North of the United States; but the whale and fishery shall be free for the two nations in all parts of the world.

The Convention shall be ratified on both sides in due form, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of six months, or soon if it be possible. In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the above articles, as well the French as in the English language, and have placed their seals, declaring nevertheless that the signature in two languages shall be cited as an example, and shall not prejudice either of the two parties.

Done at Paris the 8th day of Vendemiaire, the 9th year of the French Republic, and the 3d day of September, 1800.

(Signed) JOSEPH BONAPARTE
C. P. FLEURIEU.
RÆDERER.
OLIV. ELLSWORTH
W. R. DAVIE.
W. V. MURRAY.

For an exact }
copy, } C. M. TALLEYRAND

*Papers relative to the Commencement
Negotiations for Peace with France*

No. 1.

No. 8, Hereford-Street, le 6 Fructidor
An. 8. (Aug. 24, 1800.)

MY LORD,

However scrupulous I may have hitherto been to follow in all respects the path traced for my official communications with the ministry of his majesty, yet the secrecy and dispatch requisite for the business which form the subject of the inclosed note, appear to me to justify a more direct communication. I flatter myself, therefore, that your excellency will not disapprove of it.

I now take of communicating you, without any intervention, intentions of the French government respecting the overtures which have been made to it by Baron Thugut.

If his majesty should accept the propositions contained in the inclosed note, I beg, my lord, that he would appoint, as soon as possible, the person who shall be employed to treat with me; and who, without doubt, will be guided in this important negotiation by that spirit of conciliation which alone can contribute to the restoration of peace and good understanding between the two governments. I have the honour to be, with the most respectful consideration, my lord, your excellency's most humble and most obedient servant,

(Signed) OTTO.

No. 2.

His Excellency Lord Grenville, Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs.

His imperial majesty having communicated to the government of the French republic a note from Count Minto, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of Great Britain at the court of Vienna, from which it appears that the desire of his Britannic majesty is to see a termination of the war which divides France and England, the undersigned specially authorised to demand from his majesty's ministry farther explanations respecting the proposition which has been transmitted to the court of Vienna; and, at the same time, as it appears impossible, that at the moment when Austria and England take a common course in the negotiations, France should find herself under a suspension of arms with Austria, and a

continuation of hostilities with England, the undersigned is in like manner authorised to propose that a general armistice be concluded between the armies and the fleets of the two states, adopting, with respect to the places which are besieged and blockaded, measures analogous to those which have taken place in Germany relative to Ulm, Philipshourg, and Ingolstadt.

The undersigned has received from his government the powers necessary for negotiating and concluding this general armistice. He begs his excellency lord Grenville to lay this note before his Britannic majesty, and to transmit to him his majesty's answer.

(Signed) OTTO.

London, the 6th Fruc. An. 8.

(Aug. 24. 1800.)

No. 3.

Downing-Street, Aug. 26, 1800.

SIR,

I am to request that you will endeavour, as soon as you can, to see M. Otto, and to ask him from me, whether he has any objection to deliver to you, sealed up for me, the papers to which his last communication refers? as his doing so will expedite his receiving the answer to it.

You will at the same time apprise him, that you are not informed of the particulars of that communication, or of its tendency; and that you have been charged to make this inquiry, in order to avoid drawing any attention to it.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Commissioner George.

No. 4.

M. Otto's Full Powers.

Bonaparte, first consul of the French republic, in virtue of the 41st article of the constitution, gives

gives to the citizen Otto, commissary of the government for the exchange of prisoners in England, power to propose, to consent to, and to sign, conformably to his instructions, a general armistice between the French republic and his majesty the king of Great Britain.

(Signed) By the First Consul,
BONAPARTE.

(Signed) The Secretary of State,
HUGUES B. MARET.

Done at Paris, at the Palace of the Government, the 2d Fructidor, year 8 of the Republic.

No. 5.

Downing-Street, Aug. 28, 1800.

SIR,

I have the king's commands to desire that you will, as soon as you can after the receipt of this letter, see M. Otto; and that you will return to him the original of the paper which he delivered to you on Tuesday last.

In making proper acknowledgments to him for his attention on this occasion, you will mention, that the paper I had wished to see was not this, but lord Minto's note referred to in that which M. Otto addressed to me by order of his government on the 24th instant; but that, while you were with M. Otto, I received, by a messenger from Vienna, the copy of lord Minto's note, together with that written on the same subject by M. de Thugut to M. Talleyrand.

I inclose to you, for your information, a copy of the former, and an extract of the latter of these papers, which you will return to me after you shall have seen M. Otto. The reason of my communicating them to you is, to enable you to converse with M. Otto on the subject of them, in conformity with the instructions contained in the minute

herewith inclosed, which you are at liberty in the course of your conversation to show to M. Otto, and containing the heads of what you are charged to communicate to him.

You will of course carefully confine your conversation within the limits of that paper; and you will as soon as possible, deliver to me a written minute of what shall have passed between you and M. Otto on the subject.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.
Commissioner George.

No. 6.

Minute of Instructions to Captain George, Aug. 28, 1800.

1. To declare that the note presented at Vienna by lord Minto contains the expression of his majesty's sentiments, and that the king is ready to act in conformity to it.

2. To inquire whether any answer has been returned by the French government to the proposal contained in M. Thugut's letter to M. Talleyrand respecting a place for the meeting of plenipotentiaries to carry on joint negotiation; or whether M. Otto is authorised to agree with this government on that point agreeably to the suggestion contained in M. Thugut's letter.

3. To express, in that case, the wish of his majesty, that either of the places named by M. de Thugut would be agreed to by his majesty, and a proper person sent thither on his majesty's part to meet the plenipotentiaries of Austria and France, provided that the French government is willing to enter into sufficient engagements for the freedom of direct communication by couriers with such place of negotiation.

4. That, with respect to the proposal of an armistice, the king would see with great satisfaction the measure.

ment when he could with propriety adopt any measure, the immediate effect of which would be to put a stop, at least for a time, to the calamities of war; but that an armistice, as applying to naval operations, has at no period ever been agreed on between Great Britain and France during the course of their negotiations for peace, or until the preliminaries have been actually signed: that it cannot therefore be considered as a step necessary to negotiation; and that, from the disputes to which its execution must unavoidably be expected to give rise, it might more probably tend to obstruct than to facilitate the success of those endeavours which the two parties might employ for the restoration of peace: that the circumstances of a naval war are obviously not such as to admit of such equal arrangements as are easily established with regard to military operations when suspended by such an agreement: that it appears, therefore, at all events premature to enter even into the discussion of this question, until, from the course of the negotiations, it shall more clearly appear how far they are likely to lead to a satisfactory issue: and that no decision could in any case be taken here on such a subject, unless the French government had previously explained in what manner it is conceived that the principles of the regulations adopted in the German armistice, with respect to blockaded towns, can be applied to the naval ports and arsenals of France, so as to carry *bona fide* into execution; as to the respective maritime forces, the objects which those stipulations have in view with respect to the military positions occupied by the two armies.

1800.

No. 7.

Park-Place, Aug. 29. 1800.

MY LORD,

In obedience to his majesty's commands, communicated to me by your lordship in your letter of yesterday's date, I called upon M. Otto, and had a particular conversation with him on the subject of the papers delivered to me by your lordship. I made a proper acknowledgment to him for the readiness which he showed to comply with your lordship's wish of communicating the paper you wished to see, which he conceived to be the one I had the honour to deliver to your lordship; and he appears fully sensible of the attention shown him on that occasion. I declared to him,

1st, That the note presented at Vienna by lord Minto contains the expression of his majesty's sentiments, and that the king is ready to act in conformity to it.

2d, I inquired whether any answer had been returned by the French government to the proposal contained in M. Thugut's letter to M. Talleyrand respecting a place for the meeting of plenipotentiaries to carry on joint negotiations, and was informed by him that the place of meeting was fixed at Luneville.

3d, I informed M. Otto that either of the places named by M. Thugut would be agreed to by his majesty, and a proper person sent thither on his majesty's part to meet the plenipotentiaries of Austria and France, provided that the French government is willing to enter into sufficient engagements for the freedom of direct communication by couriers with such place of negotiation; which he promises to communicate immediately to the French government by courier.

(K)

4th,

4th, I also informed M. Otto of the very substantial reasons that will prevent his majesty from agreeing to a general armistice previous to the signing of preliminaries, as detailed in the minute which I had the honour to receive from your lordship; and was answered by him, that he has every reason to think, and is personally convinced, that the continuation of the German armistice will depend upon the conclusion of the English armistice, the advantages of the latter being considered by France as an equivalent for the very obvious disadvantages of the German one. He observed that the regulations contained in the German armistice do not extend to such places as were not actually blockaded or attacked by the French; judging therefore from analogy, such places only as are actually blockaded by the English forces could be comprehended in the proposed armistice; therefore Belleisle, Malta, and Alexandria, should be put on the same footing as Ulm, Philippsburg, and Ingolstadt.

M. Otto has been instructed to require an answer to the proposal for a general armistice before the 3d of September, which makes him conclude that hostilities may again commence about that time, should the proposed armistice be positively refused on the part of his majesty. He farther observed, that as long as hostilities on the continent are carried on, there can be no firm basis on which to ground negotiation, as every change on either side would occasion a new subject of discussion.

M. Otto farther remarked, that if a general armistice should be agreed on, he is authorised to enter into any security that may be thought necessary for the commerce of Great Britain; and that the great importance of the subject obliges him to

inquire whether he is to have a written answer on the subject of the general armistice, or whether he is to consider the present verbal communication as definitive against it. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. GEORGE.
Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

No. 8.

Downing-Street, Aug. 29, 1800.

SIR,

As M. Otto expressed to you a desire to receive in writing the answer of the king's government to his note, I transmit to you the inclosed, which I request you will communicate to him. I am, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.
Commissioner George.

No. 9.

Downing-Street, Aug. 29, 1800.

SIR,

I inclose to you, by the king's command, the answer which his majesty has thought proper that I should return to the different points contained in the note which I had the honour to receive from you.

The mode which you adopted for the transmission of that paper was perfectly satisfactory to his majesty's government; but as captain George has, from his situation, the opportunity of unobserved intercourse with you, I will request you to transmit to me, through him, any further communications with which you may be charged by your government respecting this business.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.
M. Otto.

No. 10.—NOTE.

M. Otto having apprised his majesty's government, through captain George, that the proposal made by the court of Vienna for fixing Luneville as the place for carrying on the proposed negotiation for a general peace has been acceded to by

y the French government, it only remains on that head to express his majesty's agreement to the same proposal; and to declare, that in consequence thereof a proper person shall be sent to Luneville, on his majesty's part, to meet the plenipotentiaries of Austria and France, as soon as the passports for such minister and his suite shall be received; provided that the French government is willing to enter into the necessary engagements, that his majesty's plenipotentiary shall be at liberty to communicate freely, and in the usual manner, by courier, with this country, and with the dominions of his majesty's allies.

With respect to the proposal for a general armistice by sea and land between Great Britain and France, the king would see with great satisfaction the moment when he could with propriety adopt any measure, the immediate effect of which would be to put a stop, at least for a time, to the calamities of war; but an armistice, as applying to naval operations, has at no period ever been agreed on between Great Britain and France, during the course of their negotiations for peace, or until the preliminaries have been actually signed: such a step cannot therefore be considered as necessary to negotiation; and from the disputes to which its execution must unavoidably be expected to give rise, there is just reason to apprehend that it might more probably tend to obstruct than to facilitate the success of those endeavours which the two parties might employ for the restoration of peace. Besides this it is to be considered, that the circumstances of a naval war are obviously not such as to admit of such equal arrangements as are easily established with regard to military operations, when suspended by such an agree-

ment. It appears therefore at all events premature to enter even into the discussion of this question, until, from the course of the negotiations, it shall more clearly appear how far they are likely to lead to a satisfactory issue. But in any case no decision could be taken hereon such a subject, unless the French government had previously explained in what manner it is conceived that the principles of the regulations adopted in the German armistice, with respect to blockaded towns, can be applied to the naval ports and arsenals of France and her allies now blockaded by his majesty's fleets, so as to carry *bona fide* into execution, as to the respective maritime forces, the same objects which those stipulations have in view with respect to the military positions occupied by the armies in Germany and Italy.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Downing-Street, Aug. 20, 1800.

No. 11.

No. 8, Hereford-Street, Aug. 30, 1800. (12th Fruc. An. 8.)

MY LORD,

I received yesterday evening the letter and the note which your excellency did me the honour to address to me; and I immediately transmitted them to Dover by an extraordinary messenger.

I cannot but be extremely flattered by the approbation which his majesty's government has been pleased to give to the mode which I had adopted for my political communications. That which your excellency proposes to me combines the double advantage of dispatch and of secrecy, and I shall follow it as often as orders from my government shall afford me an opportunity of profiting by it. I have the honour to be, with the most respectful

(K 2) consideration.

consideration, my lord, your excellency's most humble and most obedient servant,

(Signed) OTTO.

No. 12.—NOTE.

His excellency lord Grenville having been pleased to inform the undersigned of the intention of his majesty to send a plenipotentiary to Luneville, in order to take a share in the negotiations which shall be entered upon, as soon as the necessary passports shall have been transmitted by the French government, and as soon as assurance shall have been given respecting the free correspondence of this plenipotentiary with his court and with the countries belonging to the allies of his majesty, the undersigned immediately dispatched an extraordinary messenger, in order to communicate these dispositions to his government.

The conciliatory and humane sentiments which have had an influence in producing this decision of the cabinet are a happy presage of the re-establishment of good harmony between two countries which, from the genius, the talents, and the industry of their people, are so strongly interested in cherishing the arts and the enjoyments of peace. It is with a view to attain more speedily this end, so ardently desired by all Europe, that the undersigned was directed to submit to the British government the projet for a maritime truce; but the ministers of his majesty having judged that it would be *premature to enter even upon the discussion of this object*, it is his duty to respect the motives which appear to them to militate against such a negotiation, although he may have had every reason to hope that the adherence of his majesty to that proposal might have become the pledge of

the continuance of the two armistices concluded in Germany and Italy; the French government not being able to consent, for a length of time, to sacrifice the advantages afforded to it by its military position upon the continent without the assurance of an analogous sacrifice on the part of Great Britain.

If, through the imperious force of circumstances, the result of the negotiations of Luneville should be subjected to the future fortune of war, it is to be presumed that the respective instructions and deliberations would no longer have for basis a state of things known and appreciated on all sides, and that the pacific dispositions manifested by the belligerent powers would not produce effects as prompt and salutary as might have been hoped for from a general truce.

The apprehensions of the undersigned, relative to the probable renewal of hostilities in Germany and in Italy, notwithstanding the negotiations which, in concert with his majesty, shall be commenced at Luneville, are confirmed by the order which he has received to solicit an answer before the 3d September. (Signed) OTTO

Hereford-Street, the 12th Fructidor

Year 8. (30th Aug. 1800.)

No. 13.

Downing-Street, Sept. 2, 1800

SIR,

I am to desire that you will apprise M. Otto, that the king has been pleased eventually to make the choice of Mr. Grenville to represent his majesty at Luneville, and of Mr. Garlike, now his majesty's secretary of legation at Berlin, to act as his majesty's secretary to Mr. Grenville's mission. It will therefore be necessary that a separate

ra

rate passport for Mr. Garlike should be furnished by the French government, such as will enable him to proceed directly from Berlin to Luneville. You will add, that it will be a matter of convenience to his majesty's government, and to Mr. Garlike personally, if that passport, instead of being sent through London, were transmitted, through the French minister at Berlin, to the earl of Carysfort, his majesty's minister at that court.

I wish you further to remark to M. Otto, that it is usual in the opening of negotiations for peace, that such previous explanations should take place as may enable the respective ministers to arrive nearly at the same time at the place of negotiation; and that as the communication on this point may be received here so much sooner from Paris than from Vienna, his majesty's government would wish to be informed through you of the period which may be fixed for the arrival of the Austrian and French plenipotentiaries at Luneville, in order that no delay may take place on his majesty's part in the opening of the negotiation. I am, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

To captain George.

No. 14.

Hereford-Street, Sept. 4, (17th Fruct.)

MY LORD,

Mr. George not being yet returned from Margate, whither he has conveyed his family, I hope that your excellency will not disapprove of my transmitting to you directly the very important communications which I received this morning by an extraordinary courier. I should add that, if his majesty consent to the proposed armistice, I am directed to deliver the passport, and to give all the assu-

rances demanded for the plenipotentiary who shall be appointed. I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, &c.

(Signed) OTTO.

No. 15.—NOTE.

The undersigned having communicated to his government the note dated the 29th of August, forwarded to him by his excellency lord Grenville, is directed to submit to him the following observations.

Preliminaries of peace had been concluded and signed between his imperial majesty and the French republic. The intervention of lord Minto, who demanded that England should be admitted to take part in the negotiations, prevented their ratification by his imperial majesty.

The suspension of arms which had taken place solely in the hope of a speedy peace between the emperor and the republic ought then to cease, and will in fact cease on the 24 Fructidor, (11th Sept.) since France had sacrificed to that hope alone the immense advantages which victory had secured to her.

The intervention of England renders the question of peace so complicated, that it is impossible for the French government to prolong farther the armistice upon the continent, unless his Britannic majesty will consent to render it common to the three powers.

If then the cabinet of St. James's desires to continue to make a common cause with Austria, and if its desire to take part in the negotiations be sincere, his Britannic majesty will not hesitate to adopt the proposed armistice.

But if this armistice be not concluded before the 24th Fructidor (11th Sept.) hostilities will have

(K 3) been

been renewed with Austria, and the first consul will no longer be able to consent, with regard to that power, to any but a separate and complete peace.

In order to satisfy the explanations demanded relative to the armistice, the undersigned is directed to acquaint lord Grenville, that the places which it is proposed to assimilate to those of Germany are Malta and the maritime towns of Egypt.

If it be true that a long suspension of arms between France and England would appear unfavourable to his Britannic majesty, it is not less so, that an armistice prolonged upon the continent would be essentially disadvantageous to the French republic; so that, at the same time that the naval armistice would be to the French government a pledge of the zeal which would be employed by England in promoting the re-establishment of peace, the continental armistice would be one also to the British government of the sincerity of the efforts of France; and as the position of Austria would no longer admit of her not diligently seeking for a conclusion, the three powers would have, in their own private interests, decisive reasons for consenting, without delay, to the sacrifices which may be reciprocally necessary in order to bring about an early conclusion of a general and a solid peace, such as may answer the wish and the hope of the whole world.

(Signed) OTTO:
Hereford-Street, 17th Fruct. Year 8.
(4th Sept. 1800.)

No. 16.

Downing-Street, Sept. 4, 1800.

SIR

It appearing by a note received this day from M. Otto, that the

French government has determined to make the continuance of the armistice between Austria and France, and the commencement of the negotiations for peace, dependent on the conclusion of an armistice with this country, it is judged proper, in order that the ultimate decision on so important and extensive a question may be taken with the fullest knowledge of all the considerations by which it ought to be governed, that you should see M. Otto, and inquire of him, Whether (as his note of the 30th ultimo appears to intimate) he is furnished with a projet of a treaty of naval truce? and, in that case, Whether he is willing to communicate it to you for the information of his majesty's government?

You will further inquire, Whether he is empowered and instructed to include in such treaty his majesty's allies?

And, lastly, if his projet should contain no article applicable to the question of moving the French and Spanish ships now in Brest to any other station in or out of Europe, you will inquire, Whether M. Otto is authorised to enter into negotiation for the purpose of including proper stipulations on that subject in any treaty of the nature which his government has proposed? I am, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.
Evan Nepean, esq.

No. 17.

London, Sept. 4, 1800.

MY LORD,

Since I had the honour of communicating to your lordship the conversation that had passed between me and M. Otto on the subject of the proposal for a naval armistice, and the readiness he had expressed of furnishing me with a

copy

copy of the projet, I have received from him the enclosed note and the projet therein referred to. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) EVAN NEPEAN.
Lord Grenville.

No. 18.—PROJET.

I. There shall be a suspension of hostilities between the fleets and armies of the French republic and those of Great Britain.

II. The ships of war and merchant vessels of each nation shall enjoy a free navigation, without being subject to any search, and shall observe the usage established previous to the war.

III. All vessels, of either nation, captured after the of Fructidor, shall be restored.

IV. The places of Malta, Alexandria, Belleisle, shall be assimilated to the places of Ulm, of Philippsburg, and of Ingolstadt; that is to say, all neutral or French vessels shall have permission freely to enter them, in order to furnish them with provisions.

V. The squadrons which blockade Brest, Cadiz, Toulon, Flushing, shall return into their own harbours, or at least shall keep out of sight of the coast.

VI. Three English officers shall be dispatched, one directly to the admiral commanding in the Mediterranean, another to the commander of the squadron before Malta, the third to the commander of the blockade of Alexandria, to notify to them the present armistice, and to convey to them orders to conform themselves thereunto.—The said officers shall pass through France, in order the more expeditiously to arrive at their destination.

VII. His Catholic majesty and the Batavian republic are included in the present armistice.

No. 19.—NOTE.

The only motive which could lead this court to entertain the discussion of a proposal so unusual in itself, and so disadvantageous to the interests of Great Britain, as that of a maritime truce to precede negotiation, is the desire of contributing to facilitate the conclusion of a general peace; and the termination of the armistice on the continent, by the act of the French government, would put an end to all inducements to such a measure on the part of this country.

The necessity of receiving the king's commands, on the projet communicated by M. Otto, must prevent the undersigned from transmitting any reply to that paper before Sunday next. It is therefore for M. Otto to determine whether he will not think it proper immediately to write to his government; to remark, that if France had proposed an armistice with Great Britain for the purpose of its leading to general negotiation and peace, that object can only be attained by at least such a prolongation of the continental armistice as will allow the time required for receiving the answer to the proposal made here.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.
Downing-Street, Sept. 5, 1800.

No. 20.

Thursday Evening, Sept. 4, 1800.

Citizen Otto presents his compliments to Mr. Nepean, and, according to his desire, incloses a sketch of the treaty proposed by his government.

No. 21.

London, the 5th Sept. 1800.

SIR, (18th Fruct. year 8.)

I have received the letter which you have done me the honour to address to me, acquainting me that

(K 4)

his

his majesty had thought proper provisionally to appoint Mr. Grenville to take part in the eventual negotiations at Luneville. That choice cannot fail to be very agreeable to the French government. As soon as the result of the present communications shall have rendered the journey of Mr. Grenville necessary, I shall deliver to him the passport for which I had previously applied; and I am directed to give, in the name of my government, every assurance which Mr. Grenville can desire respecting the promptitude and the inviolability of his correspondence.

With respect to Mr. Garlike, it will be very easy to send to him directly to Berlin the passport necessary for him; and I shall request it of my government.

The arrangements to be taken in the case of an eventual congress, in order that the respective ministers may arrive about the same time at the place of the conferences, are so conformable to the ordinary proceedings in similar cases, that they will not be neglected.—The proximity of Paris will afford me the facility of giving to the British ministry every information which it may desire upon that subject, long before it could be procured from Vienna. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) OTTO.

No. 22.

The undersigned received yesterday, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the note which his excellency lord Grenville did him the honour to address to him. It appeared to him to be of such high importance, that at the same hour he transmitted it by an extraordinary messenger to his government. He hopes that it may arrive in time to produce the effect which his ex-

cellency has had in view; and, if it serves to prolong for a few days the continental armistices, he will congratulate himself very much on having had it in his power to contribute thereunto.

He begs his excellency to accept the homage of his respectful consideration. (Signed) OTTO.

Hereford-Street, 19 Fruct. year 8.

(6th Sept. 1800.)

No. 23.—NOTE.

Lord Grenville presents his compliments to M. Otto, and sends him herewith the official answer to his last communication on the subject of an armistice, together with the counter-projet therein referred to.

He requests M. Otto to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

Dorning-Street, Sept. 7, 1800.

No 24.—NOTE.

The undersigned has had the honour to lay before the king the official answer of the French government which he received from M. Otto on the 4th instant, and also the projet of an armistice communicated on the same day.

The spirit of that answer is unhappily but little consonant with those appearances of a conciliatory disposition which had before been manifested. If it be really practicable in the present moment to restore permanent tranquillity to Europe, this object must be effected by very different means than those of such a controversy as that paper is calculated to produce.

Some reply is however indispensably necessary to the assertions there advanced, which, if now passed over, might hereafter be considered as admitted.

The articles which an Austrian officer, charged with no such com-

mission,

mission, was persuaded to sign at Paris, do indeed appear to his majesty little calculated to terminate the calamities of Europe.

But whatever be the tendency of the conditions which the French government has there specified, there can be no pretence for representing them as preliminaries concluded by Austria, or annulled by the intervention of his majesty.

The engagements by which the courts of London and Vienna have agreed not to treat except in concert with each other, were concluded before there was any question of these pretended preliminaries of peace.—And the first intimations which his majesty received of their signature were accompanied by the express declarations of his ally, that they were wholly unauthorized, and must be considered as absolutely null.

The French government could indeed expect no other determination to be taken by his imperial majesty. The want of all powers or instructions for such a treaty, on the part of the Austrian officer, was, at the time, distinctly notified by him to those who treated with him, and is declared even on the very face of the paper which he signed.

With respect therefore to the supposed demand of his majesty to be admitted to those negotiations, nothing more is necessary to be said. The note delivered to M. de Thugut by lord Minto sufficiently explains the part which his majesty is really disposed to take in any negotiation which may be regularly set on foot for general peace.

The king has always been persuaded that the result of such a negotiation can alone effectually re-establish the tranquillity of Europe.

Experience has confirmed this opinion; and it is only from the conviction of its truth that his majesty has now been induced to wave his strong objections to the first proposal of a naval armistice, and to enter into the discussion of the conditions on which it may be established.

His majesty, judging from the experience of so many former negotiations, considers such an armistice as in no degree likely either to expedite or to facilitate an arrangement of the direct interests of Great Britain and France.

He views it in no other light than as a temporary advantage which it is proposed to him to yield to his enemy, in order to prevent the renewal of continental hostilities, and thereby to contribute to the conclusion of a general peace.

And on this ground, notwithstanding the many disadvantages which he is sensible must result to this country from such a measure, he is resolved to give to his allies, and to all Europe, this new pledge of the sentiments by which he is actuated; provided that his enemies are disposed to regulate the conditions of such an armistice, as far as the nature of the case will allow, in conformity to the obvious and established principle of such arrangements.

This principle is, that the respective position of the two parties should remain during the continuance of the armistice such as it was at its commencement; and that neither of them should, by its operation, acquire fresh advantages or new means of annoying his enemy, such as he could not otherwise obtain. The difficulty of doing this with the same precision in the case of naval operations, as by land, has already been adverted to in a former

former note; and it constitutes a leading objection to the measure itself.

But the French projet, instead of attempting to remove or lessen these difficulties, departs at once, and in every article, from the principle itself; although expressly recognized and studiously maintained in the continental armistice, which is there referred to as the foundation and model of this transaction.

It is proposed, in effect, that the blockade of the naval ports and arsenals of the king's enemies should be raised; that they should be enabled to remove their fleets to any other stations, and to divide or to collect their force as they may judge most advantageous to their future plans: the importation both of provisions and of naval and military stores is to be wholly unrestrained. Even Malta and the ports of Egypt, though expressly stated to be now blockaded, are to be freely victualled, and for an unlimited period, in direct contradiction to the stipulations of the German armistice respecting Ulm and Ingolstadt, to which places it is nevertheless professed to assimilate them: and this government is expected to bind itself towards the allies of France even before any reciprocal engagement can be received from them; while, at the same time, all mention of the king's allies is on the other hand totally omitted.

To a proposal so manifestly repugnant to justice and equality, and so injurious not only to his majesty's interests, but also to those of his allies, it cannot be expected that any motive should induce the king to accede.

The counter-projet, which the undersigned has the honour to transmit to M. Otto, contains regula-

tions in this respect more nearly corresponding with that principle of equality on which alone his majesty can consent to treat.

Even those articles are in many important points, and particularly in what relates to the actual stations of his majesty's squadrons, very far short of what his majesty might justly demand from a reference to the general principle above stated, from analogy to the conditions of the continental armistice, or from the relative situation of naval force: and a confidence is reposed in the good faith of his enemies, which, although it can never be claimed in transactions between belligerent powers, his majesty is nevertheless willing to hope he shall not find to have been misplaced on the present occasion.

If M. Otto is empowered to accede to these stipulations, a proper person will immediately be authorised to sign them on his majesty's part: if not, he is requested to transmit them without delay to his government.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Downing-Street, Sept. 7, 1800.

No. 25.—COUNTER-PROJET.

It having been agreed that negotiations for a general peace shall be immediately set on foot between the emperor of Germany, his Britannic majesty, and the French republic, and an armistice having already been concluded between the forces of his imperial majesty and those of the French republic, it is agreed that an armistice shall also take place between the forces of his Britannic majesty and those of the French republic, on the terms and in the manner following: that is to say,

Art. I. All hostilities, both by sea and

and land, between the forces of the two contracting parties shall be suspended, and shall not be renewed until after fourteen days' notice given of the termination of the armistice. This notice, in so far as relates to the parts of Europe north of Cape St. Vincent, must be given by one of the two governments to the other, and is to be reckoned from the day in which the same shall be received by the government to whom it is given. In the Mediterranean, or other parts of the world, the notice must be given by the respective commanding officers. But in case of the renewal of hostilities between Austria and France, the armistice between Great Britain and France is likewise to be considered as terminated, so soon as such renewal of hostilities shall be known to the officer commanding the British forces; except only in so far as relates to prizes of merchant vessels, which shall be regulated by the third article of this convention.

Art. II. Orders shall immediately be sent by the two governments to their officers in the different parts of the world, to conform themselves to this agreement; sea-passes shall be given to the ships which are to carry these orders; and his Britannic majesty's officers to be sent for that purpose through France shall be furnished with the necessary passports and facilities to expedite their journey.

Art. III. All prizes made in any part of the world during the continuance and operation of the armistice, by any officers having actually received due notice of this agreement, shall be restored; and generally, whether such notice shall have been received or not, all prizes made in the channel, or in the north seas after twelve days (to be reckoned from the exchange of the

ratifications of this convention), shall be restored; and the same periods shall be allowed, in this respect, for the other parts of the world, as were stipulated by the 22d article of the preliminaries of the last peace.

Art. IV. Malta, and the maritime towns and ports of Egypt, shall be placed on the same footing as those places which, though comprised within the demarcation of the French army in Germany, are occupied by the Austrian troops; consequently nothing shall be admitted by sea which can give additional means of defence; and provisions only for fourteen days at a time, in proportion to the consumption, as it shall be ascertained by commissaries to be named for the purpose, who shall have power to establish the necessary regulations for giving effect to this stipulation, conformably to the principles of the 4th article of the convention concluded between the Austrian and French generals in Germany.

Art. V. The blockade of Brest, Toulon, and any other of the ports of France, by his majesty's fleets, shall be discontinued; and all British ships shall be instructed not to interrupt or obstruct the trade or navigation of any ships sailing to or from the coasts of France, except in the article of naval or military stores, which are not to be brought thither by sea during the present armistice. None of the ships of war now stationed in the said ports respectively shall, before the renewal of hostilities, be removed to any other station.

Art. VI. The allies of the two parties shall severally be at liberty to accede to this armistice, if they so think fit; provided that they also engage to observe a like armistice, on conditions similar to those here specified,

specified, towards such of the allies on the other side as shall accede to it.

The periods or terms to be fixed for the commencement of the armistice, in the different quarters of the world, as with respect to each of the said allies, are to be regulated in conformity to the stipulations contained in the 3d article of this convention as between Great Britain and France; and the said periods or terms are to be reckoned from the day on which the accession of such power to the armistice shall have been duly notified by such power to the party with whom it is at war. Such notification, duly authenticated by the government on whose part it is made, may either be transmitted directly by couriers or flags of truce, or through the channel of the two contracting parties, to each other reciprocally. The naval ports and arsenals of the allies of France are, during such armistice, to be placed on the same footing with those of France; and the notices which are to precede the renewal of hostilities, as well as all other matters relating to such armistice, are to be regulated according to the terms of this convention.

Art. VII. This convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged within the term of ten days, or sooner, if the same be practicable.

No. 26.

Hereford-Street, 21 Fruc. 8.

MY LORD, (*Sept. 8, 1800.*)

I received yesterday, at eleven o'clock at night, the note and the counter-projet which your excellency did me the honour to address to me. The principles contained in these two pieces are, in several respects, so little analogous to the

proposals which I have been directed to make, and the object of which was to compensate by a British armistice the inconveniencies which might result to France from the eventual prolongation of the German armistice, that I cannot take upon myself to admit them without previously receiving farther instructions. I have therefore complied with your excellency's intentions by transmitting to my government those two pieces with as little delay as possible. I have the honour to be, with the most respectful consideration, &c.

(Signed) OTTO.

No. 27.

Hereford-Street, Sept. 16, 1800.

MY LORD, (*29 Fruc. 8.*)

I have the honour to address to your excellency the answer which my government has directed me to make to the note which you did me the honour to address to me.

The first consul hoping that it is still possible to approximate the interests of the two governments, and their wishes for a speedy and solid peace, and being willing to give, on his part, a fresh proof of his pacific dispositions, has dispatched orders for deferring, for some days longer, the attack which the French army had been directed to make upon the whole line.

I shall give verbally either to your excellency yourself, or to such person as you shall judge proper to appoint for that purpose, satisfactory explanations respecting the principal objections contained in your note of the 7th of this month; and I flatter myself that they will produce the effect which your excellency had in view by making known to me the intentions of his majesty.—The high importance of those communications authorises me to entreat

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that you would give them every facility in your power. I have the honour to be, with the most respectful consideration, my lord, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,
(Signed) OTTO.

No. 28.—NOTE.

The undersigned has transmitted to his government the note of his excellency lord Grenville, dated the 7th of September. The counter-projet which accompanied it having been laid before the first consul, he has observed that the armistice, such as it was proposed, did not offer any advantage to the French republic, and consequently could not compensate to it for the serious inconveniencies which would result to it from the continuance of the continental armistice: hence it follows, that the counter-projet could be admitted inasmuch only as the question might simply be to settle the preliminaries of a particular arrangement between France and England by a truce alike particular to the two states; but the effect of the proposed maritime truce being intended to serve as a compensation to the French republic for the continental truce, the former ought to afford to it advantages equal to the inconveniencies which it experiences from the latter.

The undersigned is therefore directed to make two proposals, of which his Britannic majesty may choose that which may appear to him most consonant to the interest of his dominions or to his continental relations.

The first is, that the projet for an armistice be drawn up and admitted in terms analogous to those which have been proposed by the ministry of his Britannic majesty, but solely under the supposition that this armistice should be independent

of the events of the continent, and relative only to a separate negotiation to be immediately opened between the two powers.

The second is, that his Britannic majesty should continue to make common cause with the emperor, but that, in that case, he should consent that the maritime truce may offer to the French republic advantages equal to those secured to the house of Austria by the continental truce.

And with this view the comparison may be easily settled.

By the continental armistice the court of Vienna acquires the means of re-organising its armies, of converting into men, arms, ammunition of every kind, the subsidies paid to it by England; of fortifying and victualling its places of the second and third line which were in a bad state, in consequence of the rapid march of the French armies having not been foreseen. Thus Asoppo, Palmanova, Venice, Verona, and Lintz, had been neglected; every day their fortifications are repairing. Ulm, Ingolstadt, although blockaded, are improving their means of defence; and it is the armistice which procures to them this advantage; for at the moment when those places were invested, the enemy thought only of besieging ours, and consequently their own were not prepared for so early an attack.

By the continental armistice, the impression made by the victories of the French armies diminish, their effects are weakened. Six months of repose would suffice to restore the moral and physical strength of the Austrian armies; to allow the conquered to recover from the impression of ascendancy acquired by the conquerors, and to make it necessary once more to regain that con-

contingent superiority so well earned by the republic.

It would also follow as a consequence of the continental armistice, that the kingdom of Naples, now a prey to every kind of calamity, and containing all the seeds of insurrection, might be re-organised, and furnish fresh resources to the enemies of France. It is by means of the armistice, in a word, that men are raising in Tuscany, and in the marshes of Ancona; that Austria is every where preparing new means of defence; that every where she is ameliorating her position, which perhaps was desperate, whilst the advantages of the republic are diminishing or disappearing.

The first consul has already made to the love of peace a sufficiently great sacrifice of those advantages: if he should continue to derive no benefit from them, it would no longer be moderation, but weakness; it would no longer be the means of arriving at the conclusion of peace, but that of perpetuating the war. Perhaps in the judgment of statesmen the French government may have already too long delayed to avail itself of the contingency which was favourable to it; but it has only done so upon the positive assurances which had been given to it of a speedy and separate peace.

At this moment, when the two allied courts insist upon a joint negotiation and a general peace, the French government is too well aware that so complicated a work is not to be accomplished in a few days, and it ought to avoid putting itself in a position which would be diametrically opposite to the acceleration of the negotiations, by giving to the inimical powers, and principally to Austria, a real interest to prolong the discussions, in order daily to acquire the means of ap-

pearing with greater advantage in the field of battle, and consequently with greater pretensions at the congress.

It is with a view of avoiding, in part, so manifest an inconvenience, that France requires that the maritime armistice should be stipulated in such a manner as to be equivalent to the continental armistice, and as to place England, on its side, in the situation of being desirous of the conclusion of peace. The advantages which the republic can and ought to expect from the naval armistice are the free navigation of her ships, and the facilities necessary for her communications with the islands of France and Reunion, and with her American colonies; and although she should make use of it to send a few thousand men more to Egypt, do not the places belonging to the emperor daily acquire in like manner fresh strength upon the continent?

With respect to the victualling the harbours of the French republic itself, internal means of circulation are not wanting; and this object is but of small importance to it.—When the British government proposes that the harbours and places blockaded should only receive provisions for fourteen days, is it aware that the greater part of those establishments are still far from wanting provisions? and besides that, the season is drawing near which, by rendering a naval blockade almost always illusory, makes the proposed favour quite useless.

That if, besides, it be considered how little it is the interest of Great Britain, if it be sincerely desirous of peace, to prevent France from preserving and consolidating the small number which remain to her of foreign settlements, and how much England, by making new acquisitions of this nature, would aug-

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ment still farther the uneasiness and jealousy of Europe; and the disposition which it evinces not to see with indifference the unlimited extension of the power and commerce of England, it will be acknowledged, at the same time, that the advantages to be derived to the French republic from a maritime truce are admitted; that this truce would not be so eminently disadvantageous to England as her government appears to imagine.

The undersigned is, in consequence, directed to refer to the double proposition contained in the present note.

If a separate negotiation and peace be the object, the armistice may be agreed to in the form in which it is proposed by the ministry of his Britannic majesty.

If a joint negotiation and a general peace be the object, the armistice must be stipulated in the manner in which it is proposed in the name of the French government, and as it will be subsequently detailed by the undersigned.

(Signed) OTTO.

No. 29.

*Lord Grenville to M. Otto.
Downing-Street, Sept. 20, 1800.*

SIR,

I inclose to you the answer to the last note which I have had the honour to receive from you.

You will there observe that his majesty is very far from thinking it proper for him to accede to the principle which is again urged in that note as the foundation of a naval armistice.

While this fundamental difference subsists, there can be little reason to hope that any advantage could arise from discussing the details of such a measure.

The counter-projet which I had

the honour to transmit to you is considered here as going to the full extent of concession which can with any colour of reason be asked by France, or which could be admitted by this country, even in that view in which, alone there can be any question of naval armistice.

If you are authorized to make any such new proposals as shall be really consistent with those principles which form the only admissible basis for such a transaction, I am confident you will not be unwilling, in a matter of so much importance, to transmit them to me in writing.

Should they then appear to his majesty's government to afford any sufficient grounds for further discussion of this point, I shall very readily receive the king's commands for authorising a proper person to converse with you on the subject of those communications. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

No. 30.—NOTE.

The note inclosed in M. Otto's letter of the 16th instant has been laid before the king.

His majesty has not seen in that paper any fresh suggestions on the subject of a naval armistice which can at all vary the answer transmitted to M. Otto on the 7th instant.

Neither his majesty's known engagements to his allies, nor his desire, so recently expressed, to contribute to the restoration of general tranquillity in Europe, will admit of his separating his interests from those of the powers with whom he is connected in the prosecution of the war; much less could he entertain the idea of consenting, for such a purpose, to any naval armistice; a measure which he has already declared to be totally inapplicable to a separate discussion of

of the interests of Great Britain and France.

This proposal being therefore one which the French government must have known that his majesty could not accept, the supposed alternative professed to be offered to his majesty's choice amounts to nothing more than to the simple renewal of a demand already rejected. No fresh inducement is stated which should now dispose his majesty to consent to those conditions of armistice for joint negotiation which he had before considered as wholly inadmissible.

From information received since the last communications on this subject took place, his majesty has observed with equal surprise and concern that the orders for giving notice of the termination of the continental armistice must actually have been dispatched from Paris at the very time when the continuance of that armistice was proposed to his majesty as the condition and inducement for a maritime truce. And if in addition to this circumstance his majesty were to collect the present dispositions of his enemies from the terms respecting his conduct and views with which their recent communications with his allies are filled, the conclusion must be extremely unfavourable to the existence of any disposition to conciliation.

His majesty is however still willing to wave all reference to these considerations, and to regulate his conduct by the motives which he has already explained. He still looks, therefore, to a naval armistice on suitable conditions, as to a sacrifice which he may be induced to make in order to prevent the renewal of hostilities on the continent, and thereby to facilitate those joint negotiations for general peace

which might perhaps be accelerated by such an arrangement, although they are by no means necessarily dependent on it.

But when it is required that the extent of the sacrifice which his majesty is to make should be regulated neither by any fair standard of equality nor by the ordinary rules which govern such transactions; when, without any reference to the interests of his own people, he is called upon to proportion his concessions to the exaggerated estimates which his enemies have formed of the benefits derived to his allies from the continental armistice; and when, on such grounds as these, conditions are insisted on which even these could not warrant, it becomes necessary to state distinctly that his majesty neither recognises this principle, nor, if he did, could he agree in this application of it.

His majesty is not, indeed, called upon to appreciate the relative advantages which the prolongation of the continental armistice might really afford to each of the belligerent powers. But even of those circumstances which are enumerated by the French government as exclusively advantageous to Austria, many are evidently beneficial to both parties, and are so nearly to an equal extent.

If, during the interval of repose which has already elapsed, the Austrian armies have been re-established, recruited, and reinforced, France has not been inattentive to the same measures. If the subsidies which his majesty has furnished are applied by his ally to the formation or transport of magazines, France has appropriated to similar purposes the rigorous contributions exacted from those countries which the existence of an armistice has not exempted from that calamity. The places in the

the rear of the Austrian army may have been repaired; but the position of the French armies has also been strengthened, and even the blockaded towns may perhaps suffer more from the increased length of the blockade, than they can profit by any internal measures for improving their defences.

Into other points of comparison his majesty forbears to enter. No part of the varied successes of the continental war appears to him to entitle his enemies to presume on any ascendant over the spirit of the Austrian armies.

But were the assertions of the French government in these respects better grounded than his majesty conceives them to be, the principle itself would still be inadmissible.—It is impossible that his majesty can admit that compensation is to be demanded from him for the extent of those advantages, whatever they might really be, which his ally might derive from the continuance of the armistice; yet even such compensation is in a great degree offered by his majesty. In consenting to a naval armistice on such terms as have already been acceded to on his majesty's part, he has made considerable sacrifices, and placed within the reach of his enemies great and obvious advantages which their representation in vain endeavours to depreciate. He has thereby given to all Europe a strong pledge of his concern for the general welfare, and to his enemies a decided proof of pacific disposition.

But to yield to the present demand would be to sacrifice those means of present defence, and those pledges of future security, which have been acquired by such great and memorable efforts, and which he can never be expected to forego

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till the result of those negotiations, in which he has declared his readiness to concur, shall have crowned his endeavours for the happiness of his people by the restoration of safe and honourable peace.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.
Downing-Street, Sept. 20, 1800.

No. 31.

*London, the 4th complementary day,
year 8. (Sept. 21, 1800.)*

MY LORD,

I received yesterday, at ten o'clock at night, the letter and the note which your excellency did me the honour to address to me; and I have learnt from them, with the deepest regret, that his majesty and his ministry are not yet disposed to accede to the principles of conciliation contained in the note which I had the honour to transmit to you on the 16th of this month.

It was not merely with a view to discuss those principles, but in order to propose to your excellency fresh means of reconciliation, that I felt it my duty to request, in my letter of the 16th, to have an interview with you; and I had every reason to hope that the explanations into which I should have entered would effectually have obviated the difficulties which are still opposed to the conclusion of the general armistice.

You desire, my lord, that I should give you those explanations in writing. They relate to two points, which in your first note are represented as being the most important: the power of altering the positions of the squadrons of the republic during the armistice, and the fate of the allies of Great Britain.

I am authorised to consent that the French ships of the line shall not go out of the harbours where they are at present; and if his ma-

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jeſty inſiſts upon his allies being included in the propoſed armiſtice, I am authoriſed alſo to conſent that they ſhould enjoy the ſame advantages as thoſe of the republic.

The intentions of the firſt conſul are anew detailed in the projet which I have herewith the honour to incloſe; and in order not to delay a communication of ſuch importance, I defer until another opportunity my answer to your excellency's note.

I ſhall only obſerve, that even if the Auſtrian armiſtice ſhould have been broken in this interval, it would be eaſy to make the reſpective armies reſume their former poſitions in the event of his majeſty's acceding to the laſt propoſals which have been made to him. I have the honour to be, with the moſt reſpectful conſideration, &c.

(Signed) OTTO.

No. 32.—PROJET.

In conſideration of its having been agreed that negotiations for a general peace ſhall be immediately opened between the French republic and its allies on the one ſide, and his imperial majeſty, his Britannic majeſty, and their allies, on the other ſide; and that the armiſtice which has already been concluded between the armies of the French republic and thoſe of his imperial majeſty may be prolonged, if an equivalent armiſtice ſhould be concluded between the forces of the French republic and thoſe of his Britannic majeſty, the two governments have agreed to conclude the ſaid armiſtice upon the following conditions:

Art. I. All hoſtilities both by ſea and land between the two nations ſhall be ſuſpended, and ſhall not be renewed until after a month's notification prior to the end of the ar-

miſtice. In all parts of the world the armiſtice ſhall not be broken without the expreſs order of the contracting governments; and hoſtilities ſhall not be renewed until a month after the notification which may have been given by the general or commanding officer of one of the two nations to that of the other nation.

Art. II. Orders ſhall be immediately tranſmitted by the two governments to the commanding officers in the ſeveral parts of the world, directing them to act in conformity with this convention. Paſſports ſhall be given to the perſons who ſhall carry out theſe orders; and the officers of his Britannic majeſty who ſhall travel through France for this purpoſe ſhall receive ſafe-conducts and the neceſſary facilities for accelerating their journey.

Art. III. All prizes made in any part of the world during the continuance of the armiſtice, by an officer having actually received the notification of this convention, ſhall be reſtored. And generally (whether this notification ſhall have been made or not) all prizes made in the Channel, or in the North Seas, after twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, ſhall be reſtored; and, in regard to this object, the terms ſhall be fixed for the other parts of the world conformably to the ſtipulations of the 22d article of the preliminaries of the laſt peace; whence it reſults, that, computing from the day of the ſaid exchange, all trading veſſels of either nation ſhall have the power of putting out to ſea, and of navigating freely as before the war.

Art. IV. Malta and Egypt ſhall be aſſimilated to the places in Germany, which, although blockaded by the French army, have been permitted

mitted to enjoy the benefit of the conventional armistice. Malta shall be furnished with provisions for fifteen days at a time, at the rate of ten thousand rations per diem. With regard to Egypt, six French frigates shall have the liberty of sailing from Toulon, of unloading at Alexandria, and of returning without being searched, and without suffering any opposition during their passage, either from English ships or from those of the allies of Great Britain. An English officer of rank shall for this purpose embark on board one of the frigates, and shall travel through France on his way to Toulon.

Art. V. The blockade of Brest, Toulon, and of every other French port, shall be raised; and all British captains shall receive instructions not to interrupt the trade of any vessel either entering therein or going out thereof. No ship of the line, however, of two or three decks, actually at anchor in the said ports, shall be at liberty to go out before the renewal of hostilities, for the purposes of changing its station; but frigates, sloops, and other small ships of war may freely go out and navigate, and in the event of their meeting at sea with ships belonging to his Britannic majesty, they shall observe the customs established before the war.

Art. VI. The land forces in the pay of his Britannic majesty shall not have the power of disembarking in any port of Italy during the continuance of the present armistice.

Art. VII. The allies of France, namely Spain, the Batavian republic, and Genoa, shall participate in the benefit of the present armistice. (If his Britannic majesty insist upon including his allies in the armistice, they shall enjoy the same advantages with those of France.)

Art. VIII. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of ten days, or sooner if it should be possible.

No. 33.

*Hereford-Street, Sept. 23, 1800.
(2 Vendemiaire, 9.)*

MY LORD,

I have the honour to address to your excellency the answer to the note which you had the goodness to transmit to me on the 20th of this month. (Signed) OTTO.

No. 34.—NOTE.

During the whole course of the negotiation with which the undersigned has been charged, he has had cause to regret that the want of more direct communication with his majesty's ministry has rendered it impossible for him to give his official overture the necessary explanations. This inconvenience is rendered still more striking by the result of his last communications, to which the note which he had the honour to receive on the 20th of this month is an answer.

The first part of this note appearing to intimate a doubt respecting the sincerity of the dispositions of the French government to begin negotiations for a general peace, the undersigned cannot avoid entering into some details upon this subject, which will fully justify the conduct of the first consul.

The proposed alternative of a *separate* peace, in the event of his majesty's not accepting the conditions for a general armistice, far from evincing a want of sincerity, furnishes, on the contrary, the strongest proof of the conciliatory dispositions of the first consul: it is a necessary consequence of the declaration made by the undersigned the 4th of this month. In effect,

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he has had the honour to apprise the British ministry, 'That if that armistice be not concluded before the 11th of September, hostilities *will have been* renewed with Austria, and that in that case the first consul *will no longer be able, with regard to this power, to consent to any except a separate and complete peace.*'

That armistice was not concluded at the date fixed upon; it was therefore natural eventually to expect a *separate peace with Austria*, and, according to the same supposition, a peace in like manner, *separate with Great Britain*, unless it is thought that the calamities with which a great part of Europe has been for eight years past oppressed should be continued without other hope of termination than that of the complete destruction of one of the belligerent powers.

It is not therefore the French government which proposes to his majesty to separate his interests from those of his allies; but having in vain attempted to unite them in a common centre, and finding them separated *in fact* by the refusal of England to lay down on the altar of peace special advantages of which France had already made a sacrifice, the first consul has given a fresh proof of his dispositions, by pointing out another means of reconciliation which the course of events will bring about sooner or later.

In conformity with the advice which the undersigned had transmitted on the 4th of this month, notification was given of the cessation of the continental armistice at the term which had been fixed upon; but the counter-projet of the British ministry, dispatched by the undersigned on the 8th of this month, having reached Paris on the 10th, and his imperial majesty having ap-

peared to be convinced that his ally would not withhold his consent to an admissible armistice, the first consul determined for eight days to retard the renewal of hostilities. Orders were immediately dispatched to the armies of Germany and Italy, and in the event of those orders arriving too late in the last mentioned country, and of the French generals having obtained successes in consequence of any military operation, they are ordered to resume the position which they occupied on the precise day on which hostilities were recommenced.

The simple relation of these facts will, without doubt, be sufficient to prove that the French government never can have intended to cover by pretended negotiations, a fresh attack upon Austria; and that, on the contrary, it has acted throughout the negotiation with that frankness and loyalty which can alone ensure that re-establishment of general tranquillity which his majesty and his ministry have so much at heart.

It would be in vain to look for proofs of a contrary intention in some expressions contained in the official communications of the French government to the allies of his majesty—more especially if such proofs were attempted to be drawn from one of the last letters written to baron Thugut, which the undersigned might have communicated himself, if he had found an opportunity; that letter would prove that the French government, always a friend to peace, appeared to complain of the intentions of Great Britain only, because it had every reason to believe them contrary to a solid system of pacification.

The undersigned has entered into these details only because, on the
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of negotiations which may be entered upon, it is of importance to the councils of the two powers to be reciprocally convinced of the sincerity of their intentions, and because the opinion which they may have of that sincerity is the only pledge for the success of the negotiations.

With respect to the second point in the note which the undersigned has had the honour of receiving, he is to refer to his letter of the 16th, in which he informed his excellency lord Grenville that he was directed to give *satisfactory explanations* relative to the principal objections of the British government to the proposed armistice, and entreated him at the same time to facilitate the means of verbal communications with the ministry. It was therefore difficult to believe that the French government would adhere, without *any modification*, to its first overtures; for in that case it would have been quite useless to solicit for an interview, in order to give satisfactory explanations.

In speaking of the compensations requisite, in order to place the naval armistice upon a footing with the continental truce, his majesty's ministry think that there is some preponderance in the balance settled by the French government; a formal discussion upon this point would undoubtedly be misplaced. After the various successes of a war which has produced so many extraordinary events, it is difficult to doubt of the moral influence of those events upon armies, upon nations, upon governments themselves, and the deductions which may be drawn from it at present, appear to justify the opinion which the undersigned has felt it his duty to state. If there be any exaggeration in this opinion, it is shared with the enemies of the

republic themselves, who have employed every effort to prolong the truce, and who have not scrupled to use the means of pretended negotiations in order to gain time. The preliminaries signed by the count de St. Julien, and disavowed by his court, are a memorable example of this; and the prolongation of the continental armistice must necessarily be considered as a sacrifice on the part of the republic, since every effort has been employed to extort its consent to it.

But even whilst his majesty's ministry admit the existence of this sacrifice, they formally declare that an analogous sacrifice cannot be expected to be made on the part of his majesty. It certainly does not become France to judge how far his majesty's engagements with his allies may counteract his inclination in this respect; but France appears to have certainly an undoubted right to demand the price of the sacrifice which she has made, and which she is still willing to make. The first consul has given to Europe repeated pledges of his pacific dispositions; he has never ceased manifesting them to the cabinets interested in this contest; and even although the hopes of the enemies of the French republic should be excited by his moderation, it shall always be the sole guide of his actions.

Notwithstanding this difference in the manner of viewing several questions accessory and preliminary to the proposed pacification, the undersigned cannot but congratulate himself on finding, in all the communications which he has hitherto had the honour of receiving, the same assurances of his majesty's disposition to employ his efforts towards the re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe; and he will neglect no opportunity of placing

this disposition in its strongest light to his government.

(Signed) OTTO,
Hereford-Street, Sept. 22, 1800.
(1 Vendemiaire, year 9.)

No. 35.—NOTE.

Lord Grenville presents his compliments to M. Otto, and has the honour to send him herewith the official answer to his communication of the 23d instant.

He requests M. Otto to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Downing-Street, Sept. 25, 1800.

No. 36.—NOTE.

It is by no means the wish of the British government to prolong a written controversy on the circumstances to which the first part of M. Otto's note of the 23d instant principally relates; it is however necessary, in order to vindicate the accuracy of the former statement which the undersigned was directed to make, that the dates of those facts should, in reply to M. Otto's note, be more particularly detailed; but this will be done without adding any fresh comment upon them.

The first proposal made to his majesty, on the part of France, for a naval armistice, grounded on that of the continent, was dated the 24th of August.

The notices for terminating the continental armistice were given by the French generals on the 27th and 29th of August; the orders for that purpose must therefore have been actually sent from Paris before the 24th.

His majesty's answer was transmitted by the undersigned to M. Otto, on the 29th, the very day on which the last of the notices was given in Germany. That answer referred to the Austrian armistice as still existing; and it was not till

the 4th of September that the first intimation was received here of the measures taken in Germany for giving notice of its termination.—With respect to the letter of M. Talleyrand to the baron de Thugut, to which M. Otto refers, it was also dated the 24th of August. The French government, so far from being at that time entitled to consider his majesty's intentions as hostile to the re-establishment of a solid system of pacification, was then actually in possession of the notification given in his majesty's name, through his ally, of his readiness to concur in immediate negotiations for that very purpose.

It will be with real pleasure that his majesty will see the conclusions which appeared to him to result from these facts disproved by the event. The best evidence which the French government can now give of the sincerity of its dispositions for peace will be found in the facilities it may afford for expediting both the commencement and the successful termination of that negotiation into which the king and his ally the emperor of Germany have already expressed their willingness to enter, and which can alone, by a general and comprehensive arrangement of the interests of all the parties concerned in this extensive war, afford to Europe the hope of solid and permanent tranquillity.

With respect to the supposed case, in which it is stated, that France would not agree to treat with Austria but for a separate peace, the fortune of war can alone decide on the means of realizing such a pretension; but whenever it shall be insisted on by France, after the experience of what has already passed, it will afford to all other powers, not a presumption only, but the painful and decided conviction, that the French

French government has no real desire to put a final and conclusive period to the calamities of Europe. No man who considers the past events of this contest with attention, or who is capable of judging with accuracy of the present situation of affairs, can believe that, if the present war is to be terminated only by a succession of separate treaties between the different powers now engaged in it, any permanent or solid basis of general tranquillity could be established.

As his majesty has, in compliance with M. Otto's wishes, authorised a proper person to confer with him respecting the different proposals for a naval armistice, it is unnecessary to add any thing here on that subject. This step affords a new proof of his majesty's dispositions to bend himself to every reasonable facility which can contribute to a general pacification, and every part of his majesty's conduct will be found conformable to those dispositions.

Downing-Street, Sept. 25, 1800.

NO. 37.—NOTE.

Downing-Street, Sept. 24, 1800.

Lord Grenville presents his compliments to M. Otto, and has the honour to acquaint him, that, in consequence of his desire for an opportunity of conversing with a person of confidence on the part of this government, respecting the different proposals which have been made as to the conditions of a naval armistice, his majesty has been pleased to give authority to Mr. Hammond to meet M. Otto for that purpose.

It is the sincere wish of his majesty's government, that the result of their conversation on this subject may tend to facilitate the great work of a general pacification on a solid and permanent basis.

Lord Grenville requests M. Otto to be assured of his high consideration.

NO. 38.—To Mr. Hammond.

Downing-Street, Sept. 24, 1800.

SIR,

M. Otto having been empowered by the French government to negotiate a convention for an armistice between this country and France, with a view to negotiations for general peace; and having expressed an earnest desire to enter into verbal explanations on this subject with some person properly authorised on his majesty's part; the king, willing to omit nothing which can contribute to the great work of restoring solid and permanent tranquillity to Europe, has been pleased to make choice of you for the purpose of meeting M. Otto, and of receiving from him such verbal communications as he may wish to make in addition to what has already passed in writing respecting the different projects proposed on either side for a naval armistice.

This letter will point out to you the reasons which induce his majesty to consider M. Otto's second project as unsatisfactory in all the material points in which it differs from the counter-project prepared here by his majesty's command.

You will state to M. Otto his majesty's decision in this respect, and you will enter without reserve into the discussion of the grounds on which it rests. His majesty has no other object in view in this transaction than to contribute to the restoration of general peace. He is not unwilling for this purpose to sacrifice some present advantage, in the opinion that by so doing he consults the permanent interests of his people: but he can neither consent, at the opening of a negotiation for peace, to place himself in a condi-

tion of inferiority to his enemies, such as the result of the war in which he is engaged by no means warrants; nor does he think that the object of peace itself would be promoted or accelerated by rendering the intermediate situation of his enemies, under colour of an armistice, such as they might be desirous to prolong, rather than to terminate it by any admissible conditions of peace.

His majesty sees, in the last projet of the French government, little progress towards an accommodation: it is indeed stated in M. Otto's letter to me of the 21st inst. that satisfactory explanations are there given of the two most important points which had been insisted on by his majesty.

The admission of his majesty's allies to partake in the same terms of armistice in which France claims to include her allies, is indeed not only an important but an indispensable condition of any such agreement; but there can be no ground for representing this equal and necessary arrangement as a concession on the part of France, rather than on the part of his majesty. And with respect to the other point stated by M. Otto (that which relates to the French ships of war), the offer of France still falls very short both of the king's demand, and of what would be necessary even to assimilate the naval armistice to that of the continent. The article in its present shape is therefore so far from containing any facility which could soften or remove the other obstacles in the way of an amicable conclusion of this business, that it must still be regarded in justice as an unequal and inadmissible claim on the part of the king's enemies.

On other points of no less importance, the new projet adheres

to the former demand, and even in one instance brings forward a fresh pretension which had not before been stated.

In examining in detail the several articles of the proposed convention, some verbal differences between the English counter-projet and the second French projet are not intended to be here adverted to.

If the more important points of the negotiation were satisfactorily adjusted, it would be necessary to make some remarks on these, and possibly also to propose, for the sake of precision, a few verbal alterations or additions to the original articles: but none of these appear likely in that case to create any serious difficulty.

It might be sufficient to include under this reserve the two variations made in the preamble of the convention.

But it may perhaps be more proper for you to state at this time the following observations respecting them, viz.

1. That the mention of the respective allies, in the form in which those words are introduced into the French preamble, seems to imply of necessity, not only that the negotiations shall (as is the king's intention) be carried on with a view to a general peace alone, so as to include in the final adjustment all the allies on both sides, but also that those allies should immediately be called upon to take part by their ministers in the proposed negotiations—a question which his majesty conceives may more conveniently be reserved to future discussion, instead of being prejudged by the terms of any separate agreement for an armistice between Great Britain and France.

2. The expressions used in the French projet respecting the continental armistice appear unbecoming towards

towards the king's allies, and cannot therefore be agreed to by his majesty.

3. The word '*equivalent*,' there inserted, seems to assume, as the basis of the naval armistice, that principle of full compensation to which the king has already refused his consent.

It should in like manner be mentioned by you, that, in the first article, the omission of the words '*Forces of*' seems to imply a more complete suspension of the state of war between the two powers than accords with the nature of an armistice, or is consistent with the conditions (particularly those respecting the transport of naval and military stores) on which his majesty judges it necessary for him to insist.

In the remaining part of this article very material changes are made in the conditions offered by his majesty. These are,

1. The extending the term of notice for the cessation of the armistice, from fourteen days to one month.

2. The requiring that this notice of one month should in all cases be given only in consequence of orders from the respective governments, and by the commanding officer of one country to the commanding officer of the other, in the different parts of the world respectively.

3. The total omission of the clause by which the continuance of the naval armistice was made to depend on that of the continent.

It is probable that the two first of these alterations are principally proposed in the same view which led to the omission of this last clause; and the effect of the whole would be, that if the armistice with Austria should at any period be terminated by France, his majesty would

still for some considerable time be restrained from assisting his ally.

The bare statement of such a condition is sufficient to show that it never can be admitted by his majesty, who is bound by the spirit of his engagements to assist his ally immediately on the renewal of hostilities; and to whom no other inducement has or could be offered for acceding to a naval armistice, except that of preventing the renewal of hostilities on the continent.

The last clause in the English article must therefore be absolutely insisted on, and no variation can be admitted in the other parts of it which shall be inconsistent with the object of that stipulation.

The term of fourteen days is in fact longer than that which is provided in either of the two conventions of armistice in Italy and Germany, and appears fully sufficient for all the purposes which such a provision is fairly intended to answer; and as his majesty enters into any stipulation for naval armistice in the sole hope of a speedy conclusion of the intended negotiations, he does not think proper to bind himself for so long a period as a month, should he have the mortification of finding that his enemies refuse to adopt those principles of negotiation on which alone he judges that permanent tranquillity can be restored to Europe.

The French government has in all its communications expressed the same hope and desire for the speedy conclusion of peace, and has even professed an anxiety to render this object more peculiarly interesting to his majesty. There can therefore be no reason to wish on either side that the term of notice should be prolonged so much beyond the necessity of the case.

The third article of the counter-pro-

projet was drawn with a reference to the corresponding articles in the preliminaries of peace in 1763 and 1783, from which it differs only by the more explicit statement of that which is understood to have been the established practice of the courts of admiralty on both sides with respect to such ships of war as should have made any prizes after having actually received notice of the cessation of hostilities.

The addition to this article proposed in the French projet is objectionable—

First, Because there seems to be no necessity for explaining the general effect of a stipulation which has, in the practice of the two last negotiations for peace, been found sufficiently distinct, and has fully answered the purpose intended by it.

Secondly, Because the explanation there given is not a just conclusion from the premises. It is indeed true, that by the effect of this article ships clearing out directly from Great Britain or France might immediately, after the exchange of the ratifications, sail in full security, because they might carry out with them notice of the armistice; but the same thing would not be true of ships in other parts of the world, as these (under the express terms of this article) could not be entitled to restitution if captured, unless proof were given that actual notice of the armistice had been received by the captors, or unless the period assigned by this article for the part of the world where the capture took place had expired before the actual capture.

3. The expression of navigating freely as before the war might be construed to extend to the admission of the ships of one country into the ports of the other respectively; to

which, for obvious reasons, the king would not think proper to agree.— And these words are besides inconsistent both with the stipulations on which his majesty thinks it necessary to insist respecting the transport of troops and of naval and military stores, and even with those which France proposes as to the blockaded places.

The fourth article of the French projet still maintains the contradiction of professing to assimilate the blockaded places to those of Germany, and of applying to them at the same time conditions which are the very reverse of those adopted in the German armistice.

The manner in which that armistice is spoken of in this article affords another instance of expressions unnecessarily and improperly offensive to the king's allies.

There seems no reason for altering this paragraph of the counter-projet, which is perfectly distinct, and conveys no implication injurious to either party.

The king cannot agree that 10,000 rations per diem shall be assumed as the consumption of Malta. If the fact be so, it will appear to the commissaries who will be named for that purpose, in conformity to those stipulations of the German armistice to which France professes the intention of assimilating this article.

But a still more material objection arises to the proposal respecting Egypt.

If the situation of the French army in that country were to become matter of discussion between the two governments, his majesty and his allies have a right, on every principle of good faith as practised between civilised nations, to require that the French should evacuate Egypt on the terms stipulated in the convention of El-Arish; those stipu-

stipulations having been ratified both by the Turkish government and by the French commanding officer; and his majesty having also instructed his admiral commanding in those seas to accede to them as soon as they were known here. This demand would be made with the more reason, because even subsequent to the recommencement of hostilities in Egypt, (under circumstances to which his majesty forbears to advert) an official engagement was entered into by general Kleber in his letter to the kaimakan, dated the 10th of April, 1800, by which that general, then commanding in chief the French army in Egypt, and consequently possessing full powers to bind his government in this respect, formally undertook that the convention of El-Arish should be executed so soon as the king's acquiescence in it should be notified to him.

But when, instead of performing this engagement, the French government, under a pretence of assimilating Egypt to the blockaded places of Germany, requires that six frigates shall carry thither, without molestation or search, and even under the open protection of a British officer, whatever articles the French garrisons there may be most in need of, it is natural to ask by what article in the German armistice Ulm or Ingolstadt are to receive in covered waggons as many troops, as much provisions, and as great a quantity of every species of arms, ammunition, and stores, as might be conveyed to Egypt in six French frigates? And this comparison is still more striking, when it is considered, that by the German armistice the blockaded places are expressly restrained from receiving, during the armistice, any thing which can supply additional means

of defence: and on the other hand, that the proposals for the evacuation of Egypt originated on the part of the French themselves, who now desire to avail themselves of the benefit of an armistice to strengthen that very position which, by an agreement made in consequence of their own request, they have actually engaged to abandon.

This part of the French article is therefore wholly inadmissible. It contains a pretension unjust in itself, injurious to his majesty's interest, and repugnant both to the general principle of the negotiation, and to that which is specified in the very beginning of the article itself: and it implies a breach of faith on his majesty's part towards an ally to whom he is bound by a solemn treaty.

Besides all these considerations, his majesty has no power to restrain, by such an engagement as is here proposed, the ships of the Ottoman Porte from resisting the admission of this supply into Egypt, unless his ally had acceded to the armistice, which, if it be concluded on such terms as these, there can be no reason to expect.

The manner in which this particular subject of Egypt is spoken of, both in the projet and in M. Otto's note of the 16th instant, makes it necessary that you should distinctly declare that the offer which was contained in the counter-projet goes in this respect to the very utmost extent that his majesty's regard for the interest of his subjects can admit of. And his majesty is confident that no want of conciliation can justly be imputed to him on account of his having at once brought forward explicitly and without reserve the whole of those concessions which it appeared possible for him to make.

This

This observation applies equally to the remaining articles of the projet.

In the fifth article his majesty finds himself obliged to insist that the freedom of navigation there stipulated for on the part of his enemies shall not be extended to the transport of troops or of naval and military stores. The justice of this exception and its necessity are too obvious to require any farther explanations in addition to those contained in the official notes: and it follows as a consequence of this principle, as well as from the nature of the subject itself, that the restriction, as to the sailing of ships of war, would be wholly illusory, were it, as now proposed, confined to ships of the line only.

It would, indeed, neither be indifferent in practice nor just in principle, that France should be enabled, during the armistice, to change the stations of all her frigates; but when it is considered how much it is the usage of the French marine to employ those vessels for the transport of troops and military stores, the two parts of this article become so blended with each other that they cannot be separated; and his majesty cannot depart from the latter without equally abandoning the former.

The naval supply of the articles which are here in question, is indeed stated in one of M. Otto's notes to be a point of small moment to France. If it be so, she can with less reason insist on a point which can in this case only be insisted on with a view to affect those general principles which are connected with all the most important maritime interests of Great Britain.

The sixth article contains a new demand on the part of France, superadded to all the pretensions ad-

vanced in her first projet. It rests on no just or equitable principle; for, while France would restrain his majesty from strengthening by the addition of more troops the forces of his allies in Italy, she reserves the power of augmenting her own armies there, or of assisting her allies elsewhere, precisely as it may suit her future plans of operations.

The French government now professes, *de facto*, no means to prevent the transport of his majesty's troops by sea; and it is not reasonable that it should acquire the right of doing so by the terms of an armistice which conveys to his majesty no fresh means of impeding the future operations of his enemies beyond those which are already in his power, but which even concedes to them considerable advantages of which they are not now in possession.

It remains only to speak of the alterations made in that article which regards the allies on both sides.

His majesty's objections to the form proposed on the part of France for this article were detailed in my answer to the first projet.

If France considers her allies in the light of independent powers, and is in the future negotiations to treat on that footing respecting her own interests and theirs, it is necessary that this principle should equally be adhered to in the preliminary arrangements which precede the negotiation. It has not appeared to his majesty by the communication of any regular or official act, that the French government has any authority to treat in this respect for Spain or Holland. His majesty, on his side, has received no such authority from his allies; and it would be inconsistent with good faith were he, without such authority, to engage in their name for an armistice with France in any other

other form than that which is usual in such cases, namely, that they shall be at liberty to accede to the convention if they think fit. In that form his majesty is ready to admit the article as with respect to the allies of France, and in that form only can he agree to include his own allies in this engagement.

If the article were concluded in the terms now proposed by France, his majesty would be bound by the obligations of good faith to observe the armistice towards Spain and Holland; while, on the other hand, he could have no reciprocal claim on those powers, grounded either in justice or in the law or practice of nations. Nor could he require the restitution even of a single merchant vessel captured by a Spanish or Danish ship of war.

Those powers, if regarded by France as independent, cannot be bound by her act; and must be admitted as contracting parties acceding by a regular diplomatic transaction to the terms of the armistice, before they can be considered as under any obligation to fulfil those terms.

These considerations are indeed so obvious, that it is not easy to imagine in what view the French government has proposed to alter the article from the form in which his majesty had offered to consent to it.

I have now only to add, that should the armistice be concluded, his majesty would think it necessary, for the purpose of accelerating the negotiation (an object of which the French government has declared itself to be also very desirous), to limit a period for its continuance beyond which it would not be his majesty's intention, nor would it be consistent with the essential interests of his dominions, to extend it.

The power of doing this will be reserved to either party by the terms of the convention. Nor does this power result only from the articles as here proposed: it is equally reserved to both parties by the effect of the present French projet; and there is, therefore, no necessity for specifying in the convention itself either his majesty's intention in this respect, or (still less) the precise period of such limitation.

But it may appear on his majesty's part more consistent with that openness which his majesty is desirous to observe in this whole transaction, that you should express this intention to M. Otto in this stage of the business, reserving to a subsequent period the formal notification to be duly made in his majesty's name, agreeably to the terms of the convention.

You are at liberty to communicate to M. Otto, in the course of your discussions, the whole or any part of this letter, and to allow him to take either a copy or such extracts from it as he may wish.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.
Mr. Hammond.

No. 39.

Downing-Street, Sept. 25, 1800.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to inform your lordship that, in obedience to his majesty's commands signified to me in your lordship's letter of yesterday, I have this morning had a conference with M. Otto, on the subject of the proposed armistice between Great Britain and France.

Having suggested to M. Otto whether it might not tend to facilitate the discussion, that we should read over the counter-projet transmitted by your lordship to him on the 7th of this month, and the projet delivered by him on the 21st in answer

to it; and that I should state to him, from the instructions which I had received from your lordship, the objections on the part of his majesty's government to the several articles of that projet; and M. Otto having acquiesced in this suggestion, we pursued regularly this course of proceeding.

As it does not appear necessary that I should enter into any detail of the conversation which took place between us on those parts of the projet which M. Otto conceived the French government would relinquish, it will be sufficient for me to observe on this part of the subject,

1st, That M. Otto conceived that the French government would, in forming a regular convention for an armistice, have no objection to adopting the preamble in the counter-projet instead of that which was proposed in the French projet.

2dly, That concurring in the opinion that the phrase in the 4th article, '*appelée à jouir du bénéfice de l'armistice continental*,' might be (for the same reasons which applied to particular passages of the preamble) liable to a construction offensive to his majesty's allies, he doubted not that the French government would consent to omit that phrase in the 4th article.

3dly, That he doubted not that the French government would have no difficulty in agreeing to omit the concluding clause of the 3d article, from the words '*d'où il résulte*,' to the end.

With respect to the clause in the first article of the counter-projet, by which the duration of the naval armistice is made to depend on the continuance of the continental armistice, M. Otto conceived that, by allowing the officers commanding the British forces to recommence

hostilities as soon as the cessation of the continental armistice should be signified to them, too great a latitude was left to their discretion; and that it therefore seemed most adviseable that, in that event, the cessation of the naval armistice should be signified from government to government, as would be the case whenever, for any reason, either Great Britain or France might think it for their interest that the naval armistice should cease. But upon my representation of the advantages which France, on the one hand, would derive from her local position and the facility of collecting its forces on any point which it might determine to attack, and the delay, on the other, which would necessarily occur in the receipt of the intelligence in England of the rupture of the armistice in any distant part of the territory of the allies, M. Otto agreed to refer this subject to future consideration.

We then proceeded to the 4th and 5th articles; on which M. Otto remarked, that they contained the only points to which his government attached much importance; and, such were its sentiments respecting them, that he conceived that it would not consent to any armistice of which they did not form a part. With respect to the calculation of the provisions for Malta at the rate of 10,000 rations per diem, M. Otto did not specify any data on which that calculation was founded, but remarked briefly, that the quantity of rations was not to be exactly apportioned to the precise return of the garrison, but that a certain number of rations, in proportion to their respective ranks, was to be allowed to the general and staff officers; and that although a considerable number of the inhabitants had been sent from the forts occu-

occupied by the French troops, there still remained many for whose wants provision was to be made.— He was, however, of opinion that there might not be much difficulty in arranging this point in the manner proposed in the counter-projet, founded on the stipulations in the German armistice relative to Ulm and Ingolstadt.

On the subject of that part of the fourth article of the French projet, which requires that six frigates should be allowed to sail from Toulon for Egypt, and be exempted from search, M. Otto read to me part of a dispatch from M. Talleyrand, expressive of the interest which the whole French nation takes in that part of the army now in Egypt, and assigning the desire of contributing to the comfort and security of that army as the principal inducement to the conclusion of the armistice on the part of the French government. M. Otto added, that he would not conceal from me that the reinforcement which France intended to send to Egypt amounted to 1200 men, and that the supply of military stores consisted chiefly of 10,000 muskets. The language of M. Otto in this part of our conversation, and of M. Talleyrand's letter, appeared to be so decisive and peremptory, that I was induced to inquire of him distinctly, whether I was to understand that this stipulation was a point from which the French government would not recede? M. Otto replied, that, in his opinion, the French government would not recede from it.

On my adverting to the variation in the 5th article between the counter-projet and the French projet, by which the latter stipulates, that the French frigates and smaller ships of war should be allowed freely to sail

from and return to the ports of France, which have hitherto been in a state of blockade, M. Otto remarked, that the motive which induced the French government to insist on this clause was the desire of opening a secure mode of communication between France and her distant possessions. To this insinuation I replied, that if such was the sole object which France had in view, it might be as effectually attained by the employment of unarmed vessels as of ships of war.— M. Otto did not appear desirous of urging this point much farther, but concluded this part of the conversation by expressing his conviction, that the French government would insist upon this point, and considered itself as having gone to the utmost extent of sacrifice which could with justice be required from it, in consenting that the ships of the line should not alter their position. With respect to that part of the counter-projet which restrains the conveyance by sea of naval or military stores, M. Otto is of opinion that the French government would agree to that restriction.

The sixth article in the French projet, although entirely new, was not considered by M. Otto as likely to be insisted upon by his government; but he declined giving any positive opinion to that effect, until he had had farther time for the consideration of its tendency.

M. Otto's principal objection to the form in which the article marked 6 in the counter-projet is worded, was founded on an opinion, that unless Great Britain and France assumed the right of including their respective allies in the naval armistice; without waiting for their express concurrence in it, much delay would necessarily arise, and the two powers (Great Britain and France)

France) might be involved in fresh hostilities in consequence of either of them deeming it expedient to attack the allies of the other. He afterwards intimated a persuasion, that the article might be amended by inserting a clause which should fix a specific period in which the allies of Great Britain or France should signify their accession to or dissent from the naval armistice.

Towards the close of our conversation, M. Otto acquainted me that he would state to me in writing the objections to the counter-projet which he had received from your lordship, and his observations on the objections that had been made by me to the projet which he had delivered.

I have now endeavoured to give your lordship a faithful account of the substance of my conference with M. Otto. The very ample instructions with which I was provided, and which (as I have mentioned in the beginning of this letter) I read to M. Otto, precluded me from adding many observations; and as I have promised to communicate to that gentleman extracts of such part of my instructions as relate to the 4th and 5th articles, the two essential subjects of difference between us, he will have the means of retracing in his recollection the precise grounds of the objections to his proposal which have occurred to his majesty's government.

Before I conclude this letter, I cannot avoid mentioning, that in the course of our conversation, M. Otto threw out the most pointed assertions of the determination of France, in the event of the naval armistice not being concluded, to pursue the course of her victories in Germany and in Italy, and of the facilities that the conquest of Naples and Sicily (events which he

regarded as speedy and inevitable) would afford to the French government of obtaining by force those objects relative to Egypt and Malta which it had expected to acquire through the naval armistice. Of these assertions, though frequently repeated, I judged it proper to take no notice, but to recall his attention to the subject immediately under discussion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. HAMMOND.

The right hon. lord Grenville.

No. 40.

*Hereford-Street, 4 Vendemiaire, year 9.
(Sept. 26, 1800.)*

SIR,

I lose no time in sending you the substance of the observations which I had the honour of making to you upon the principal contested points; I most sincerely wish that your ministry may think them satisfactory. I beg of you, at the same time, to have the goodness to address to me, as was agreed upon between us, a copy of the reasonings to which these observations are in answer.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) OTTO.

Mr. Hammond.

No. 41.

Citizen Otto having observed, in the remarks made to him by Mr. Hammond, three points only which appear to him to be really of a nature to retard the conclusion of the proposed armistice, reserved them for future consideration, and an answer in writing.

After having maturely reflected upon the object of the maritime truce, upon the actual position of France and her enemies, upon the influence which this negotiation must have with regard to a general pacification, he feels it his duty to make the

the following observations upon the disputed points:—

1. The fourth article, in granting 10,000 rations per diem to the garrison of Malta, has not only in view the effective troops of the republic, but all the persons attached to the garrison; and even the inhabitants of the place. The citizen Otto does not think that it is possible to diminish that quantity; nevertheless, in order to remove, as much as possible, the objection which has been stated to him, and to accommodate himself, as much as possible, to the manner in which the subject is viewed by the English government, he consents to limit that estimate to the first month—a period necessary to afford to the respective commissaries the means of agreeing upon the amount which may be necessary for the support of the garrison of the place.

The second point contained in the fourth article, respecting the liberty of dispatching six frigates to Egypt, appears to have given still more uneasiness than the preceding one, and has given rise to a more animated discussion. Upon this subject citizen Otto cannot avoid again remarking, that, if the French government proposed to assimilate the places in Egypt to those of Ulm and Ingolstadt, it could only do so, and has in truth only done so, from the analogy that there is between those places with respect to the blockade; for, in every other respect, the comparison is in-exact: in fact, nobody is ignorant that the places of Egypt are not, like Ulm and Ingolstadt, in want of being *victualled*, since they cannot be prevented from drawing from the surrounding countries all the subsistence they require; that, besides, those places are not blockaded in such a manner as to make it probable that they should fall into the hands of the enemies. By that comparison, therefore, it could only be meant that there should be granted by the forces of the enemies advantages analogous to those which had been granted to the places in Germany, which advantages can only be ascertained by the special stipulations of the convention which it is proposed to conclude. The free passage of six frigates cannot add any considerable strength to the army of Egypt; it will only serve to prove to that army that the French government takes an interest in its fate, until it shall be definitively settled by a treaty of peace. In reviewing the circumstances which have followed the capitulation signed by sir Sidney Smith, citizen Otto cannot perceive the impropriety of such an arrangement relatively to the Porte; and he sees with regret, that the observations made to him by Mr. Hammond do not offer any adequate motive for relinquishing that demand, the acquiescence in which can alone establish any kind of analogy between the places of Egypt and those of Ulm and Ingolstadt.

2. The fifth article of the new projet differs in several respects from that of the counter-projet of the British ministry; but it differs much more still from the first projet which citizen Otto had the honour of presenting, inasmuch as it admits that no ship of the line now at anchor in the ports of Brest and Toulon shall go out thereof during the continuance of the armistice. The French government is of opinion that this concession, and more especially in the present season, goes as far as it can go, and that, by admitting that no armed vessel should go out of the said ports, they would leave those ports really in the same state in which they are at present;

(M) indeed,

indeed, in a state even less favourable, since the time is perhaps not far off when the British forces will not prevent those vessels from going out. All that citizen Otto can concede, with regard to this article, is, that no naval stores shall be imported by sea into the ports of Toulon and Brest; but he must insist upon the free egress of frigates and sloops. If this concession give to France the advantage of an effectual communication with her colonies, it is an equivalent to that derived from this armistice to the commerce of England; which, under the protection of this convention, can extend itself to all parts of the world, without being molested by French privateers.

That, besides, if a reference were made to the comparison between the continental armistice and the maritime truce, that comparison would be found to be entirely to the disadvantage of France. Upon the continent the French and Austrian armies reciprocally enjoy the same liberty of taking, within the line of demarkation, those positions which appear most advantageous to them: by the maritime armistice, on the contrary, England preserves alone the right of disposing of her squadrons, whilst the French ships of the line remain in their ports, and cannot enter into any hostile combinations against Great Britain.

3. The sixth article of the new projet, respecting the English troops which may be allowed to land in Italy, has been considered as a new pretension on the part of France, since she had made no mention of it in her first projet; but this pretension (if it can be called so) is only the natural consequence of a concession alike new, made by France, in offering to include in the armistice the allies of Great Britain.—

It would indeed be impossible to allow the king of Naples to enjoy advantages from this truce, and to leave him also the power of reinforcing and of preparing fresh means of attack against the republic.

Citizen Otto confines himself to these observations, which he deems of most importance. Other objections which have been made, and which in great measure relate to the form of drawing up the proposed convention, might be easily obviated.

No. 42.—NOTE.

Downing-Street, Sept. 26, 1800.

Mr. Hammond is directed to acquaint M. Otto, that the observations contained in his note this day, received by Mr. Hammond, have been laid before his majesty's government.

The king's servants regret that M. Otto's instructions are not sufficiently extensive to enable him to furnish the means of accommodation on those points which prevent the conclusion of a naval armistice.

The only object which his majesty has had in view in this discussion has been repeatedly stated, as well as those considerations which appear to him necessarily to limit the extent of the concessions which it is possible for him to make in this respect.

It is not conceived that any advantage can arise from a new statement of the same topics, especially as it is not doubted that M. Otto, in his report of the different arguments stated by Mr. Hammond in their conference, will bring them in the fullest manner under the consideration of his government. In offering these concessions, his majesty has given a strong proof of his willingness to make a considerable sacrifice of the particular interests

ests of this country in order to facilitate those negotiations for general peace in which he has expressed his readiness to concur. He still perseveres in the same dispositions, and will be willing to join in any proper steps to be taken for that purpose.

M. Otto.

No. 43.

*Hereford-Street, 6 Vendemiaire,
(Sept. 28, 1800.)*

SIR,

I have received the note which you did me the honour to address to me on the 26th, and I lost no time in forwarding the contents to my government: and also the observations contained in the piece which I have now the honour to return enclosed.

His majesty's ministry have done justice to my intentions, in being persuaded that I would send to France a detailed and exact account of the conversation which I had the honour of having with you. I have done every thing in my power to make the first consul acquainted with the whole extent of the observations which you were directed to communicate to me.

Whatever may be the result of this attempt of the two governments to re-establish the general tranquillity of Europe, I ought to congratulate myself for having been, to the ministry of his majesty, the organ of the pacific dispositions of France; and for having been charged to transmit to my government the assurance of the equally conciliatory dispositions of his majesty.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration,

(Signed) OTTO.

To Mr. Hammond,
Under-secretary of State.

No. 44.

*Hereford-Street, 14 Vendemiaire,
Year 9. (October 6, 1800.)*

SIR,

Mr. George not being yet returned, I have the honour to address myself directly to you, to request that you will meet me in Park-Place, or in any other place which you shall think proper to appoint. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) OTTO,

Mr. Hammond.

No. 45.

Downing-Street, Oct. 8, 1800.

SIR,

In endeavouring to make, for the information of his majesty's ministers, as accurate a representation as I could of the purport of the communication which you yesterday made to me verbally, I have felt so much anxiety lest, in an affair of such importance, there should be any mis-statement on my part of what you said, that I cannot help expressing to you my earnest desire that you would send me a written minute of the substance of this answer in the same manner as has been done in all the other stages of this discussion. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE HAMMOND,
M. Otto.

No. 46.

*Hereford-Street, 16 Vendemiaire,
Year 9. (Oct. 8, 1800.)*

SIR,

I have received the letter which you did me the honour to address to me this morning, requesting that I would acquaint you in writing with the substance of the communication which I have been directed to make to you, the importance of the object to which it relates rendering you apprehensive lest you
(M 2) should

should not completely have seized the meaning of the communication, I hasten therefore to transmit the substance of it to you.

The last notes which were exchanged, and several important events which have completely changed the basis upon which the proposed armistice was to have been established, having put an end to the negotiation on foot, I had the honour to inform you, that notwithstanding the circumstances which are opposed to the conclusion of a maritime truce, the first consul is invariably disposed to receive any overtures relative to a separate negotiation between France and Great Britain, and that the mode of such overture entirely depends upon the option of his majesty. That when the king shall think proper to send for that purpose a plenipotentiary to Paris, I am authorised not only to consent to it, but to deliver to him the necessary passport. That if, on the contrary, his majesty should prefer that the preliminary negotiations should be begun at London, special powers will be sent to me for that purpose. I have the honour, &c. (Signed) OTTO.

Mr. Hammond.

No. 47.

Downing-Street, Oct. 9, 1800.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date; and I am directed in return to acquaint you,

That his majesty's government entirely agrees in the opinion there expressed, that all further discussion of the terms of a naval armistice would be superfluous, as the only object which it was proposed to his majesty to secure by such an arrangement has in the mean time been

made the ground of separate sacrifices required from his ally.

With respect to the proposal of opening negotiations for a separate peace, his majesty, retaining always the sincere desire which he has uniformly expressed for the restoration of general tranquillity in Europe, must at the same time renew his former declarations of an invariable determination to execute with punctuality and good faith his engagements with his allies; and must therefore steadily decline to enter into any measures tending to separate his interests from those of the powers who shall continue to make common cause with him in the prosecution of the war.

I am, &c. (Signed)

GEORGE HAMMOND.

M. Otto.

APPENDIX.

Extract of a Note from Baron Thugut to M. Talleyrand, dated Vienna, the 11th of August, 1800.

The emperor has ordered me, sir, to convey to the first consul, through your channel, the invitation for the immediate meeting of the respective plenipotentiaries, who with good faith and zeal are occupied in concerting, with as little delay as possible, the means of re-establishing general tranquillity, after which suffering Europe has long sighed in vain. His majesty flatters himself, that through that measure his pacific wishes will be speedily accomplished with the more certainty, because the king of Great Britain, his ally, has just caused it to be declared to him, that he is ready, on his part, to concur in the same negotiations; as it appears by the inclosed copy of the official note delivered here by lord Minto, his Britannic

tannic majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary. It only remains, therefore, to agree upon the place at which the plenipotentiaries shall meet, which will doubtless be easily settled. In order to facilitate the intercourse of the plenipotentiaries with their respective governments, his majesty thinks that it would be advisable to give the preference to some place nearly central, such as Schellstadt, Luneville, &c. or some other, with respect to which, in order to save time, the French government might come to an understanding directly with the British government. According to the declarations which, by his majesty's express orders, I have now the honour to transmit to your excellency, and according to the equally pacific dispositions which his Britannic majesty has testified, it will henceforward depend upon the French government alone to accelerate the happy moment of the restoration of repose to Europe, so cruelly mangled by a destructive war. (Signed)

BARON DE THUGUT.

M. Talleyrand.

Lord Minto's Note, inclosed in the above.

The undersigned, his Britannic majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary, did not fail to transmit to his court all the communications which have been made to him by the emperor's direction, by his excellency baron Thugut, relative to the correspondence which has taken place between his majesty the emperor and the French government respecting overtures for peace. The undersigned has, in consequence, been directed to intimate the satisfaction which his majesty has re-

ceived from this mark of confidence on the part of his imperial and royal majesty. The undersigned does not delay, after the authority which he has just received, to declare that his Britannic majesty, desirous at all times of giving to the emperor and to all Europe the clearest proofs of his perfect and cordial union with his imperial and royal majesty, and of the value which he attaches to the constant preservation of the intimate concert and friendship which are so happily established between their crowns and their subjects, is disposed to concur with Austria in the negotiations which may take place for a general pacification, and to send his plenipotentiaries to treat for peace in concert with his imperial and royal majesty, as soon as the intentions of the French government to enter into a negotiation with his Britannic majesty shall be known to him.

The undersigned eagerly seizes this occasion of renewing to his excellency the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

(Signed) MINTO.

Vienna, Aug. 9, 1800.

General Kleber, Commander-in-chief of the French Army in Egypt, to his Excellency the Kaimakan of the Sublime Porte, illustrious amongst the great, the enlightened, and the wise, may God grant to him a long Life, full of Glory and of Happiness. Health and Friendship.

Your excellency has, without doubt, been informed of the progress and result of the negotiations which I had concluded with his highness the supreme vizier Yousséf Pacha; and according to the assurances to that effect which I have received from persons of distinction of

of your nation, I have reason to think that the treaty of El Arifsch has obtained the approbation of his majesty the emperor, Selim the Second.

Several articles of this treaty had already been executed, and the French army in particular was faithfully fulfilling its engagements.

I was upon the point of evacuating Cairo, when I received from lord Keith, commander-in-chief of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, a letter, which excited the surprise and, above all, the indignation of all the French. I herewith annex a copy of it. This paper, which evinces the most perfect ignorance of my situation, and the neglect of every thing due to allies, rendered illusory not only the convention of El Arifsch, but also of every kind of treaty which I might thenceforward conclude with the Sublime Porte. With regard to the injurious conditions contained in that letter, your excellency will readily perceive that the French army in Egypt can never be reduced to subscribe to them.

I had communicated these observations to the grand vizier, and I proposed to him to postpone the evacuation of Cairo until this unexpected difficulty should be removed. I could not demand a more moderate pledge of the execution of our conventions; his excellency refused to consent to this proposal, and chose rather to expose to the fate of a battle the possession of a country which was absolutely assured to him. This battle took place on the 29th of Ventose, and heaven, protecting the justice of my cause, conferred victory on me. Nevertheless, the sincere desire which I have always had to re-establish the ties of friendship and of interest, which during so many centuries

have united the two nations, is not altered by that event. The Sublime Porte will still find me disposed to deliver up to him the possession of Egypt upon the conditions stipulated at El Arifsch, with the exception of some modifications, which the existing circumstances have rendered necessary. Thus all motive for a fresh effusion of blood would be obviated, and a regular negotiation (the effect of which would no longer be prevented by unforeseen orders) would restore to the Ottoman empire those provinces of which it would be in vain to attempt to deprive us by force of arms. If your excellency shares these sentiments of peace and concord, you will communicate them to his majesty the emperor Selim the Second, and without doubt you will obtain orders to resume, without delay, those conferences which would conduct us to the object which we are equally desirous of attaining. I beg your excellency to believe in the high consideration I entertain for you.

(L.S.) Signed, KLEBER.
Cairo, the 20th Germinal, year 8th of the French republic, 10th of April, 1800, which answers to the 14th of the month of the moon Zyskade in the year of the Ægira, 1214.

At the Camp at Jaffa, April 15, 1800.
Baudot, first Aid-de-camp to general Kleber, Commander-in-chief of the French Army in Egypt, to the first Interpreter of the Sublime Porte.

PRINCE,

In all my conversations with you, I have continually repeated to you, that the firm and clearly expressed intention of general Kleber has always been scrupulously to execute the treaty of El Arifsch. I add, with confidence, from my knowledge

ledge of the loyal and open character of that general, and the general wish which he has to give to the supreme vizier the most positive proofs of his good faith, that, whatever may be the fortune of war, the French army shall evacuate

Egypt immediately after the arrival of the necessary passports from the English government, and of the number of vessels stipulated for the transport of the troops.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) BAUDOT.

P U B L I C A C T S,

Passed in the Fourth Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

October 12, 1799.

LAND and malt bills.

Act for raising a certain sum by loan or exchequer bills for 1800.

To amend the income act.

To reduce the duties on spirits distilled from sugar, and prohibiting the distillation of spirits from wheat.

To allow the warehousing of British plantation sugars, and certain drawbacks on sugars exported.

To extend the terms of the land-tax redemption act.

To prohibit the making of low wines or spirits from wheat, barley, malt, &c. in Scotland.

To continue the act for preventing and punishing attempts to seduce persons serving in his majesty's forces: also the act to empower his majesty to accept the services of militia regiments offering to serve in Ireland: and the acts relative to the admission of merchandize in neutral ships; the regulation of the trade of the Cape of Good Hope; the establishment of courts in Newfoundland; the importation of goods in neutral ships; the importation and exportation of corn; and the importation of other articles of provision, without payment of duty.

To empower his majesty to shorten the time for the meeting of parliament in cases of adjournment.

Feb. 20, 1800.

An act to continue the act em-

powering his majesty to accept the services of militia regiments offering to serve in Ireland.

For continuing the act for preventing seduction of his majesty's forces.

For continuing the act respecting the courts of judicature in Newfoundland, the merchandize of neutral ships, the trade to the Cape of Good Hope, and the importation of goods in neutral ships into this kingdom.

The indemnity qualification act.

An act to prohibit the selling of bread which shall not have been baked a certain time.

Feb. 28.

An act to continue the act empowering his majesty to secure and detain persons suspected of conspiring against his person and government.

To continue the act prohibiting the distillation from grain in Scotland.

March 10.

An act for raising the sum of 20,500,000*l.* by way of annuities.

For granting to his majesty additional duties of excise on tea and spirits.

For the regulation of the marine forces while on shore.

March 25.

For granting a sum for the reduction of the national debt.

For punishing mutiny and desertion.

To prohibit the use of wheat in making starch.

April 4.

To extend the time for the redemption of the land tax.

For granting bounties on the importation of grain.

April 24.

Act for appointing commissioners of the land-tax, &c.

For indemnifying the volunteer corps from the hair-powder tax,

May 1.

For the issue of exchequer bills.

For granting a bounty on the importation of oats.

To enable courts of equity to compel a transfer of stock in suits, without making the governor and company of the bank, &c. party thereto.

To permit the importation of goods from America in neutral ships.

May 16.

For repealing the act respecting the warehousing of salt-petre.

For defraying the pay and cloathing of the militia.

To enlarge the powers of the directors and guardians of the poor.

To increase the rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers and others on quartering soldiers.

For explaining and amending several acts of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, respecting ecclesiastical leases.

For the better observance of Good Friday.

May 30.

For repealing the duties on sugar and coffee exported, and regulating the average and drawback.

For establishing new rates and fares of hackney coaches.

An act to confirm the agreement granting an annuity to the duke of Richmond, in lieu of the duty on coals.

For granting an allowance to

disembodied non-commissioned officers of militia.

To perpetuate the act securing duties upon glass, and to continue several laws relating to British and Irish linens exported, linen, yarns, sail-cloth, &c. fees of the customs, &c. in America; encouragement to the fisheries of Newfoundland, Greenland, &c.

For recovery of small debts.

June 20.

Lottery act,

For amending of the income act.

For granting a bounty on the importation of rye.

For regulation of blubber, duties on opium, turpentine, &c.

For the regulation of public accountants.

To amend the act respecting the salaries of the judges.

To extend the provisions of the vagrant act.

June 30.

To remove doubts with respect to the East-India warehousing act.

To allow the use of sugar in brewing of beer.

To revive the act respecting the distillery from molasses or sugar.

Corn importation act continued.

For permitting the importation of lint-seed and rape cakes in neutral ships.

To continue several acts relating to the admission of certain articles in neutral ships.

To repeal part of an act prohibiting the use of horse hides in making of boots and shoes.

For repealing part of the duties and drawbacks on the importation of kid skins.

Act for lessening the duties on wine and spirits the produce of the Cape of Good Hope, and for landing and warehousing the same.

July 2.

Act for the union of Great Britain and Ireland.

July 9.

For new duties and regulations of the Scotch distilleries.

To amend several laws respecting the duties on vellum, paper, and parchment.

For extending the appointment of the commissioners of the land tax.

For repealing the duties on perfumery.

To exempt from duty waste paper imported for the purpose of being re-manufactured.

To make allowances to subaltern officers of the militia in time of peace.

To indemnify the governors, &c. of the West-India islands for permitting the importation and exportation of goods in foreign bottoms.

For the security of collieries and mines.

To authorise bakers to sell to his majesty's forces bread which shall not have been baked twenty-four hours.

To amend several acts regulating the price and assize of bread.

For the recovery of small debts, and to extend the power of the Court of Requests in London.

July 28.

For raising the sum of 3,500,000*l.* by loan or exchequer bills.

Another for raising 3,000,000*l.*

Another for the same sum.

Act concerning the personal property of their majesties.

For new duties on foreign hops imported.

To explain and amend the income act.

For permitting the importation of French wines from Guernsey, Jersey, and Alderney.

For preventing the embezzlement of ordnance stores.

For regulating the duties on hops.

To prohibit the exportation of rice.

For regulating trials for high treason.

For the safe custody of insane persons charged with offences.

For regulating the government of the British territories in India.

For restraining all trusts and directions in deeds or wills, whereby the profits of estates shall be accumulated.

For the encouragement of the British fisheries.

For preventing depredations on the river Thames.

For indemnifying persons printing for public boards with appending the printer's name.

For regulating the indentures of parish children.

For regulating the business of pawnbrokers.

July 29.

For a grant to his majesty.

For the importation of Swedish herrings.

For regulating the provisions respecting the combinations of workmen.

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES
AND
CHARACTERS.

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1895

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

PORTRAIT of CATHARINE II. EMPRESS of RUSSIA, with her
CHARACTER, LITERARY WORKS, and MONUMENTS of her REIGN.

[From SECRET MEMOIRS of the COURT of PETERSBURG, &c. translated
from the French.]

“**T**HOUGH seventy years of age, Catharine still retained some remains of beauty. Her hair was always dressed in an antique simplicity, and in a peculiar taste, and never did a crown sit better on any head than hers. She was of the middle stature, and corpulent; few women, however, with her corpulence, would have attained the graceful and dignified carriage for which she was conspicuous. In her private life, the good humour and confidence with which she inspired all about her seemed to keep her in perpetual youth, playfulness, and gaiety. Her engaging conversation and familiar manners placed all those who had constant access to her, or assisted at her toilette, perfectly at their ease; but the moment she had put on her gloves to make her appearance in the neighbouring apartments, she assumed a sedate demeanour and a very different countenance. From an agreeable and facetious woman, she appeared all at once the reserved and majestic empress. Whoever had seen her then for the first time would have found her not below the idea he had previously formed, and would have said, ‘This is indeed the Semiramis of the north!’ The maxim, *Præsentia minuit famam*, could no more be applied to her than to the great Frederic. I saw her once or twice a week for ten years, and every time with renewed admiration. My eagerness to examine her person caused me successively to neglect prostrating myself before her with the crowd; but the homage I paid by gazing at her was surely more flattering. She walked slowly, and with short steps; her majestic front lofty and serene, her look tranquil, and frequently cast downwards. Her mode of saluting was by a slight inclination of the

body,

body, not without grace, but with a smile at command, that came and vanished with the bow. If, upon the introduction of a stranger, she presented her hand to him to kiss, she did it with great courtesy, and commonly addressed a few words to him on the subject of his journey and his visit: but then all the harmony of her countenance was instantly discomposed, and for a moment the great Catharine was forgotten in the sight of the old woman; as, on opening her mouth, it was apparent that she had lost her teeth, and her voice was broken, and her inarticulation bad. The lower part of her face was rather rude and coarse; her grey eyes, though clear and penetrating, evinced something of hypocrisy, and a certain wrinkle at the base of the nose gave her somewhat of a sneering look. The celebrated Lampi had lately painted a striking likeness of her, though extremely flattering: Catharine, however, remarking that he had not entirely omitted that unfortunate wrinkle which characterised her physiognomy, was greatly dissatisfied at it, and said that Lampi had made her too serious and too roguish. He was accordingly obliged to retouch and spoil the picture, which appeared now like the portrait of a young nymph; though the throne, the sceptre, the crown, and some other attributes, sufficiently indicate that it is the picture of an empress. In other respects, the performance well deserves the attention of the amateur, as also does a portrait of the present empress by the same hand.

“As to the character of Catharine, in my opinion, it can only be estimated from her actions. Her reign, for herself and her court, had been brilliant and happy; but the

last years of it were particularly disastrous for the people and the empire. All the springs of government became debilitated and impaired. Every general, governor, chief of department, was become a petty despot. Rank, justice, impunity, were sold to the highest bidder. An oligarchy of about a score of knaves partitioned Russia, pillaged, by themselves or others, the finances, and contended for the spoils of the unfortunate. Their lowest valets, and even their slaves, obtained in a short time offices of considerable importance and emolument. One had a salary of from three to four hundred rubles a year (30 or 40*l.*), which could not possibly be increased by any honest dealing, yet was he sufficiently rich to build round the palace houses valued at fifty thousand crowns (12,500*l.*) Catharine, so far from inquiring into the impure source of such sudden wealth, rejoiced to see her capital thus embellished under her eyes, and applauded the inordinate luxury of these rascals, which she erroneously considered as a proof of the prosperity of her reign. In the worst days of France, pillage was never so general, and never so easy. Whoever received a sum of money from the crown for any undertaking, had the impudence to retain half, and afterwards complained of its insufficiency, for the purpose of obtaining more; and either an additional sum was granted, or the enterprise abandoned. The great plunderers even divided the booty of the little ones, and thus became accomplices in their thefts. A minister knew almost to a ruble what his signature would procure to his secretary; and a colonel felt no embarrassment in talking with a general of the profits of the

the army, and the extortions he made upon the soldiers *. Every one, from the peculiar favourite to the lowest in employ, considered the property of the state as an harvest to be reaped, and grasped at it with as much avidity as the populace at an ox given up to be devoured. The Orlofs, as well as Potemkin and Panin, filled their places with some dignity. The first displayed talents, and an inordinate ambition: Panin had besides a considerable share of knowledge, patriotism, and many virtues. In general, during the last years of Catharine, none were so little as the great. Without knowledge, without penetration, without pride, without probity, they could not even boast of that false honour which is to loyalty what hypocrisy is to virtue: unfeeling as bashaws, rapacious as tax-gatherers, pilfering as lacqueys, and vain as the meanest abigails of a play, they might truly be called the rabble of the empire. Their creatures, their hirelings, their valets, and even their relations, did not accumulate wealth by the gifts of their bounty, but by the extortions committed in their name, and the traffic made of their authority: they also were robbed themselves, as they robbed the crown. The meanest services rendered to these men were paid by the state; and the wages of their buffoons, servants, musicians, private secre-

taries, and even tutors of their children defrayed out of some public fund, of which they had the management. Some few among them sought out men of talents, and appeared to esteem merit: but neither talents nor merit acquired a fortune under their protection, or partook of their wealth; partly from the avarice of those patrons, but still more from their total want of beneficence. The only way of gaining their favour was by becoming their buffoon, and the only method of profiting by it was by turning knave.

“ Thus, during this reign, almost all the people in office and authority were lucky adventurers. At the galas given by the empress, swarms of new-created counts and princes made their appearance, and that at a time when in France all titles were about to be abolished. If we except the Soltikofs, we shall find at this period no family of distinction in favour. To any other country this would have been no evil; but in Russia, where the rich nobility is the only class that has any education, and, generally speaking, any principles of honour, it was a serious calamity to the empire. Besides, all these upstarts were so many hungry leeches, who must be fed with the best blood of the state, and fattened with the hard earnings of the people. A frequent change of kings is often not burthen some to a state, which continues to be

* The colonel was the despot of his regiment, of which he had the exclusive management, in the whole and in the detail. The Russian army, wherever it may be situated, whether in a subjected territory, the territory of an ally, or that of an enemy, always living at free quarters, the colonels regularly take to themselves nearly the whole of the money destined for its support. By way of indemnification, they turn the horses into the fields, and the men into the houses of the peasants, there to live free of expence. The pay of a colonel is from seven to eight hundred rubles (70*l.* or 80*l.*) only a year; but the profit he derives from a regiment amounts to fifteen or twenty thousand (1500*l.* or 2000*l.*) A minister asking one day some favour of the empress for a poor officer, she replied, ‘ If he be poor, it is his own fault; he has long had a regiment.’ Thus robbery was privileged, and probity ridiculed and despised.”

their heir: but an incessant change of favourites and ministers, who must all fill their coffers and carry off their treasures, is enough to ruin any country except Russia. How many millions must it have cost to fill successively the rapacious maws of about a dozen peculiar favourites? how many, to render rich and noble the Beshborodkos, the Zavadoffskys, the Markofs, and the vast number of others who might be named? Have not the Orlofs, the Potemkins, the Zubofs, acquired revenues greater than those of kings; and their underlings, agents in the sale of their signatures, and managers of their petty traffic, become more wealthy than the most successful merchants?

“With respect to the government of Catharine, it was as mild and moderate, within the immediate circle of her influence, as it was arbitrary and terrible at a distance. Whoever, directly or indirectly, enjoyed the protection of the favourite, exercised, wherever he was situated, the most undisguised tyranny. He insulted his superiors, trampled on his inferiors, and violated justice, order, and the *ukases*, with impunity.

“It is to the policy first, and next to the weakness of Catharine, to which in part must be attributed the relaxed and disorganized state of her internal government; though the principal cause will be found in the depraved manners and character of the nation, and especially of her court. How was a woman to effect that which the active discipline of the cane, and the sanguinary axe of Peter I. were inadequate to accomplish? Having usurped a throne, which she was desirous to retain, she was under the necessity of treating her accomplices with kindness. Being a foreigner in the

empire over which she reigned, she strove to identify herself with the nation, by adopting and even flattering its tastes and its prejudices. She often knew how to reward, but never could resolve to punish; and it was solely by suffering her power to be abused that she succeeded in preserving it.

“She had two passions, which never left her but with her last breath: the love of the other sex, which degenerated into licentiousness; and the love of glory, which sunk into vanity. By the former of these passions, she was never so far governed as to become a Messalina, but she often disgraced both her rank and her sex, and continued to be by habit what she had been from constitution: by the second, she was led to undertake many laudable projects, which were seldom completed; and to engage in unjust wars, from which she derived at least that kind of fame which never fails to accompany success.

“The generosity of Catharine, the splendor of her reign, the magnificence of her court, her institutions, her monuments, her wars, were precisely to Russia what the age of Louis XIV. was to Europe; but, considered individually, Catharine was greater than that prince. The French formed the glory of Louis, Catharine formed that of the Russians. She had not, like him, the advantage of reigning over a polished people; nor was she surrounded from infancy by great and accomplished characters. She had some subtle ambassadors, not unskilled in the diplomatic art, and some fortunate generals; but Romanzof, Panin, and Potémkin excepted, she could not boast a single man of genius: for the wit, cunning, and dexterity of certain of her

her ministers, the ferocious valour of a Suvarof, the ductile capacity of a Repnin, the favour of a Zubof, the readiness of a Besborodko, and the assiduity of a Nicholas Soltikof, are not worthy of being mentioned as exceptions. It was not that Russia did not produce men of merit; but Catharine feared such men, and they kept at a distance from her. We may conclude, therefore, that all her measures were her own, and particularly all the good she did.

“Let not the misfortunes and abuses of her reign give to the private character of this princess too dark and repulsive a shade! She appeared to be thoroughly humane and generous, as all who approached her experienced: all who were admitted to her intimacy were delighted with the good-humoured sallies of her wit: all who lived with her were happy. Her manners were gay and licentious, but she still preserved an exterior decorum, and even her favourites always treated her with respect*. Her love never excited disgust, nor her familiarity contempt. She might be deceived, won, seduced, but she would never suffer herself to be governed. Her active and regular life, her moderation, firmness, fortitude, and even her temperance, are moral qualities which it would be highly unjust to ascribe to hypocrisy. How great might she not have been, had her heart been as well governed as her mind! She reigned over the Russians less despotic than over herself; she was never hurried away by anger, never a prey to dejection, and never indulged in transports of immoderate joy. Caprice, ill-humour, and petu-

lance, as they formed no part of her character, were never perceived in her conduct. I will not decide whether she were truly great, but she was certainly beloved.

“Imbued, from her youth, with the corrupt maxims by which courts are infected; enveloped, on her throne, in a cloud of incense, through which it was hardly possible for her to see clearly, it would be too severe to apply at once the searching torch of reason to her character, and try its defects by so strict an inquest. Let us judge her now as we should have done some twenty years ago, and consider that Russia, as to the people, is still in the age of Charlemagne. The friends of liberty ought to render to Catharine the same justice as is rendered by all rational theologians to those great and wise men who did not enjoy the light of revelation. Her crimes were the crimes of her station, not of her heart: the terrible butcheries of Ismail and of Praga appeared to her court to be humanity itself. All she wanted was to have once known misfortune, and she would perhaps have possessed the purest virtues; but she was spoiled by the unvaried prosperity of her arms. Vanity, that fatal rock to women, was so to Catharine; and her reign will ever bear the distinguishing characteristic of her sex.

“Meanwhile, in whatever light she is considered, she will ever be placed in the first rank among those who, by their genius, their talents, and especially their success, have attracted the admiration of mankind. Her sex, giving a bolder relief to the great qualities she displayed on the throne, will place her above all comparison in history;

* The reports circulated in Europe concerning her intemperance in champagne and brandy, and a number of other extravagancies, are down-right calumnies.”

and the fabulous ages of an Isis and a Semiramis must be resorted to, to find a woman who has executed, or rather undertaken, such daring projects.

“Catharine never effectually patronised letters in her country. It was the reign of Elizabeth that had encouraged them; which was distinguished by many productions capable of proving to Europe that the Russians may lay fair claim to every species of excellence. Catharine, indeed, purchased libraries and collections of pictures, pensioned flatterers, flattered such celebrated men as might be instrumental in spreading her fame, and readily sent a medal or a snuff-box to a German author who dedicated some encomiastic work to her: but it must have come from afar to please her, and have already acquired a great name to be entitled to her suffrage, and particularly to obtain any recompence. Genius might be born at her feet without being noticed, and still more without being encouraged; yet, jealous of every kind of fame, and especially of that which Frederic the *unique* had obtained by his writings, she was desirous of becoming an author, that she might share in it. She accordingly wrote her celebrated *Instructions for a Code of Laws*; several moral tales and allegories for the education of her grand-children; and a number of dramatic pieces and proverbs, which were acted and admired at the Hermitage. Her grand and futile undertaking, of collecting a number of words from three hundred different languages, and forming them into a dictionary, was never executed.

“Of all her writings, her letters to Voltaire are certainly the best. They are even more interesting than those of the old philosophical cour-

tier himself, who sold her watches and knitted stockings for her; and who repeats in his letters the same ideas and compliments in a hundred different forms, and excites her continually to drive the Turks out of Europe, instead of advising her to render her own subjects free and happy. If the code of laws drawn up by Catharine bespeak a mind capable of enlarged views and a sound policy, her letters announce the wit, graces, and talents of a woman of still greater merit, and lead us to regret that she was an autocrate and an usurper.

“When she published her *Instructions*, all Europe resounded with her applause, and styled her by anticipation the legislatrix of the north. Catharine convened deputies from the different nations of her vast empire; but it was only that they might hear this celebrated performance read, and that she might receive their compliments: for, as soon as this was done, they were all sent back to their distant homes, some in disgrace for their firmness, others decorated with medals for their servility. The manuscript was deposited in a magnificent casket, to be exhibited to the curiosity of strangers. A sort of committee was appointed to compile these laws; and if a favourite or minister had any dependent for whom he wished to provide, or any buffoon whom he wanted to maintain free of expence, he was appointed a member of this committee, in order to give him a salary. Yet all Europe vociferated that Russia had laws, because Catharine had written a preface to a code, and had reduced a hundred different nations to the same system of bondage.

“Catharine was neither fond of poetry nor of music; and she often confessed it. She could not even endure

endure the noise of the orchestra between the acts of a play, and therefore commonly silenced it. This defect of taste and feeling in a woman, who appeared in other respects so happily constituted, is astonishing, yet may serve to explain how, with so extraordinary a capacity and genius, she could become so impassable and so sanguinary. At her Tauridan palace she constantly dined with the two pictures of the sacking of Otchakof and Ismail before her eyes, in which Cazanowa has represented, with hideous accuracy, the blood flowing in streams, the limbs torn from the bodies and still palpitating, the demoniac fury of the slaughterers, and the convulsive agonies of the slaughtered. It was upon these scenes of horror that her attention and imagination were fixed, while Gasparini and Mandini were displaying their vocal powers, or Sarti was conducting a concert in her presence.

“Previous to the death of Catharine, the monuments of her reign resembled already so many wrecks and dilapidations: codes, colonies, education, establishments, manufactories, edifices, hospitals, canals, towns, fortresses, every thing had been begun, and every thing given up before it was finished. As soon as a project entered her head, all preceding ones gave place, and her thoughts were fixed on that alone, till a new idea arose to draw off her attention. She abandoned her code, to drive the Turks out of Europe. After the glorious peace of Kainardgi, she appeared for a while to attend to the interior administration of her affairs; but all was presently forgotten, that she might be queen

of Tauris. Her next project was the re-establishment of the throne of Constantine; to which succeeded that of humbling and punishing the king of Sweden. Afterwards the invasion of Poland became her ruling passion; and then a second Pugatshief might have arrived at the gates of Petersburg without forcing her to relinquish her hold. She died, again meditating the destruction of Sweden, the ruin of Prussia, and mortified at the successes of France and republicanism. Thus was she incessantly led away by some new passion still stronger in its influence than the preceding, so as to neglect her government both in its whole and its parts.

“Medals are in being that were struck in honour of numerous edifices that have never yet been built; and, among others, the marble church, which, undertaken some twenty years ago, is still on the stocks*. The shells of other edifices, which have never been completed, are falling into ruins; and Petersburg is encumbered with the rubbish of a variety of large mansions fallen to decay before they have been inhabited. The projectors and architects pocketed the money; and Catharine, having the plan or medal in her cabinet, concluded the undertaking to be finished, and thought of it no more.

The Petersburg almanac gives a list of upwards of two hundred and forty towns founded by Catharine;—a number inferior, perhaps, to what have been destroyed by her armies; but these towns are merely so many paltry hamlets, that have changed their name and quality by an *immennoi ukase* †, the supreme

“* The emperor Paul has since caused it to be finished of brick.”

“† An edict under the sign manual.”

order of her imperial majesty; somewhat like that by which Paul has since ordered a yacht to be promoted to the rank of a frigate*. Several of these towns are even nothing more than flakes driven into the ground, containing their name, and delineating their scite; yet, without waiting till they shall be finished, and particularly till they shall be peopled, they figure in the map as if they were the capitals of so many provinces†.

“ Prince Potemkin did actually build some towns, and construct some ports in the Krimea: which are very fine cages, but contain no birds; and such as might be allured thither would shortly mope and pine to death, if they had not the power of flying away. The Rus-

sian government is subjugating and oppressive; the Russian character, warlike and desolating. Taurida, since it was conquered, has become a desert‡.

“ This mania of Catharine, of planning every thing and completing nothing, drew from Joseph II. a very shrewd and satirical remark. During his travels in Taurida, he was invited by her to place the second stone of the town of Ekaterinoslaf, of which she had herself, with great parade, laid the first. On his return, he said, ‘ I have finished in a single day a very important business with the empress of Russia: she has laid the first stone of a city, and I have laid the last.’ ”

“ * This is a well-known fact.”

“ † Catharine built, at an enormous expence, near Tzarkóselo, the town of Sophia, the circumference of which is immense; but the houses are already tumbling down, and have never been inhabited. If such be the lot of a town immediately under her eyes, what must be the fate of those cities founded by her in remote deserts? But the most ridiculous town in being is unquestionably that of Gatchina, of which Paul has the honour to be founder. These personages look upon mankind as storks, who are caught by placing a wheel on the top of a house, or on a steeple. But all these forced erections, from the superb Potsdam to the contemptible Gatchina, prove that the real founders of cities are cultivation, commerce, and freedom; despots are only the destroyers of them: they know nothing of building and peopling any thing except prisons and barracks.”

“ ‡ A friend of mine, a man of learning, was travelling in Taurida under the protection of government, for the purpose of investigating the country. One day coming to the habitation of a Tartar, who led a patriarchal life, and treated him with becoming hospitality, my friend, perceiving that his host was dejected, asked him the cause of his sadness: ‘ Alas! I have great reason,’ said he. ‘ May I not be permitted to know it?’—‘ The Russian soldiers, who are in the neighbourhood, come every day and cut down my fruit-trees, that serve me both for shade and nourishment, to burn them; shortly my bald head will be exposed to the parching heat of the sun.’—‘ Why do you not complain of this treatment to their commander?’—‘ I have done so.’—‘ Well!’—‘ He told me that I should be paid two rubles a foot for such as they had already cut down, and the same for as many as they may cut down hereafter. But I am not in want of their money. Only let me die in peace under the shadow of the trees which my fathers have planted! or I must follow my unhappy brethren, and flee my country, as they have been forced to do.’ As he spoke the tears trickled down the beard of this venerable patriarch.”

VIEW of the CHARACTER and CONDUCT of LOUIS XVI. KING of FRANCE, subsequent to the REVOLUTION, A.D. 1789.

FROM TWO HISTORIC DISSERTATIONS, &c. by WILLIAM BELSHAM.]

THE sincerity of the late king of France, and the reality of his attachment to the constitution, established A.D. 1791, have been frequent and serious topics of discussion in this country; and there are many persons so immoderately indulgent, or so imperfectly informed, as to imagine that this unfortunate monarch was chargeable with no violation of good faith and integrity during the last eventful years of his life. But if it appear on a dispassionate and impartial investigation of facts, that the dissimulation of the king was uniform and systematic, from the period of his assembling the Estates General to the day of his dethronement, the French nation will be rescued from a part, at least, of that intolerable load of reproach, under which, from a variety of causes, but chiefly from the practical abandonment of their speculative principles, they at present unavoidably suffer. Truth is sacred, and we have no right to be unjust, even to those who are charged or chargeable with acts of the most atrocious injustice to others. There is surely no necessity to heighten the deep and *sombre* tints of the picture.

“ Although every art and every effort had been tried on the part of the court to prevent the meeting of the Estates General, the king of France, in his opening speech (May 5, 1789) assumed the merit of convening that assembly from the purest motives of patriotism and good-will; and he congratulated them ‘on the arrival of the day which he had long panted to

‘see.’ But M. Bertrand de Moleville, who filled for some months, during the years 1791 and 1792, the office of minister of marine, and was known to be in the highest confidence of the king, speaks in his Memoirs a language widely different. ‘Because,’ says he, ‘the States General produced the most execrable revolution that ever existed, is it Louis we ought to accuse? No one is ignorant that it was not in his power to refuse assembling the States General. He was forced to it, not only by the universal cry of the kingdom, but by the deplorable imprudence of the parliaments in declaring, that they did not represent the nation, and that they would no longer usurp a right which conscience and honour compelled them to relinquish.’ The rash and violent proceedings of the archbishop of Toulouse had been attended with consequences which struck the court with consternation; and in adopting the conciliatory line of conduct recommended by M. Necker, the monarch was influenced by no other motive than fear. But his understanding was too circumscribed to allow him long to follow any consistent and uniform system of action. After the actual convention of the Estates, he evidently wavered between opposite counsels. “ The famous Royal Declaration of the 23d June (1789) was originally drawn by M. Necker; but alterations so material were subsequently engrafted upon it by the secret advisers of the crown, that he no longer acknowledged it as his;

his; refusing even to attend the king on this occasion to the assembly. I. The declaration, in its original state, did not pretend to annul the resolution by which the *Tiers Etat* announced itself to be the National Assembly, but on the contrary it authorised the assembly during the present session to vote individually. II. The plan of M. Necker contained an article which declared that the citizens of every class should be admitted equally to all offices, without any other distinction than that of abilities and virtues; a concession which at once overthrew all the ancient and odious aristocratic privileges. III. By an article of M. Necker's plan, the assembly, voting individually, was empowered to regulate the organization of all future assemblies of the Estates General; the spirit of the declaration therefore in its original state was entirely in favour of the *Tiers Etat*, who would have been highly gratified at this critical moment by such gracious and open manifestations of the royal countenance and protection. And the specific propositions of the king, consisting of thirty-five articles, as they came from the hands of M. Necker, might easily have been modified and reduced to a regular system. But the haughty and peremptory manner in which the *Tiers Etat* were recommended to rescind the decisive step they had just taken totally counteracted every good effect the declaration was otherwise calculated to produce.

"The king even ventured to throw out an indirect menace of dissolving the Assembly in case of disobedience. 'Vous venez, Messieurs,' said he, 'd'entendre le résultat de mes dispositions, et de mes vues. Elles sont conformes au vif desir que j'ai d'operer le

' bien public ; et si par une fatalité
' loin de ma pensée vous m'aban-
' donniez dans une si belle enter-
' prize, *Seul* je ferai le bien ce mes
' peuples : *Seul*, je me considèrai
' comme leur véritable représen-
' tant ; et connoissant vos cahiers,
' connoissant l'accord parfait qui
' existe entre le vœu le plus général
' de la nation, et mes intentions
' bienfaisantes, j'aurai toute la con-
' fiance qui doit inspirer une si rare
' harmonie, et je marcherai vers le
' but auquel, je veux attendre avec
' tout le courage, et la fermeté,
' qu'il doit m'inspirer.'

"Such language as this was calculated to produce the highest degree of irritation, and the authority of the crown at this period was utterly unequal to the execution of these lofty ideas. Arrogant and boastful words, unaccompanied by the reality of power, will inevitably excite at the same time resentment and contempt. M. Necker was certainly by no means a man of first-rate talents; but it is no more than justice to say, that the failure of his projects arose not from any inherent absurdity in their nature, but from the secret and powerful opposition made to them by persons possessing the substance of that confidence of which he had only the name and the shadow. But when he found himself unable to carry those measures, of which he discerned the wisdom and the rectitude, into effect, he ought doubtless instantly to have resigned his office. To remain for a moment in a place, lending his sanction to measures which he was no longer allowed to guide, must ever be regarded as demonstrative evidence of a mind devoid of that resolution and energy which his situation demanded.

"The character of that unfortunate

inate but well-intentioned minister is thus drawn by M. Bertrand de Moleville, with a pen dipped in gall. 'I knew him well enough to be firmly persuaded that he never designed the ill he has done, or that he had the least notion that his measures would produce it. I only blame his vanity, and his extravagant presumption. He so completely in his conscience believed himself to be the ablest minister that ever existed, that he would have been mortified to have only been compared with Sully and Colbert. He did not hesitate to believe, that he combined in a superior degree all the great qualities of the greatest ministers, without any of their faults. Posterity will see in him a man, selfish, ambitious, and vain: foolishly intoxicated with the merit which he fancied himself to possess, and jealous of that of others; desirous of excess of honour and of power; virtuous in words, and through ostentation, more than in reality. In a word, he was a presumptuous empiric in politics and morals.' The colleague of M. Necker, M. de Montmorin, is declared by M. Bertrand, to have been neither constitutionalist, nor democrat, but a real royalist.—'I must,' says he, 'at the same time acknowledge, that the extreme weakness of his character prevented him from being useful to his majesty in circumstances that required much energy.' This is equivalent to an assertion, unfortunately too well supported by collateral and independent evidence of the political hypocrisy of M. de Montmorin, during the whole term of his administration, even when he seemed most friendly to the establishment of a free constitution.

"Louis XVI. of whom M. Ber-

trand speaks in terms of high-flown panegyric, appears, nevertheless, throughout these memoirs, in a light by no means advantageous. Weak, distrustful, superstitious, inconstant, strongly affected by minute circumstances incessantly, and idly busy in the pursuit of petty, and at the same time often pernicious, objects. Mild, humane, and indulgent by nature, but jealous to the last degree of any diminution of power; and when occasionally forced to concessions, artfully and ostentatiously representing them as the effect of his own royal and spontaneous beneficence; perpetually hearkening to, and in part following, the counsels of some rash and desperate men, falsely calling themselves 'the king's friends,' whom, in defiance of the public opinion, and of the common dictates of prudence, he retained near his person, and of whom M. Bertrand was the chief.

"On the capture of the Bastille, on the memorable 14th July, 1789, the king professed, and, most unfortunately for himself, only professed, to change the whole course of his policy. 'When the baron de Breteuil,' says M. Bertrand, 'left Versailles at the period of M. Necker's recall, he was invested with the power of treating with foreign courts, and of proposing any measure in the king's name which, in his opinion, tended to promote the re-establishment of the royal authority.'

"For two years this nobleman appears to have possessed the highest place in the royal confidence; and during this period political intrigues were incessantly carried on by the French court, and a clandestine and dangerous correspondence maintained with that of Vienna. This was well known by those

those who were the most interested in counteracting them. The plainest truths were spoken in the plainest language; but to those who had ears, and would hear not, spoken, alas! in vain.

“ While the insidious project for the visit to St. Cloud was in contemplation, the following spirited expostulatory address to the king appeared in the periodical publication styled *L'Orateur du Peuple*. ‘ Louis XVI. aujourd’hui encore roi des Français arrête ! ‘ Ou cours-tu monarque, abusé par ‘ des conseils perfides ? As-tu bien ‘ pesé les suites de ce départ, l’ouvrage de ta femme ? Le peuple ‘ ignore-t-il que de St. Cloud tu te ‘ disposes à partir pour Compeigne, ‘ et de-là pour la frontière ? Ne savons-nous pas que la bouche des ‘ rois fut toujours l’autre du mensonge ? Une furie te pousse dans ‘ le précipice ! Eh bien, si tu pars, ‘ nous ne voyons plus en toi que ‘ Tarquin chassé de Rome.’ ”

“ Had the king of France been a man capable of philosophic reflection, the axiom of the Roman historian might probably have occurred with sufficient force to have restrained his subsequent acts of delirium. ‘ *Regum majestatem difficilius ab summo fastigio, ad medium detrahi, quam a mediis ad ima præcipitari.*’ ”

“ The most direct and decisive evidence of the deceitful conduct of the king is, however, furnished by M. Bertrand himself, who acknowledges, that, in May 1791, M. le Comte Alphonse D’Urfort was dispatched on a secret commission from their Most Christian majesties to the emperor, then at Mantua: and in a short time he returned with a declaration, signed by his Imperial majesty, containing the outlines of a plan for effecting

a counter-revolution, concerted between the courts of Vienna, Madrid, Turin, and Naples; conformably to which, France was to be invaded by the combined forces of these confederate powers, amounting to 100,000 men, at the end of July; and their Most Christian majesties are earnestly exhorted ‘ to employ every possible means ‘ to increase their popularity, in ‘ order to take advantage of it, ‘ when the time should come; and ‘ so that the people, alarmed at the ‘ approach of the foreign armies, ‘ should find their safety only in ‘ the king’s mediation, and their ‘ submission to his majesty’s authority. His Imperial majesty intreats their Most Christian majesties to drop every idea of procuring their liberty; and adds, that their surest dependence is on the movement of the armies of the allied powers, preceded by menacing manifestoes.’ ”

“ Unfortunately the king and queen, deaf to every suggestion of policy and prudence, from whatever quarter originating, adopted measures equally fatal to themselves and to the kingdom.

“ By the advice of the baron de Breteuil, an attempt was made by their majesties, notwithstanding the dissuaves of the emperor, to effect their escape to Montmedi; a project no less absurd in the design, than unsuccessful in the execution, and mischievous in the consequences. Sensible, by dear-bought experience, of the false step he had taken, the king withdrew his confidence from the baron, but unhappily without transferring his favour to those who were more deserving of it. From this fatal æra the republican party became every day more daring and formidable. The king having declared, in the
paper

paper which he left behind him, all his oaths and promises null and void, it was not possible, in the nature of things, that confidence, untainted by suspicion, should ever again be restored. Sentiments of loyalty and generosity, however, upon the whole prevailed; the apology of the king was received by the assembly with indulgence, and even complacency; and in a short time powers were vested in the hands of the monarch infinitely dangerous both to himself and to the nation.

“ The administration which presided over the affairs of France, from the period of the king's acceptance of the constitution in the autumn of 1791, to March 1792, was composed of persons presumed, *with one exception*, to be well affected to the constitution, but apparently devoid of the zeal and vigour necessary to counteract the designs of the court. During this term, M. de Montmorin, and afterwards M. de Lessart, were at the head of the foreign department, and M. Cayer de Gerville, of the interior; M. de Narbonne was minister of war, and M. Bertrand de Moleville of marine; M. Tarbé, of finance, and M. Dupont du Tertre, of justice. But of these ministers M. Bertrand, an open and determined enemy of the constitution, enjoyed incomparably the most credit with the king. A representation from the assembly against him was treated with contempt; while M. Narbonne, who had refused any longer to sit in council with M. Bertrand, was dismissed with disgrace. Both M. de Montmorin and M. de Lessart were, according to the representation of M. Bertrand, concealed royalists, and absolutely hostile to the new order of things. The

other three ministers were men of probity and constitutional principles, who harboured with extreme reluctance any suspicions of the king. M. Gerville in particular was convinced, upon very false ground as it now appears, of the rectitude of the king's intentions; but the queen he regarded, M. Bertrand tells us, ‘ as a haughty, perfidious, and wicked woman, who ‘ thought of nothing but re-establishing despotism; and his idea ‘ of her majesty was such, that ‘ when the ministerial committee ‘ was held in the palace, he never ‘ would speak with freedom, from a ‘ notion that the queen, or some of ‘ her spies, listened at the door, or ‘ behind the wainscot.’

“ But even those who were willing and desirous to believe that the king did not entertain any fixed or regularly-formed design of subverting the constitution, could not but acknowledge that he obstinately withheld his support and confidence from those who were most zealously attached to it. Instead of cultivating a good understanding with the assembly, by an open and steady course of action, he had recourse to the vile arts of corruption and bribery, to lessen the weight of the opposition against the court; and vast sums were expended to no other purpose, than to make the government contemptible and odious. ‘ During the first ‘ assembly,’ said the king to M. Bertrand, ‘ the attempt to gain ‘ the Tribunes cost the civil list ‘ more than three millions; and the ‘ Tribunes were constantly against ‘ me notwithstanding.’

“ In the spring of the year 1792, the public discontents ran so high, that the king was *compelled* to make an entire change of administration, and to replace his former ministers with

with another set of men, upon whose zeal, vigour, and ability, the nation relied with perfect security. The new, or jacobin ministry, as it was invidiously and most improperly styled, consisted of M. Dumourier for the foreign, and M. Roland for the interior department; M. Servan, minister of war, and M. de la Costé, of marine; M. Clavieres, of finance, and M. Duranton, garde des sceaux, or minister of justice—men whose counsels might, if the infatuation of the monarch had permitted, still have availed to save the king and country from ruin.

“In the month of April the fatal war, which has for so many years desolated Europe, commenced after an atrocious series of provocations on the part of Austria, and a long and unexampled forbearance on that of France; so that upon which of the two nations the heavy charge of aggression rested was abundantly manifest to every impartial and dispassionate person.

“When the combined armies were on the point of invading France, M. Bertrand, as he himself informs us, counselled the king to send off M. Mallet du Pan with secret dispatches for the baron de Breteuil, and directions how to act. This the king, with marks of emotion, refused, saying, ‘It was he that prompted us to take that accursed journey to Varennes.’ In the stead of M. Breteuil, therefore, the letters were addressed to the Marechal de Castries, advising that the entrance of the Austrians and Prussians into France should be preceded by a manifesto, in which they should declare, ‘that forced to take arms against an unjust attack, they did not impute that aggression either to the king, or to the French nation, but to a cri-

‘minal faction which oppressed both. Consequently, far from departing from the sentiments of amity which united them to France, that their intention, on the contrary, was to deliver that nation from tyranny, and to restore it to legal order and tranquillity. That their majesties, the emperor and king, took all peaceable and faithful subjects under their protection; that they considered as their enemies those only who were the enemies of France, namely, the faction of the Jacobins and all its adherents.’

This advice, as appears by referring to the proclamation of the duke of Brunswick, was strictly conformed to; and from M. Bertrand we learn, that the king of France entertained the firmest assurance of the success of the duke of Brunswick’s expedition, though his personal situation filled him with alarming apprehensions.

“But exclusive of the irrefragable evidence recently produced, in consequence of the publications of Dumourier, De Bouillé, Bertrand de Moleville, madame Roland, &c. the treachery of the king might, at the period when the Austrian and Prussian armies entered France, be without hesitation inferred from the general tenor of his conduct, since the period of his acceptance of the constitution; from his systematic abuse of the Veto; from the defenceless state of the kingdom, and more especially of the principal fortresses on the German frontier; from the recal of Marechal Luckner, and the mysterious military movements of M. Fayette, now in close and intimate union with the court. M. Dumourier himself informs us, that he learned on his arrival at Douay, July 1792, that Marechal Luckner, after hav-

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ing held a council of war, though there was no enemy to oppose him, had evacuated Courtray and Menin, and was returning to the camp of Valenciennes. 'This shameful retreat,' says he, 'evidently proceeded from party spirit, in consequence of some great project broached by La Fayette's faction, of which Luckner, beset by his own staff-officers, was at once the instrument and the dupe.'

"It did not escape the observation of the military men in the assembly, that M. Fayette had drawn back his army from Longwy to Sedan, on the approach of the duke of Brunswick's forces; whereas he ought, as they affirmed, to have retired towards Verdun, and, crossing the Meuse, have occupied the camp of Sivry-la-Perche, a very strong position, securing a safe retreat to the Gorge of Clermont; instead of which, by turning aside to Sedan, he left the route open to Paris.

"From the general complexion of M. Fayette's conduct and character, it cannot indeed be supposed, that his views extended further than to support the constitutional monarchy, in opposition to the rising spirit of jacobinism and republicanism; and so egregiously was he imposed upon by the artifices of the court, as to entertain the extravagant belief, that the invaders of France were actuated by the same moderate and patriotic motives. But subsequent events have no doubt fully convinced that respectable but mistaken man, that if the dark designs, at this time in agitation, had ultimately proved successful, he would have fallen the first victim of his own credulity and folly.

"For a short time after the appointment of the patriotic ministers, 1800.

Roland, Clavieres, and Servan, as madame Roland informs us, they were almost persuaded of the sincerity of the monarch, who appeared so anxious to inspire them with confidence, that Roland declared, 'if the king was not an honest man, he was the most arrant cheat in the kingdom;' adding, 'Diffimulation can hardly go so far.' But they were soon convinced that they were in a fatal error. At times, indeed, they thought that the king appeared impressed with the force of their reasonings: but at the subsequent meeting of council he was hardened into resistance, and the same round of argument was urged with ceaseless and unavailing solicitude. Servan had the boldness to declare to the king, 'that his weakness was criminal, and would never be a shield against the indignation of the people.' No register of the transactions and deliberations of the council was permitted by the king, nor any secretary allowed, although expressly enjoined by the constitution, and repeatedly insisted upon by the ministers. 'Want of ability,' says madame Roland, 'had disabled him from preventing the establishment of the new government; but honesty alone would have been sufficient to have saved him, if he had been sincere in executing when he had accepted the constitution. Unhappily for himself, with one hand to support what he was overthrowing with the other, was his crooked policy; and this perfidious conduct first excited mistrust, and finished by kindling general indignation.'

"After the dismissal of this honest, wise, and popular administration, the monarch appears to have been guided by no fixed principle of action. The resolution suddenly

suddenly taken to discard the late ministers, proceeded not from any concerted plan of policy, but from the mere impulse of pride and passion. He could not endure the language of sincerity and truth. Even yet he was the arbiter of his own fate. M. Bertrand himself admits, that at this period the faction of the Gironde, though undoubtedly republican in speculation, harboured no design of subverting the constitution; and a letter was at this critical and decisive moment transmitted to the king, signed by Vergniaud, Guadet, and Genonville, three chiefs of the party, stating the terrible consequences likely to ensue; and pledging themselves for the security of the public peace, in the event of the restoration of the Gironde administration. To this letter the king, bent on his own ruin, disdained to reply. Equally devoid of energy and of judgment, he waited with impatience for the approaching time, when, by the intervention of a foreign and military force, that new order of things, which he had repeatedly and solemnly sworn to defend, should be completely overturned. The edifice of the constitution was indeed destroyed, but the monarch was at the same time, as might easily be foreseen, crushed under its ruins.

“To affirm that the oaths of the king of France were of no validity, as being the effect of coercion, must tend to dissolve all moral obligation. The king of France was no otherwise under coercion at Paris when he swore to maintain the constitution of 1791, than the king of England in submitting to the oath tendered to him on his coronation at Westminster, in 1761. He could not be king if he refused it: and the violation of it at the

same instant dissolved and nullified the bond of allegiance. In neither country was the monarch subject to personal responsibility in the regular course of government; but if the functions of sovereignty were perverted to a purpose directly contrary to that which the constitution intended; if, instead of protecting, a design was evidently formed for subverting the constitution, the monarch could not in equity claim the benefit of those established rules and maxims of government in his own favour, which might operate to the detriment, or perhaps the ruin, of those for whose sake all government is instituted.

“Exclusive, however, of the sanction of oaths, the king of France made repeated and spontaneous protestations of attachment to the constitution; and on one solemn and memorable occasion, to the assembly in person, February 1790, by a declaration equally unsolicited and unexpected. ‘Let us,’ said the monarch in a strain of the most insidious hypocrisy, ‘give ourselves up with good faith to the hopes that we ought to conceive. Continue your labours. Let it be known that your monarch applauds them. I should have many losses to recount, but I find my happiness in that of the nation. From the bottom of my heart do I express this sentiment. I will maintain the constitution with my whole power. May this day, in which your monarch comes to re-unite himself to you, effect in like manner the re-union of all!’—‘How,’ exclaims M. de Bouillé, a man distinguished amongst the royalists for honour and capacity, ‘could he retract such a step, thus voluntarily taken, without that degradation of character,

‘character, than which a king can incur no greater misfortune?’

“And when, after the abortive and justly suspected attempt to withdraw from Paris to St. Cloud, the king appeared for a time to adopt a new system, and had been prevailed upon to announce the new constitution in form to the different courts of Europe, he was congratulated by the president of the assembly for having thus imposed silence on detractors, he declared himself ‘charmed beyond expression, at the warmth of esteem which the national assembly had been pleased to express towards him.—If they could but read my heart,’ said he, ‘they would there see sentiments engraved on it, that would well justify the confidence of the nation. All distrust would then be banished from our bosoms, and we should all be happy.’ Is there not some ground of excuse for the strong expression, that ‘the mouth of royalty is the cave of falsehood,’ when in less than two short months, the king, abandoning his honour and his duty, and putting his crown upon the hazard of a die, ventured, by an instrument under his own hand and seal, to pronounce all his former declarations null and void, as extorted from him in direct opposition to his real sentiments?

“All the feelings and sympathies of our nature are nevertheless awakened, when Louis XVI. a monarch possessing undoubtedly many virtues, such indeed as were chiefly calculated to blossom in the shade, presents himself to our imagination as a prisoner at the bar, and much more as a criminal on the scaffold. But the French nation themselves, through the medium of their representatives, were

the proper and only competent judges, how far the safety of the country demanded, by an imperious and terrible necessity, so signal and melancholy a sacrifice. And however we may dissolve in tears of compassion over the victim, we can have no right to brand it as an act of national injustice. That there were men in that assembly which passed sentence of condemnation on the king, of the most flagitious and unprincipled ambition, who, under pretext of patriotism, sought only for occasions to carry into effect their own black and nefarious designs, can in no degree invalidate the truth of the facts here stated, or of the conclusions deducible from them. There were others who were as certainly actuated by an high sense of duty, who sealed his doom with a bleeding heart; and who would with pleasure have devoted their lives for their sovereign, had they considered him as the protector and guardian of the constitution which he had sworn to defend, instead of a traitor and a hypocrite, justly accused of conspiring its destruction.

“The last eventful years of the reign of this unfortunate monarch brought his character into full and perfect view. It was conspicuously marked by imbecility and duplicity—by inconstancy, with strange alternations of obstinacy—by temerity suddenly subsiding into fear—by a perpetual distrust of his own judgment, and a transient and limited confidence in that of others. So strongly was the idea impressed upon the public mind of the want of genius, and even of common understanding, in the king, that a general emotion of surprise was created by the calmness and propriety of the answers given by him to the interrogatories of the convention

during his trial; and they have been unavailingly urged as proofs of capacity, which the whole tenor of his conduct demonstrates that he did not possess. Good-nature bordering upon weakness; humanity allied to indolence; piety tinged with superstition; and a desire feeble and inefficient to diffuse happiness, were the virtues which must be opposed to his moral and mental defects; and had not the unexampled malignity of his destiny forbidden, they would have unquestionably sufficed to have carried him through life with the reputation of a beneficent and virtuous monarch. His last moments

were ennobled by the calmness of resignation, and an unaffected display of firmness and fortitude. We are told of him, that he was highly offended at the freedom with which the famous work of the abbé Raynal was written. The republic of Geneva was solicited to prohibit the publication; the parliament of Paris received an injunction to fulminate their judicial, and the Sorbonne their theological censures against it. Raynal's work, nevertheless, still exists to inform and enlighten the world; but the Genevan republic, the parliament, the Sorbonne, and Louis XVI. are no more!"

ACCOUNT of the LAST MOMENTS and CHARACTER of CHARLES I. KING of ENGLAND.

[From the First Volume of the HISTORY of SCOTLAND, from the UNION of the CROWNS, on the ACCESSION of JAMES VI. to the Throne of England, to the Union of the Kingdoms in the Reign of QUEEN ANNE. By MALCOLM LAING, Esq.]

HIS preparations for death were assisted by Juxon; but the consolations of religion, or of philosophy, are of little avail without native fortitude and energy of mind. Conscious worth can support the virtuous, an exalted rank or conspicuous station has inspired the most dissolute with contempt of death. But the fortitude of Charles

was derived from no external, adventitious circumstances. That cold reserve and inflexible obstinacy which distinguished his character, assumed a sublimer aspect of chastened and tranquil magnanimity in the last eventful period of his reign and life. He was lodged at St. James' *; and the front of Whitehall was selected for his ex-

* "That his slumbers were disturbed each night by the noise of erecting his scaffold is an injudicious fiction, first invented by Clement Walker to aggravate the deed. Herbert attended the king's person, and slept in his chamber, from the beginning of his trial to the last hour of his life. But that Hume should assert, on such authority as Clement Walker, (*Hist. of Independency*), a fact contradicted by every other historian is the less surprising, as Herbert's *Memoirs* lay open before him, and from the copy in the *Advocates' Library*, now in my hands, appear to be marked with his pencil at the very passage (p. 117.) which mentions that the king was removed, two hours after his trial from Whitehall to St. James'. But on this occasion Hume wrote too much for dramatic effect."

ecution, that the scene of his past magnificence might become a monument of popular justice to record his fate. On the morning of his execution, he arose at an early hour, after a quiet, undisturbed repose, and bestowed on his dress an attention which his sorrows had long neglected. His devotions were concluded with the eucharist: and when the hour approached, he was conducted on foot through the Park, which was lined with guards, to Whitehall, where an apartment was prepared for his reception. After a short and slight refreshment, he ascended the scaffold, and without emotion surveyed the awful preparations for death, the cushion, the block, the axe, together with two executioners disguised in vizors. The scaffold was surrounded with troops beneath. Despairing of being heard by the remote spectators, he addressed his discourse to the officers and attendants; protested that the war on his part was strictly defensive; without accusing parliament, blamed the unhappy intervention of wicked instruments; confessed that he suffered a merited retribution for his assent to an unjust sentence against his friend; and, in pronouncing the last, most difficult lesson of Christian forgiveness, admonished the people to return to the paths of submissive loyalty, and acknowledge his son for their lawful sovereign. At the suggestion of Juxon, he attested his dying, unfeigned attachment to the English church. Then, when his neck was adjusted to the block, he stretched forth his hands, after a short prayer, as the appointed signal for the axe to descend. His head was dismembered from his body, at a single stroke, by the man in the mask. The other executioner exposed the bleeding head to

public view, and exclaiming, This is the head of a traitor, the acclamations of the soldiers were intermixed with the convulsive sobs and lamentations of the spectators, who rushed forward to receive and preserve the blood of their martyred king.

“Such was the tragical fate of the second sovereign of the house of Stewart, who perished, within sixty-two years, on the scaffold in England. He suffered in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. From a sickly and froward infancy, he had acquired a robust constitution in manhood, capable of enduring hardships and fatigue, and well adapted to the violent exercises in which he excelled. His person was neither tall nor corpulent, but vigorous, compact, and exactly proportioned. His features were regular; his eye quick and penetrating; his aspect pale and melancholy; not unpleasing to his friends, but to strangers expressive of a forbidding reserve. The undecayed and healthful appearance of the vitals, when his body was opened, indicated a sound and well organised frame, naturally destined for an extreme old age. His body was privately interred at Windsor; but after a slight, ineffectual search, on the restoration of his son, his remains were defrauded of a royal funeral. That men expired of grief at his execution, or sunk for life into a lethargic melancholy; that women parted with the untimely fruit of their womb, must be classed among the marvellous exaggerations of a great event. But his death was productive of consequences very different from those which his enemies expected. Instead of diffusing an abhorrence of monarchy, the execution of their native,

native, hereditary sovereign awakened in the people all the latent emotions of the human soul. Sympathy, the offspring of the imagination and the heart, is most powerfully moved by the examples of illustrious woe. Not all the innocent blood, so profusely shed during the course of the civil wars, excited such universal commiseration and sympathy as the execution of Charles. Had he been permitted to remain a prisoner, or to wander an exile among foreigners, from court to court, his character might have sunk insensibly with his misfortunes, from the lawful prince, to the pretender whose obsolete claims are regarded as hostile to the interests of the state. But the people forgot his errors, and their own sufferings, in the contemplation of his fate; and there was no cause that contributed more than his untimely and violent death, to the transient restoration and reign of his sons.

“ His character is more difficult to estimate, as it has been loaded with unmerited crimes by his enemies, and overcharged with virtues by the partiality of his friends. Temperate, chaste, and exemplary in his conduct, grave and dignified in his deportment, in his conversation strictly observant of decorum, he was diligent in the performance of every act of devotion, exact in the discharge of every moral duty incumbent on a father, a husband, or a friend. If insensible to the feelings of refined humanity, his heart was not insusceptible of a tender affection and permanent friendship. His mind was naturally acute and solid; cool and intrepid in danger, on great occasions magnanimous and equal; endued with a cultivated and magnificent taste, nor defective in those meaner, ornamental quali-

ties which adorn a throne. The virtues of private life were undoubtedly his; but when we reverse the portrait, such were the opposite imperfections of his character, that those virtues were unprofitable to the public, and not unfrequently pernicious to himself. His religion was superstitious, intolerant, and replete with bigotry: his dignity, supercilious and seldom affable, betrayed an harsh and repulsive pride. His ear was open to suspicion, nor inaccessible to flattery; his conjugal affection was uxorious in the extreme: his manners, although he was seldom generous, were equally ungracious, whether he granted or refused a request. Tenacious of his purpose, inflexible and obstinate in the prosecution of his objects, but inconsiderate, rash, and easily persuaded to the choice or alteration of the means, his mind was unduly elevated by prosperity, though never equally overwhelmed by adverse fortune. His humanity is impeached by those barbarous punishments inflicted by the Star-chamber; for the monarch who tolerates the cruelties of his judges, which are never inflicted unless when acceptable, becomes responsible for their crimes. But the ruling passion, or rather the uniform principle of his whole life, was the desire of an inordinate power, which he refused to share unless with the prelates, and which he could neither enjoy with moderation nor consent to resign.

“ Sincerity was certainly no part of his character; but his insincerity was rather that of a priest who provides some previous reservation to evade, than of a prince who perfidiously violates, the obligation which he contemns. A subtle and professed casuist, he was enabled to reconcile the most dissingenuous pro-

protestations to his own conscience, and, without an absolute breach of veracity, studied by verbal evasions to deceive his enemies, and by mental equivocation to deceive himself. It is not sufficient to affirm, that the difficulties of his situation, his own imprudence, or even the utmost malignity of fortune, occasioned the great and almost unexampled calamities of his reign. We must add, that the early and repeated instances of his insincerity, which we have occasionally described, had created such a firm belief of his dissimulation, that the popular leaders, from a well-founded distrust of his ambiguous declarations, were ever afraid to treat, unless on their own terms, to which he was unwilling or unable to accede. The evidence resulting from his confidential letters, where the proofs of a disingenuous mind can alone be found, is industriously suppressed by those partial historians, who asserting the unblemished integrity of his character, take no note of the principal cause of his misfortunes and death. That his condemnation was unjust, that he suffered from a violent and usurped authority, has never been disputed, unless by zealots; but when examined in a moral or political view, his conduct is not susceptible of an easy vindication. Whether his exalted ideas of the prerogative in England were derived from established, or irregular precedents of an unsettled constitution, is an inquiry foreign to the design of this history: but his religious innovations, the sole object of his reign in Scotland, were introduced by a conscious violation of the laws, and a direct invasion of the legislative power. The facility with which he commenced hostilities against his subjects, reduced the Scots to

the necessity of self-defence, while the English were gradually familiarized and habituated to the ideas of resistance. His subsequent conduct contains an internal proof, that his concessions to the latter were meant to be resumed, and their parliament to be reduced by force of arms; and from the same motive, every accommodation was declined or disappointed during the flattering prospect of a successful war. But the immediate cause of his destruction, and undoubtedly one of the most exceptionable parts of his conduct, was his engagement with the Scots for the renewal of the civil wars, during a treaty with parliament; and when we consider how short is the distance between the prison and the grave of kings, that their enemies are ever prone to retaliate those severe conditions under which they fought themselves, it must appear far less surprising that he perished on a scaffold, than that he survived so long. The right of punishment seems to be implied in resistance; for it is difficult to conceive by what argument resistance can be justified, if it is forbidden to chastise, or prevent the resumption of an arbitrary power. But obedience to government is the general rule; resistance is an exception which rarely occurs; and for what purpose inculcate the exception, to which mankind are sufficiently addicted, in preference to the rule on which our security depends? To resist the encroachments, to correct the misconduct, to revoke the delegated powers of their magistrates, are doctrines not less dangerous perhaps for a government to tolerate, than for the people to forget. If never inculcated, the exception is soon forgotten, and society sinks at last into a state of tame servility from

which there is no regeneration. The arbitrary reign of Charles would have been prolonged by his sons, and the two kingdoms, oppressed and converted by a popish successor, might have inquired at present, as a subject of curious but silent speculation, what were the religion or liberties which their ancestors enjoyed.

“ But whatever were the faults or imperfections of Charles, his misfortunes were great and unparalleled till of late, except in the eventful destiny of the house of Stewart. Historians have truly observed, that of ten generations of kings, his father, and the first prince of his race, were the only two who escaped a violent or untimely death. Robert II. the first of the Stewarts, expired of old age; Robert III. of a broken heart at the murder of one son, and the captivity of another. James I. returned from a long captivity, to perish in a few years by the hands of assassins. His son was killed at the siege of Roxburgh, his grandson by his rebellious subjects. James IV.

expiated his father's death at the battle of Flodden, and James V. died of indignation and grief. The misfortunes or crimes of his daughter, the beautiful and accomplished Mary, have furnished almost every art with a theme of historical or romantic distress; and when she suffered on the scaffold, her vindictive rival suggested unconsciously the fatal precedent for the trial of her grandson, and the execution of a king. James VI. experienced a natural death, but the calamities of the family seemed to be accumulated on Charles. His sister's children were expelled from their paternal dominions. His nephew, the elector palatine, subsisted on the bounty of parliament; and by a final reverse of fortune, his posterity, after a short restoration, has suffered a second exile; the last prince of his race has obtained a precarious retreat in the Romish church, while the descendants of his sister, by a female branch, have been raised to the secure possession of the throne from which his son was expelled.”

ACCOUNT of the DEATH and CHARACTER of OLIVER CROMWELL.

[From the same Work.]

“ **W**HILE the arms of Cromwell were triumphant abroad, while his name was dreaded, and his friendship solicited by the greatest potentates, his government was distracted by the conspiracies of every party at home. His person was exposed to assassination from his own soldiers. His conscience was awakened by the death, or the dying reproaches, of his favourite daughter: and the tyrant at

length discovered, that guilty ambition, even when most successful, is never inaccessible to remorse and fear. His mind was oppressed with the dangers and cares of state. The appearance of a stranger filled him with alarm, and he scrutinized his looks with an inquisitive and apprehensive eye. Arms and concealed armour, which he daily wore, were insufficient for his preservation, and he never stirred abroad

abroad unless surrounded with guards, never returned by the same road, nor slept above thrice in the same apartment. A slow fever, the result of constant agitation, preyed upon his body, and, degenerating into a tertian ague, undermined a constitution which was naturally robust. The physicians pronounced his disorder dangerous, and he began to consider his death as imminent; but his fanatical chaplains assured him that his life might yet be restored by their prayers. His original enthusiasm prevailed over his hypocrisy, which, in the tumults of the camp, and amidst the business of the cabinet, had been substituted in its stead; and he assured his physicians that his life was conceded to the faithful, to intercede for the people as a mediator with God. In his last lethargic moments, his assent was extorted to the succession of his eldest son Richard to the office of protector; and he expired at the age of sixty, on the third of September, a day which he considered as propitious, from his victories at Worcester and Dunbar.

“ He was born of respectable parents, remotely allied, on his mother's side, to the Stewart family, and on his father's sprung from a sister of Cromwell, the minister and victim of Henry VIII. From a dissolute and licentious youth, he passed at once to the opposite extreme of enthusiastic devotion; and, when the wars commenced, ascended rapidly to the natural level of his genius and ambition. From a command of horse, he rose to the first rank in the army and in the state; from the obscure and humble mediocrity of a private station, to the absolute dominion and ultimate disposal of three kingdoms. To supplant a monarch, or

to subvert the liberties of a free people, had been the lot of others; but, by combining these crimes, he was the first who brought the monarch whom he had dethroned to a public execution, and reduced the people whom he served to the most complete subjection. A magnanimous and daring spirit, an invincible courage, military talents, address, perseverance, and uniform success, were necessary to accomplish his greatness and his crimes. But to these qualities he added the most extravagant enthusiasm; the most consummate hypocrisy; a profound sagacity in discerning the characters and designs of others; an impenetrable secrecy in disguising his own. From the dissipation of his early years, he retained a specious frankness, which degenerated often into gross buffoonery, but without which hypocrisy itself is of little avail. His magnanimity was naturally imperious and overbearing; nor did he stoop to dissimulation and artifice where it was possible to command. His military talents are rather conspicuous in the enthusiasm with which he inspired, and in the discipline to which he inured his troops, than in the evolutions of the field or the conduct of a campaign. His victories were due to their discipline and irresistible valour; and as he entered into the army late in life, his military character, though surpassed by none of his countrymen, never equalled the reputation of Condé and Turenne. If inferior to Vane in address and dexterity, his vigorous understanding was excelled by none. Neither wholly illiterate nor destitute of elocution, he united an apparent incoherence of thought and expression, with a clear and steady conception of his object, and a prompt decision in the

the choice and execution of his designs. His quick and intuitive perception of the characters of men, was accompanied with the rare talent of employing their abilities in the manner most advantageous to himself or the state. But the discriminative characters of his genius were enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and immoderate ambition; from the combination of which he was fitted to become the author of a new sect, had he not found a system adapted to his purposes and fashioned to his hands.

“ His ambition, however, was guided by events, and, like his talents, appeared to expand with every opportunity that occurred. At one period it was confined to a ribband, a title, a competent fortune, and the command of the army; till the duplicity of Charles left him, he said, only this alternative: ‘ If it is my head or the king’s that must fall, can I hesitate which to choose?’ If Ireton, a genuine republican, had survived, or the parliament had consented to a timely dissolution, his usurpation

might have been prevented; but the dissolution of the long parliament had become not less necessary for his preservation than the destruction of the king. His domestic government was a reign of expedients, vigorous indeed, but without a plan. It was believed that his resources and arts were exhausted with his life; but to surmount the original obstacles to his greatness, was more difficult far than to prolong its duration. His morals were irreproachable in private life. His government was just and lenient where his safety or interest had no immediate concern; and although humanity never obstructed the execution of his designs, even his enemies acknowledged that he was not unworthy of the crown he rejected, had he been born to reign. He died with the character of the worst and greatest man in modern times, which with some abatements is still preserved; and as he enjoyed more than regal power while alive, he was interred with more than regal pomp and expence.”

SHORT APOLOGETIC SKETCH of the LIFE and WRITINGS of GEORGE BUCHANNAN.

[From the Second Volume of OBSERVATIONS ON A TOUR THROUGH THE HIGHLANDS, &c. of SCOTLAND, by T. GARNETT, M.D.]

“ **T**HIS writer, who was distinguished in the sixteenth century as a poet, historian, and man of universal genius, was descended from an ancient family, which was never rich, but by the extravagance of his grandfather was reduced to great indigence. His mother’s brother saw that he had genius, and sent him to Paris for

his education; but in less than two years the death of his uncle, and his own bad state of health, obliged him to return home. He then became a soldier under John duke of Albany; and the severity of the campaign brought on a disease which confined him to his bed during the whole of the next winter. While struggling with poverty

ty and sickness, he was, at the age of twenty years, admitted into the college of St. Barbe in Paris, where he taught grammar for three years, and became acquainted with the earl of Cassils, who was so delighted with his wit and manners, that he made him his companion and tutor. With him he remained five years abroad, and two years at home; at the end of which the earl died, and he was about to return to France, when James V. made him preceptor to his illegitimate son, who was afterwards the famous regent Murray. While he was in this situation, there was a conspiracy against the king, who, believing the Franciscans to be concerned in it, ordered Buchanan to write against them. He did so, but in such gentle terms that the king was dissatisfied, and commanded him to write with more severity. The second order produced the famous Franciscanus, of which only one copy was given to the king, who let other persons see it, and it would seem in a dishonourable manner; for it soon became public, and Buchanan found the animosity of the church more powerful than the favour of the crown*. Cardinal Beaton offered a sum of money for his head; and the prosecution of him became a common cause, not only to mendicants but to ecclesiastics of every

kind. He was imprisoned, and would have been tried had he not escaped from his keepers. When he arrived in Paris, he found Beaton there as ambassador to that court. This induced him immediately to quit that city for Bourdeaux, where he taught in the public schools for three years. Beaton found him out, and would have had him tried in France, if the affairs in Scotland had not put an end to his embassy.

"From Bourdeaux, after inspecting the education of the celebrated Montaigne, he went to Paris, and taught the second class in the college of Bourbon. In the year 1547 he went to Portugal, in order to teach philosophy and polite learning; and he says that he did so, because his companions were rather familiar friends than strangers, and because that corner of the world appeared to him most likely to be free from tumults. He was happy in that country for some time; but when his friend Goveanus died, he was imprisoned, first in the inquisition†, and afterwards in a monastery. At last he obtained his liberty, and was made tutor to the son of mareschal Brisac, with whom he spent five years in France and Italy. He returned to Scotland in the same year that protestantism became the established religion of that country.

* "This poem consists of 936 lines. It is a satire upon the Franciscans, or monks of the order of St. Francis, who in France were called Cordeliers, from the cords with which they were girt. A Franciscan is supposed by the poet to converse with his brethren, and to instruct novices; in doing which, he displays all the abominable principles and practices with which that order has been charged."

† "When Buchanan was accused in Portugal, the first charge against him was, That he had written the Franciscanus: the second, That he had eaten flesh in Lent; and the third, That he had no good opinion of the Romish religion. To the first he answered, That before he left France he had sent an account of that affair to the king of Portugal, and that he had given but one copy of that poem to the king of Scotland, by whose order it was written. His own words are, 'Unum enim ejus exemplum, Regi Scotorum, qui scribendi auctor fuerat, erat datum.'"

He was made principal of St. Leonard's college in St. Andrew's, and was elected moderator of the general assembly of the church—an office of great importance at that time, and which has never been conferred upon a layman but in that instance only. He was appointed preceptor to the young king by the authority of parliament. He was one of the commissioners to York, and afterwards to Hampton-court, upon the affairs of queen Mary; and, at his return, he was made director of chancery, and pensioner of the cross regal in Ayrshire. Honours were heaped upon him, even after the death of his great friend the regent Murray; for he was made one of the lords of council, and lord privy-seal. He retired from court about a year before his death, and died a bachelor in December 1582, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

“There has scarcely existed a distinguished person in public life, whose moral character has not been calumniated through envy or other motives. Buchannan's was attacked with great virulence. The injustice of the attack is, however, pretty certain, because no other proof has been brought than vague assertions, and the chain of facts just enumerated form the strongest evidence of his probity and merit. The only circumstance which has not been well explained, is, how he fell into such poverty that he was buried at the expence of the city of Edinburgh. The offices which he held in Scotland, during the latter part of his life, were lucrative; I cannot therefore see how he became so indigent, but by supposing that he gave away

his money in charity. This seems the more probable, because, in all the calumnies that were thrown out against him, he is not so much as charged with extravagance; because prodigality is seldom the vice of old age; and because, when he was near his end, he desired his servant to give to the poor what little money was in his purse, as there was not enough to defray the expences of his funeral; saying, ‘If they will not bury my corpse, they may let it lie where I am, or they may throw it where they please.’

“Another charge which has been urged against Buchannan as a writer, is indelicacy and licentiousness, particularly in his description of an amorous Franciscan in his poem *Franciscanus*; but he may perhaps be defended when we compare the delicate taste of the present age with that in which he wrote. The ancient satirists, as Hume observes, often used great liberties in their expressions; but their freedom no more resembles the licentiousness of Rochester, than the nakedness of an Indian does that of a common prostitute*. In the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, when the church of Rome was in the height of her glory, there was a settled enmity between the priests of the same church, viz. the seculars and regulars, or parish priests and monks, because their manners and interests were in some respects different. The art of printing and copper-plate engraving was unknown at that time; and the seculars, who were in possession of the cathedrals, which were then the places of greatest resort, made satirical statues and figures of the monks, instead of

* Hume's History of James II.

lampooning them, as would be done in our times, by prints and pamphlets. In several cathedrals, for instance, that of Glasgow, there are still remaining many figures of the monks in more indecent situation than any described by Buchanan; so that he, in fact, said no more against them than was commonly done by their brother ecclesiastics. These figures, which are to be found in the cathedrals of most countries in Europe, present a striking view of human nature. In the opinion of good catholics, every stone in a religious building is holy in the strictest sense; while protestants think there is nothing more sacred in the *stones* of a church, than in those of any public edifice; and yet the first applied their holy fabrics to a use, of which a protestant would be ashamed. So different are the manners of mankind in different ages, and so wonderfully does the human mind reconcile the greatest inconsistencies when the malevolent passions are afloat, and fanned by party zeal.

“ In the Life of Buchanan, written by himself, there is a dignity, good humour, modesty, and knowledge of the world, which stand forth as a reproach to almost all other self-biographers. Though he was oppressed with years and disease when he wrote it; and though the clergy had persecuted him for a long time, and zealously fought his life, yet he speaks of them in the following terms: ‘ They, to wit, the Franciscans, who make a profession of gentleness, took that slight offence more amiss than seemed becoming in them, who were so pious in the opinion of the vulgar; and not finding sufficient cause to justify their immoderate

‘ anger, they had recourse to their ‘ common charge, to wit, that of ‘ heresy.’ When he speaks of the persecution which he and his colleagues met with in Portugal, it is in this manner: ‘ All their ‘ enemies, and all their rivals, ‘ first secretly, and then openly, ‘ fell upon them in the most hostile manner; and they insulted ‘ Buchanan with the utmost bitterness, for he was a stranger ‘ who had few to rejoice in his ‘ safety, to lament his distress, ‘ or to revenge his injury.’ When speaking of the monastery in which he was imprisoned, he says, that ‘ though the monks who were appointed to instruct him were extremely ignorant in religion, yet ‘ they were neither inhuman nor ‘ wicked.’ It is remarkable that his cruel treatment did not deprive him of tranquillity of mind; for during his confinement he employed his time in writing the translation of the Psalms of David, which has been admired in every country. He was so far from assuming great importance on account of his literary fame, that when he speaks of himself it is in this manner: ‘ The judges, who ‘ had tired themselves and him for ‘ half a year, shut him up in a ‘ monastery, that it might not be ‘ thought that they had without ‘ cause harassed a man who was not ‘ unknown.’ And this it was proper for him to mention, because, without it, no just account could be given of his imprisonment after his trial.

“ Whether we consider Buchanan as a poet or a historian, he must be allowed to have possessed very uncommon abilities. The Franciscans alone would have raised him to great eminence as a poet; for there is hardly any satire of the

same length that is so poignant, correct, and elegant. The style is nervous, and so much elevated, that some critics have spoken of it as too heroic for a satire; but this circumstance, like the style of the *Lutrin*, or *The Rape of the Lock*, by exciting ridicule produces contempt; while it by no means diminishes the abhorrence which is due to such crimes. Buchannan wrote a great variety of little poems, and many of them have so much of the epigrammatic point, that the reader must be both surprised and pleased to see that the same author possessed likewise so much of the true elegiac vein as in his ‘*Illa mihi semper presenti dura Neæra*,’ so much of the ancient simplicity as in *Jepthes* and *Baptistes*; and so much of the most elevated sublime, as in his *Sphæra*, and his *Paraphrase of the Psalms of David*.

“When we take a view of Buchannan as a historian, it may be proper to observe, that no history will ever be valuable for the composition, that does not exhibit either philosophic views of human nature, or beautiful pictures of

interesting events. In both characters the merit of Buchannan is conspicuous. The outlines, for instance, of the excellent treatise concerning crimes and punishments, are contained in Buchannan’s short remarks upon the tortures that were inflicted upon the murderers of James the First*. And his account of the taking of Dumbarton castle by Craufurd, is a more striking picture of an interesting event, than any that has since been made of it by very able writers. His history has been much read and admired by foreigners†, as well as by his own countrymen.

“It must be acknowledged, that there are some things in his history which are inaccurate, and others which are false; but before he be condemned for them the following circumstances ought to be considered: First; his inaccuracies have been discovered in consequence of examining evidence to which he had not access. Second; in his ancient history he followed what he thought to be the best accounts of other writers, and only gave them a classic dress. The

* “*Hoc maxime pacto mors Jacobi, crudelis quidem illa, sed certe ultra humanitatis modum crudeliter vindicata est. Hujus enim generis supplicia vulgi animos non tam à sævitia metu avocant, quam ad quidvis agendum et patiendum offerant; nec acerbitate tam pravos deterrent, quam assuetudine spectandi terrorem pœnarum imminuunt: præsertim si facinosorum animi adversus vim doloris induerint: apud vulgus enim imperitum confidentia pertinax constantis fiduciæ plerumque laudem accepit.*”

† “‘The style,’ says Le Clerc, ‘is beautiful and pure; and he appears every where to speak the truth as far as it was known to him. His judgment of things is sound; he censures freely what deserves it, and commends what he thought worthy of praise. He unites the brevity of Sallust with the elegance and perspicuity of Livy. But he is not sufficiently exact in his dates, and does not cite his authorities.’”

“Thuanus says of him, ‘That though Buchannan, according to the genius of his nation, sometimes inveighs against crowned heads with severity, yet that his history is written with so much purity, spirit, and judgment, that it does not appear to be the production of a man who had passed his days in the dust of a school, but of one who had been always conversant in the most important affairs of state. Such (says he) was the greatness of his mind, and the felicity of his genius, that the meanness of his fortune did not hinder him from forming just sentiments concerning things of the greatest moment.’”

modern

modern cry, therefore, that the ancient history of Scotland is fabulous, can never be a just charge against him; for, if he had not related what was handed down to him, or if he had been a sceptic without the evidence of records, he would not have been a historian, but a writer of romance. Thirdly; the rage of civil and religious party was so violent in his own time, that it was often impossible to know the truth; and yet his general account of disputed events appears, to the most candid and best informed in modern times, to be well founded. If he had not the means

of knowing the truth exactly, we may lament his situation, but cannot blame his integrity, or cease to admire the purity, the vigour, and the elegance of his style.

“ Upon the whole; after making every just allowance for the shades in Buchannan’s character, he must be considered, by every impartial reader, as one of the most illustrious persons which this island has produced; and there is hardly perhaps another nation that can give an example of the powers of writing prose and verse, united in the same man, in so distinguished a manner*.”

PARTICULARS of the LIFE of ROBERT BURNS.

[Extracted from DR. CURRIE’S ACCOUNT of his LIFE, and Criticism on his Writings, prefixed to the First Volume of the WORKS of ROBERT BURNS.]

“ **R**OBERT BURNS was, as is well known, the son of a farmer in Ayrshire, and afterwards himself a farmer there; but having been unsuccessful, he was about to emigrate to Jamaica. He had previously however attracted some notice by his poetical talents in the vicinity where he lived; and having published a small volume of his poems at Kilmarnock, this drew upon him more general attention. In consequence of the encouragement he received, he repaired to Edinburgh, and there published by subscription an improved and enlarged edition of his poems, which met with extraordinary success. By the profits arising from the sale of this edition, he was enabled to enter on

a farm in Dumfriesshire; and having married a person to whom he had been long attached, he retired, to devote the remainder of his life to agriculture. He was again however unsuccessful; and abandoning his farm, he removed into the town of Dumfries, where he filled an inferior office in the excise, and where he terminated his life in July 1796, in his thirty-eighth year.

“ The strength and originality of his genius procured him the notice of many persons distinguished in the republic of letters, and among others, that of Dr. Moore, well known for his *Views of Society and Manners on the Continent of Europe*, for his *Zeluco*, and various other works. To this gentleman

* “ For the materials of this Appendix, I am indebted to a MS. paper written by the late professor Anderson, and read before the Literary Society in Glasgow College.”

our poet addressed a letter, after his first visit to Edinburgh, giving a history of his life, up to the period of his writing. In a composition never intended to see the light, elegance or perfect correctness of composition will not be expected. These, however, will be compensated by the opportunity of seeing our poet, as he gives the incidents of his life, unfold the peculiarities of his character, with all the careless vigour and open sincerity of his mind.

“*Mauchline, 2d August, 1787.*”

“SIR,

“For some months past I have been rambling over the country, but I am now confined with some lingering complaints, originating, as I take it, in the stomach. To divert my spirits a little in this miserable fog of *ennui*, I have taken a whim to give you a history of myself. My name has made some little noise in this country; you have done me the honour to interest yourself very warmly in my behalf; and I think a faithful account of what character of a man I am, and how I came by that character, may perhaps amuse you in an idle moment. I will give you an honest narrative, though I know it will be often at my own expence; for I assure you, Sir, I have, like Solomon, whose character, excepting in the trifling affair of *wisdom*, I sometimes think I resemble, I have, I say, like him *turned my eyes to behold madness and folly*, and, like him too, frequently shaken hands with their intoxicating friendship. * * *

After you have perused these pages, should you think them trifling and impertinent, I only beg leave to tell you, that the poor author wrote them under some twitching qualms of conscience, arising from a suspi-

cion that he was doing what he ought not to do; a predicament he has more than once been in before.

“I have not the most distant pretensions to assume that character which the pye-coated guardians of escutcheons call, a Gentleman. When at Edinburgh last winter, got acquainted in the herald’s office and looking through that granary of honours, I there found almost every name of the kingdom; but for me,

“My ancient but ignoble blood
Has crept thro’ scoundrels ever since the
flood.”

Gules, purple, argent, &c. quite disowned me.

“My father was of the north of Scotland, the son of a farmer, and was thrown by early misfortunes on the world at large; where, after many years wanderings and sojournings, he picked up a pretty large quantity of observation and experience, to which I am indebted for most of my little pretensions to wisdom.—I have met with few who understood *men, their manners, and their ways*, equal to him; but stubborn, ungainly integrity, and headlong ungovernable irascibility are disqualifying circumstances; consequently I was born a very poor man’s son. For the first five or seven years of my life, my father was gardener to a worthy gentleman of small estate in the neighbourhood of Ayr. Had he continued in that station, I must have marched off to be one of the little underlings about a farm-house; but it was his dearest wish and prayer to have it in his power to keep his children under his own eye, till they could discern between good and evil; so with the assistance of his generous master, my father ventured on a small farm on his estate. At those years I was by no means a favourite with any body.

inclemencies of all the seasons. They would give me stray volumes of books; among them, even then, I could pick up some observations, and one, whose heart I am sure not even the *Munny Begum* scenes have tainted, helped me to a little French. Parting with these my young friends and benefactors, as they occasionally went off for the East or West Indies, was often to me a sore affliction, but I was soon called to more serious evils. My father's generous master died; the farm proved a ruinous bargain; and to clench the misfortune, we fell into the hands of a factor, who sat for the picture I have drawn of one in my *Tale of Twa Dogs*. My father was advanced in life when he married; I was the eldest of seven children, and he, worn out by early hardships, was unfit for labour. My father's spirit was soon irritated, but not easily broken. There was a freedom in his lease in two years more, and to weather these two years, we retrenched our expenses. We lived very poorly: I was a dexterous ploughman for my age; and the next eldest to me was a brother (Gilbert) who could drive the plough very well, and help me to thrash the corn. A novel-writer might perhaps have viewed these scenes with some satisfaction, but so did not I; my indignation yet boils at the recollection of the factor's insolent threatening letters, which used to set us all in tears.

“ This kind of life—the cheerless gloom of a hermit, with the unceasing moil of a galley-slave, brought me to my sixteenth year; a little before which period I first committed the sin of Rhyme. You know our country custom of coupling a man and woman together as partners in the labours of harvest. In my fifteenth autumn, my partner

was a bewitching creature, a year younger than myself. My scarcity of English denies me the power of doing her justice in that language, but you know the Scottish idiom; she was a *bonnie, sweet sonsie lass*. In short, she altogether unwittingly to herself initiated me in that delicious passion, which in spite of acid disappointment, gin-horse prudence, and book-worm philosophy, I hold to be the first of human joys, our dearest blessing here below! How she caught the contagion I cannot tell; you medical people talk much of infection from breathing the same air, the touch, &c. but I never expressly said I loved her.—Indeed I did not know myself why I liked so much to loiter behind with her, when returning in the evening from our labours; why the tones of her voice made my heart-strings thrill like an *Æolian harp*; and particularly why my pulse beat such a furious ratan when I looked and fingered over her little hand to pick out the cruel nettle-stings and thistles. Among her other love-inspiring qualities, she sung sweetly; and it was her favourite reel to which I attempted giving an embodied vehicle in rhyme. I was not so presumptuous as to imagine that I could make verses like printed ones, composed by men who had Greek and Latin; but my girl sung a song which was said to be composed by a small country laird's son, on one of his father's maids, with whom he was in love; and I saw no reason why I might not rhyme as well as he; for, excepting that he could smear sheep, and cast peats, his father living in the moorlands, he had no more scholar-craft than myself.

“ Thus with me began love and poetry; which at times have been my only, and till within the last twelve months have been my high

est enjoyment. My father struggled on till he reached the freedom in his lease, when he entered on a larger farm, about ten miles farther in the country. The nature of the bargain he made, was such as to throw a little ready money into his hands at the commencement of his lease, otherwise the affair would have been impracticable. For four years we lived comfortably here; but a difference commencing between him and his landlord as to terms, after three years tossing and whirling in the vortex of litigation, my father was just saved from the horrors of a jail, by a consumption, which, after two years promises, kindly stepped in, and carried him away, to *where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest.*

“It is during the time that we lived on this farm that my little story is most eventful. I was, at the beginning of this period, perhaps the most ungainly awkward boy in the parish—no *solitaire* was less acquainted with the ways of the world. What I knew of ancient story was gathered from *Salmon's* and *Guthrie's* geographical grammars; and the ideas I had formed of modern manners, of literature, and criticism, I got from the *Spectator*. These, with *Pope's Works*, some plays of *Shakespeare*, *Tull* and *Dickson on Agriculture*, *The Pantheon*, *Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding*, *Stackhouse's History of the Bible*, *Justice's British Gardener's Directory*, *Boyle's Lectures*, *Allan Ramsay's Works*, *Taylor's Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin*, *A Select Collection of English Songs*, and *Hervey's Meditations*, had formed the whole of my reading. The collection of songs was my *vade mecum*. I pored over them driving my cart, or walking to labour, song by song,

verse by verse; carefully noting the true tender, or sublime, from affectation and fustian. I am convinced I owe to this practice, much of my critic-craft, such as it is.

“In my seventeenth year, to give my manners a brush, I went to a country dancing-school. My father had an unaccountable antipathy against these meetings, and my going was what to this moment I repent, in opposition to his wishes. My father, as I said before, was subject to strong passions: from that instance of disobedience in me, he took a sort of dislike to me, which I believe was one cause of the dissipation which marked my succeeding years. I say dissipation, comparatively with the strictness, and sobriety, and regularity of presbyterian country life; for though the will-o-wisp meteors of thoughtless whim were almost the sole lights of my path, yet early ingrained piety and virtue kept me for several years afterwards within the line of innocence. The great misfortune of my life was to want an aim. I had felt early some stirrings of ambition, but they were the blind gropings of Homer's Cyclops round the walls of his cave. I saw my father's situation entailed on me perpetual labour. The only two openings by which I could enter the temple of fortune, was the gate of niggardly œconomy, or the path of little chicaning bargain-making. The first is so contracted an aperture I never could squeeze myself into it—the last I always hated—there was contamination in the very entrance! Thus abandoned of aim or view in life, with a strong appetite for sociability, as well from native hilarity, as from a pride of observation and remark; a constitutional melancholy or hypochondriasm that made me fly solitude;

add to these incentives to social life, my reputation for bookish knowledge, a certain wild logical talent, and a strength of thought, something like the rudiments of good sense, and it will not seem surprising that I was generally a welcome guest where I visited, or any great wonder that always where two or three met together, there was I among them. But far beyond all other impulses of my heart, was *un penchant à l'adorable moitié du genre humain*. My heart was completely tinder, and was eternally lighted up by some goddess or other; and as in every other warfare in this world, my fortune was various; sometimes I was received with favour, and sometimes I was mortified with a repulse. At the plough, scythe, or reap-hook, I feared no competitor, and thus I set absolute want at defiance; and as I never cared farther for my labours than while I was in actual exercise, I spent the evenings in the way after my own heart. A country lad seldom carries on a love-adventure without an assisting confidant. I possessed a curiosity, zeal, and intrepid dexterity, that recommended me as a proper second on these occasions; and I dare say, I felt as much pleasure in being in the secret of half the loves of the parish of Tarbolton, as ever did statesman in knowing the intrigues of half the courts of Europe.—The very goose-feather in my hand seems to know instinctively the well-worn path of my imagination, the favourite theme of my song; and is with difficulty restrained from giving you a couple of paragraphs on the love-adventures of my compeers, the humble inmates of the farm-house and cottage; but the grave sons of science, ambition, or avarice, baptize these things by the name of

Follies. To the sons and daughters of labour and poverty they are matters of the most serious nature; to them the ardent hope, the stolen interview, the tender farewell, are the greatest and most delicious parts of their enjoyments.

“Another circumstance in my life which made some alteration in my mind and manners, was, that I spent my nineteenth summer on a smuggling coast, a good distance from home, at a noted school, to learn mensuration, surveying, dialling, &c. in which I made a pretty good progress. But I made a greater progress in the knowledge of mankind. The contraband trade was at that time very successful, and it sometimes happened to me to fall in with those who carried it on. Scenes of swagging riot and roaring dissipation were till this time new to me, but I was no enemy to social life. Here, though I learnt to fill my glass, and to mix without fear in a drunken squabble, yet I went on with a high hand with my geometry; till the sun entered Virgo, a month which is always a carnival in my bosom, when a charming *fillette* who lived next door to the school overset my trigonometry, and set me off at a tangent from the sphere of my studies. I however struggled on with my *sines* and *co-sines* for a few days more; but stepping into the garden one charming noon to take the sun's altitude, there I met my angel

‘Like Proserpine gathering flowers,
‘Herself a fairer flower—’

“It was in vain to think of doing any more good at school. The remaining week I staid I did nothing but craze the faculties of my soul about her, or steal out to meet her; and the two last nights of my stay in the country, had sleep been a mortal

mortal sin, the image of this modest and innocent girl had kept me guiltless.

"I returned home very considerably improved. My reading was enlarged with the very important addition of Thomson's and Shenstone's Works; I had seen human nature in a new phasis; and I engaged several of my school-fellows to keep up a literary correspondence with me. This improved me in composition. I had met with a collection of letters by the wits of queen Anne's reign, and I pored over them most devoutly. I kept copies of any of my own letters that pleased me, and a comparison between them and the composition of most of my correspondents flattered my vanity. I carried this whim so far, that though I had not three farthings worth of business in the world, yet almost every post brought me as many letters as if I had been a broad plodding son of day-book and ledger.

"My life flowed on much in the same course till my twenty-third year. *Vive l'amour, et vive la bagatelle*, were my sole principles of action. The addition of two more authors to my library gave me great pleasure; *Sterne* and *McKenzie*—*Tristram Shandy* and *The Man of Feeling* were my bosom favourites. Poetry was still a darling walk for my mind, but it was only indulged in according to the humour of the hour. I had usually half a dozen or more pieces on hand; I took up one or other as it suited the momentary tone of the mind, and dismissed the work as it bordered on fatigue. My passions, when once lighted up, raged like so many devils, till they got vent in rhyme; and then the conning over my verses, like a spell, soothed all into quiet! None of the rhymes of those

days are in print, except *Winter, a Dirge*, the eldest of my printed pieces; *The Death of poor Maillie*, *John Barleycorn*, and songs first, second, and third. Song second was the ebullition of that passion which ended the forementioned school business.

"My twenty-third year was to me an important æra. Partly through whim, and partly that I wished to set about doing something in life, I joined a flax-dresser in a neighbouring town, (Irvin) to learn his trade. This was an unlucky affair. My * * * and to finish the whole, as we were giving a welcome carousal to the new year, the shop took fire and burnt to ashes, and I was left like a true poet, not worth a sixpence.

"I was obliged to give up this scheme; the clouds of misfortune were gathering thick round my father's head; and what was worst of all, he was visibly far gone in a consumption; and to crown my distresses, a *belle fille*, whom I adored, and who had pledged her soul to meet me in the field of matrimony, jilted me, with peculiar circumstances of mortification. The finishing evil that brought up the rear of this infernal file, was my constitutional melancholy being increased to such a degree, that for three months I was in a state of mind scarcely to be envied by the hopeless wretches who have got their mittimus—*Depart from me, ye cursed!*

"From this adventure I learned something of a town life; but the principal thing which gave my mind a turn, was a friendship I formed with a young fellow, a very noble character, but a hapless son of misfortune. He was the son of a simple mechanic; but a great man in the neighbourhood taking him under his patronage, gave him a genteel education,

tion, with a view of bettering his situation in life. The patron dying just as he was ready to launch out into the world, the poor fellow in despair went to sea; where after a variety of good and ill fortune, a little before I was acquainted with him, he had been set on shore by an American privateer, on the wild coast of Connaught, stripped of every thing. I cannot quit this poor fellow's story without adding, that he is at this time master of a large West-Indiaman belonging to the Thames.

“His mind was fraught with independence, magnanimity, and every manly virtue. I loved and admired him to a degree of enthusiasm, and of course strove to imitate him. In some measure I succeeded; I had pride before, but he taught it to flow in proper channels. His knowledge of the world was vastly superior to mine, and I was all attention to learn. He was the only man I ever saw, who was a greater fool than myself where woman was the presiding star; but he spoke of illicit love with the levity of a sailor, which hitherto I had regarded with horror. Here his friendship did me a mischief, and the consequence was, that soon after I resumed the plough, I wrote the *Poet's Welcome*. My reading only increased while in this town by two stray volumes of *Pamela*, and one of *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, which gave me some idea of novels. Rhyme, except some religious pieces that are in print, I had given up; but meeting with *Fergusson's Scottish Poems*, I strung anew my wildly-sounding lyre with emulating vigour. When my father died, his all went among the hell-hounds that growl in the kennel of justice; but we made a shift to collect a little money in the family amongst us,

with which, to keep us together, my brother and I took a neighbouring farm. My brother wanted my hare-brained imagination, as well as my social and amorous madness; but in good sense, and every sober qualification, he was far my superior.

“I entered on this farm with a full resolution, *Come, go to, I will be wise!* I read farming books, I calculated crops; I attended markets; and in short, in spite of *the devil, and the world, and the flesh*, I believe I should have been a wise man; but the first year, from unfortunately buying bad seed, the second from a late harvest, we lost half our crops. This overset all my wisdom, and I returned, *like the dog to his vomit, and the sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire*.

“I now began to be known in the neighbourhood as a maker of rhymes. The first of my poetic offspring that saw the light, was a burlesque lamentation on a quarrel between two reverend Calvinists, both of them *dramatis personæ* in my *Holy Fair*. I had a notion myself, that the piece had some merit; but to prevent the worst, I gave a copy of it to a friend who was very fond of such things, and told him that I could not guess who was the author of it, but that I thought it very clever. With a certain description of the clergy, as well as laity, it met with a roar of applause. *Holy Willie's Prayer* next made its appearance, and alarmed the kirk-session so much, that they held several meetings, to look over their spiritual artillery, if haply any of it might be pointed against profane rhymers. Unluckily for me, my wanderings led me on another side, within point blank shot of their heaviest metal. This is the unfortunate story that gave rise to my

printed poem, *The Lament*. This was a most melancholy affair, which I cannot yet bear to reflect on, and had very nearly given me one or two of the principal qualifications for a place among those who have lost the chart, and mistaken the reckoning of Rationality. I gave up my part of the farm to my brother (in truth it was only nominally mine), and made what little preparation was in my power for Jamaica. But, before leaving my native country for ever, I resolved to publish my poems. I weighed my productions as impartially as it was in my power; I thought they had merit; and it was a delicious idea that I should be called a clever fellow, even though it should never reach my ears—a poor negro-driver—or perhaps a victim to that inhospitable clime, and gone to the world of spirits! I can truly say, that *pauvre inconnu* as I then was, I had pretty nearly as high an idea of myself and of my works as I have at this moment, when the public has decided in their favour. It ever was my opinion, that the mistakes and blunders, both in a rational and religious point of view, of which we see thousands daily guilty, are owing to their ignorance of themselves.—To know myself had been all along my constant study. I weighed myself alone; I balanced myself with others; I watched every means of information, to see how much ground I occupied as a man and as a poet: I studied assiduously nature's design in my formation; where the lights and shades in my character were intended. I was pretty confident my poems would meet with some applause; but at the worst, the roar of the Atlantic would deafen the voice of censure, and the novelty of West-Indian scenes make me forget neglect. I

threw off six hundred copies, of which I had got subscriptions for about three hundred and fifty.—My vanity was highly gratified by the reception I met with from the public; and besides, I pocketed, all expences deducted, nearly twenty pounds. This sum came very seasonably, as I was thinking of indenting myself, for want of money to procure my passage. As soon as I was master of nine guineas, the price of waisting me to the torrid zone, I took a steerage passage in the first ship that was to sail from the Clyde, for

‘Hungry ruin had me in the wind.’

“I had been for some days skulking from covert to covert, under all the terrors of a jail; as some ill-advised people had uncoupled the merciless pack of the law at my heels. I had taken the last farewell of my few friends; my chest was on the road to Greenock; I had composed the last song I should ever measure in Caledonia, *The gloomy night is gathering fast*, when a letter from Dr. Blacklock to a friend of mine overthrew all my schemes, by opening new prospects to my poetic ambition. The doctor belonged to a set of critics, for whose applause I had not dared to hope. His opinion, that I would meet with encouragement in Edinburgh for a second edition, fired me so much, that away I posted for that city, without a single acquaintance, or a single letter of introduction. The baneful star that had so long shed its blasting influence in my zenith, for once made a revolution to the nadir: and a kind providence placed me under the patronage of one of the noblest of men, the earl of Glencairn. *Oubliez moi, grand Dieu, si jamais je l'oublie!*

“I need relate no farther. At

Edinburgh I was in a new world; I mingled among many classes of men, but all of them new to me, and I was all attention to *catch* the characters and *the manners living as they rise*. Whether I have profited, time will show."

"Burns set out for Edinburgh in the month of November 1786. He was furnished with a letter of introduction to Dr. Blacklock, from the gentleman to whom the doctor had addressed the letter which is represented by our bard as the immediate cause of his visiting the Scottish metropolis. He was acquainted with Mr. Stewart, professor of moral philosophy in the university, and had been entertained by that gentleman at Catrine, his estate in Ayrshire. He had been introduced by Mr. Alexander Dalziel to the earl of Glencairn, who had expressed his high approbation of his poetical talents. He had friends, therefore, who could introduce him into the circles of literature as well as of fashion; and his own manners and appearance exceeding every expectation that could have been formed of them, he soon became an object of general curiosity and admiration. The following circumstance contributed to this in a considerable degree.—At the time when Burns arrived in Edinburgh, the periodical paper entitled *The Lounger* was publishing, every *Saturday* producing a successive number. His poems had attracted the notice of the gentlemen engaged in that undertaking, and the ninety-seventh number of those unequal though frequently beautiful essays is devoted to *An Account of Robert Burns, the Ayrshire ploughman, with ext. acts from his poems*, written by the elegant pen of Mr. Mackenzie. *The Lounger* had an extensive circulation among per-

sons of taste and literature, not in Scotland only, but in various parts of England, to whose acquaintance, therefore our bard was immediately introduced. The paper of Mr. Mackenzie was calculated to introduce him advantageously. The extracts are well selected; the criticisms and reflections are judicious as well as generous; and in the style and sentiments there is that happy delicacy by which the writings of the author are so eminently distinguished. The extracts from Burns' poems in the ninety-seventh number of *The Lounger*, were copied into the London as well as into many of the provincial papers, and the fame of our bard spread throughout the island. —

"The scene that opened on our bard in Edinburgh was altogether new, and in a variety of other respects highly interesting; especially to one of his disposition of mind. To use an expression of his own, he found himself 'suddenly translated 'from the veriest shades of life,' into the presence, and indeed into the society, of a number of persons, previously known to him by report as of the highest distinction in his country, and whose characters it was natural for him to examine with no common curiosity.

"From the men of letters, in general, his reception was particularly flattering. The late Dr. Robertson, Dr. Blair, Dr. Gregory, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Mackenzie, and Mr. Frazer Tytler, may be mentioned in the list of those who perceived his uncommon talents, who acknowledged more especially his powers in conversation, and who interested themselves in the cultivation of his genius. In Edinburgh, literary and fashionable society are a good deal mixed. Our bard was an acceptable guest in the gayest and

and most elevated circles, and frequently received from female beauty and elegance, those attentions, above all others most grateful to him. At the table of lord Monboddo he was a frequent guest; and while he enjoyed the society and partook of the hospitalities of the venerable judge, he experienced the kindness and condescension of his lovely and accomplished daughter. The singular beauty of this young lady was illuminated by that happy expression of countenance which results from the union of cultivated taste and superior understanding, with the finest affections of the mind. The influence of such attractions was not unfelt by our poet. 'There has not been any thing like miss Burnet,' said he in a letter to a friend, 'in all the combination of beauty, grace, and goodness, the Creator has formed, since Milton's Eve on the first day of her existence.' In his *Address to Edinburgh*, she is celebrated in a strain of still greater elevation:

'Fair Burnet strikes th' adoring eye,
'Heaven's beauties on my fancy shine;
'I see the Sire of Love on high,
'And own his work indeed divine!

"This lovely woman died a few years afterwards in the flower of youth. Our bard expressed his sensibility on that occasion, in verses addressed to her memory.

"Among the men of rank and fashion, Burns was particularly distinguished by James, earl of Glencairn. On the motion of this nobleman, the *Caledonian Hunt*, an association of the principal of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, extended their patronage to our bard, and admitted him to their gay orgies. He repaid their notice by a dedication of the enlarged and improved edition of his poems, in which he has celebrated their patri-

otism and independence in very animated terms.

'I congratulate my country that
'the blood of her ancient heroes runs
'uncontaminated; and that, from
'your courage, knowledge, and
'public spirit, she may expect pro-
'tection, wealth, and liberty. * *
'* * * * * May
'corruption shrink at your kindling
'indignant glance; and may ty-
'ranny in the ruler, and licentious-
'ness in the people, equally find in
'you an inexorable foe!——

"It is to be presumed that these generous sentiments, uttered at an æra singularly propitious to independence of character and conduct, were favourably received by the persons to whom they were addressed, and that they were echoed from every bosom, as well as from that of the earl of Glencairn. This accomplished nobleman, a scholar, a man of taste and sensibility, died soon afterwards. Had he lived, and had his power equalled his wishes, Scotland might still have exulted in the genius, instead of lamenting the early fate of her favourite bard.

"A taste for letters is not always conjoined with habits of temperance and regularity; and Edinburgh, at the period of which we speak, contained perhaps an uncommon proportion of men of considerable talents, devoted to social excesses, in which their talents were wasted and debased.

"Burns entered into several parties of this description, with the usual vehemence of his character. His generous affections, his ardent eloquence, his brilliant and daring imagination, fitted him to be the idol of such associations; and accustoming himself to conversation of unlimited range, and to festive indulgences that scorned restraint,
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he gradually lost some portion of his relish for the more pure but less poignant pleasures to be found in the circles of taste, elegance, and literature. The sudden alteration in his habits of life operated on him physically as well as morally. The humble fare of an Ayrshire peasant he had exchanged for the luxuries of the Scottish metropolis, and the effects of this change on his ardent constitution could not be inconsiderable. But whatever influence might be produced on his conduct, his excellent understanding suffered no corresponding debasement. He estimated his friends and associates of every description at their proper value, and appreciated his own conduct with a precision that might give scope to much curious and melancholy reflection. He saw his danger, and at times formed resolutions to guard against it; but he had embarked on the tide of dissipation, and was borne along its stream.——

“By the new edition of his poems, Burns acquired a sum of money, that enabled him not only to partake of the pleasures of Edinburgh, but to gratify a desire he had long entertained, of visiting those parts of his native country most attractive by their beauty or their grandeur; a desire which the return of summer naturally revived. The scenery on the banks of the Tweed, and of its tributary streams, strongly interested his fancy; and accordingly he left Edinburgh on the 6th of May, 1787, on a tour through a country so much celebrated in the rural songs of Scotland. He travelled on horseback, and was accompanied during some part of his journey by Mr. Ainslie, now writer to the signet, a gentleman who enjoyed much of his friendship and of his confidence.

Of this tour a journal remains which however contains only occasional remarks on the scenery, and which is chiefly occupied with an account of the author's different stages, and with his observations on the various characters to whom he was introduced. In the course of this tour he visited Mr. Ainslie, of Berrywell, the father of his companion; Mr. Brydone, the celebrated traveller, to whom he carried a letter of introduction from Mr. Mackenzie; the reverend Dr. Somerville of Jedburgh, the historian Mr. and Mrs. Scott, of Wauchope; Dr. Elliot, a physician, retired to a romantic spot on the banks of the Roole; sir Alexander Don; sir James Hall of Dunglass; and a great variety of other respectable characters. Every where the fame of the poet had spread before him, and every where he received the most hospitable and flattering attentions. At Jedburgh he continued several days, and was honoured by the magistrates with the freedom of their borough.——

“Having spent three weeks in exploring this interesting scenery, Burns crossed over into Northumberland. Mr. Ker and Mr. Hood, two gentlemen with whom he had become acquainted in the course of his tour, accompanied him. He visited Alnwick-Castle, the princely seat of the duke of Northumberland; the hermitage and old castle of Warkworth; Morpeth, and Newcastle. In this last town he spent two days, and then proceeded to the south-west by Hexham and Wardrue, to Carlisle. After spending a day at Carlisle with his friend Mr. Mitchel, he returned into Scotland, and at Annan his journal terminates abruptly.

“Of the various persons with whom he became acquainted in the

the course of this journey, he has, in general, given some account; and almost always a favourable one. That on the banks of the Tweed, and of the Tiviot, our bard should find nymphs that were beautiful, is what might be confidently presumed. Two of these are particularly described in his journal. But it does not appear that the scenery, or its inhabitants, produced any effort of his muse, as was to have been wished and expected. From Annan, Burns proceeded to Dumfries, and thence through Sanquhar, to Moffat, near Mauchline, in Ayrshire, where he arrived about the 8th of June, 1787, after an absence of six busy and eventful months. It will easily be conceived with what pleasure and pride he was received by his mother, his brothers, and sisters. He had left them poor, and comparatively friendless; he returned to them high in public estimation, and easy in his circumstances. He returned to them unchanged in his ardent affections, and ready to share with them to the uttermost farthing the pittance that fortune had bestowed.

“ Having remained with them a few days, he proceeded again to Edinburgh, and immediately set out on a journey to the Highlands.

“ From this journey Burns returned to his friends in Ayrshire, with whom he spent the month of July, renewing his friendships, and extending his acquaintance throughout the county, where he was now generally known and admired. In August he again visited Edinburgh, whence he undertook another journey, towards the middle of this month, in company with Mr. M. Adair, now Dr. Adair, of Harrowgate.—

“ The different journeys already mentioned did not satisfy the curi-

osity of Burns. About the beginning of September, he again set out from Edinburgh on a more extended tour to the Highlands, in company with Mr. Nicol, with whom he had now contracted a particular intimacy, which lasted during the remainder of his life.—

“ Mr. Nicol and our poet travelled in a post-chaise, which they engaged for the journey, and, passing through the heart of the Highlands, stretched northwards about ten miles beyond Inverness. There they bent their course eastward across the island, and returned by the shore of the German sea to Edinburgh.—

“ Burns remained at Edinburgh during the greater part of the winter 1787-8, and again entered into the society and dissipation of that metropolis. It appears that on the 31st day of December he attended a meeting to celebrate the birth-day of the lineal descendant of the Scottish race of kings, the late unfortunate Prince Charles-Edward. Whatever might have been the wish or purpose of the original institutors of this annual meeting, there is no reason to suppose that the gentlemen of which it was at this time composed, were not perfectly loyal to the king on the throne. It is not to be conceived that they entertained any hope of, any wish for, the restoration of the house of Stewart; but over their sparkling wine they indulged the generous feelings which the recollection of fallen greatness is calculated to inspire, and commemorated the heroic valour which strove to sustain it in vain—valour worthy of a nobler cause and of a happier fortune. On this occasion our bard took upon himself the office of poet-laureate, and produced an ode, which, though deficient in the complicated rhythm

rhythm and polished versification that such compositions require, might on a fair competition, where energy of feelings and of expression was alone in question, have won the butt of malinsey from the real laureate of that day.—

“ Having settled with his publisher, Mr. Creech, in February 1788, Burns found himself master of nearly five hundred pounds, after discharging all his expences. Two hundred pounds he immediately advanced to his brother Gilbert, who had taken upon himself the support of their aged mother, and was struggling with many difficulties in the farm of Mossiel. With the remainder of this sum, and some farther eventual profits from his poems, he determined on settling himself for life in the occupation of agriculture, and took from Mr. Miller, of Dalswinton, the farm of Ellisland, on the banks of the river Nith, six miles above Dumfries, on which he entered on Whitsunday 1788. Having been previously recommended to the board of excise, his name had been put on the list of candidates for the humble office of a gauger or exciseman; and he immediately applied to acquiring the information necessary for filling that office, when the honourable board might judge it proper to employ him. He expected to be called into service in the district in which his farm was situated, and vainly hoped to unite with success the labours of the farmer with the duties of the exciseman.

“ When Burns had in this manner arranged his plans for futurity, his generous heart turned to the object of his most ardent attachment; and listening to no considerations but those of honour and affection, he joined with her in a public declaration of marriage, thus legaliz-

ing their union and rendering permanent for life.

“ Before Burns was known in Edinburgh, a specimen of his poetry had recommended him to Mr. Miller of Dalswinton. Understanding that he intended to resume the life of a farmer, Mr. Miller had invited him in the spring of 1787 to view his estate in Nithsdale, offering him at the same time the choice of any of his farms out of lease, at such a rent as Burns and his friends might judge proper. It was not in the nature of Burns to take an undue advantage of the liberality of Mr. Miller. He proceeded in this business, however, with more than usual deliberation. Having made choice of the farm of Ellisland, he employed two of his friends, skilled in the value of land, to examine it; and with their approbation offered a rent to Mr. Miller, which was immediately accepted. It was not convenient for Mrs. Burns to remove immediately from Ayrshire, and our poet therefore took up his residence alone at Ellisland to prepare for the reception of his wife and children, who joined him towards the end of the year.

“ The situation in which Burns now found himself was calculated to awaken reflection. The different steps he had of late taken were in their nature highly important, and might be said to have, in some measure, fixed his destiny. He had become a husband and a father; he had engaged in the management of a considerable farm, a difficult and laborious undertaking; in his success the happiness of his family was involved; it was time therefore to abandon the gaiety and dissipation of which he had been too much enamoured; to ponder seriously on the past, and to form virtuous resolutions respecting the future.

ture. That such was actually the state of his mind, the following extract from his common-place book may bear witness.

Ellisland, Sunday, 14th June, 1788.

‘ This is now the third day that I have been in this country. “ Lord, what is man ! ” What a bustling little bundle of passions, appetites, ideas, and fancies ! And what a capricious kind of existence he has here ! * * * There is indeed an elsewhere, where, as Thomson says, *virtue sole survives*.

‘ Tell us, ye dead ! Will none of you in pity disclose the secret, What ’tis you are and we must shortly be ? ————— A little time Will make us wise as you are, and as close.’

‘ I am such a coward in life, so tired of the service, that I would almost at any time, with Milton’s Adam, ‘ gladly lay me in my mother’s lap, and be at peace.’

‘ But a wife and children bind me to struggle with the stream, till some sudden squall shall overset the silly vessel, or, in the listless return of years, its own craziness reduce it to a wreck. Farewell now to those giddy follies, those varnished vices, which, though half-sanctified by the bewitching levity of wit and humour, are at best but thriftless idling with the precious current of existence ; nay, often poisoning the whole, that, like the plains of Jericho, *the water is naught and the ground barren*, and nothing short of a supernaturally-gifted Elisha can ever after heal the evils !

‘ Wedlock, the circumstance that buckles me hardest to care, if virtue and religion were to be any thing with me but names, was what in a few seasons I must have resolved on ; in my present situation it was absolutely necessary. Huma-

nity, generosity, honest pride of character, justice to my own happiness for after life, so far as it could depend (which it surely will a great deal) on internal peace ; all these joined their warmest suffrages, their most powerful sollicitations, with a rooted attachment, to urge the step I have taken. Nor have I any reason on *her* part to repent it. I can fancy how, but have never seen where, I could have made a better choice. Come then, let me act up to my favourite motto, that glorious passage of Young —

‘ On reason build, resolve,
‘ That column of true majesty in man !’

“ Under the impulse of these reflections, Burns immediately engaged in rebuilding the dwelling-house on his farm, which, in the state he found it, was inadequate to the accommodation of his family. On this occasion, he himself resumed at times the occupation of a labourer, and found neither his strength nor his skill impaired.—Pleased with surveying the grounds he was about to cultivate, and with the rearing of a building that should give shelter to his wife and children, and, as he fondly hoped, to his own grey hairs, sentiments of independence buoyed up his mind, pictures of domestic content and peace rose on his imagination : and a few days passed away, as he himself informs us, the most tranquil, if not the happiest, which he had ever experienced.

“ It is to be lamented that at this critical period of his life, our poet was without the society of his wife and children. A great change had taken place in his situation ; his old habits were broken ; and the new circumstances in which he was placed, were calculated to give a new direction to his thoughts and conduct. But his application to the

the cares and labours of his farm was interrupted by several visits to his family in Ayrshire; and as the distance was too great for a single day's journey, he generally spent a night at an inn on the road. On such occasions he sometimes fell into company, and forgot the resolutions he had formed. In a little while temptation assailed him nearer home.

“ His fame naturally drew upon him the attention of his neighbours, and he soon formed a general acquaintance in the district in which he lived. The public voice had now pronounced on the subject of his talents; the reception he had met with in Edinburgh had given him the currency which fashion bestows; he had surmounted the prejudices arising from his humble birth; and he was received at the table of the gentlemen of Nithsdale with welcome, with kindness, and even with respect. Their social parties too often seduced him from his rustic labours and his rustic fare, overthrew the unsteady fabric of his resolutions, and inflamed those propensities which temperance might have weakened, and prudence ultimately suppressed. It was not long, therefore, before Burns began to view his farm with dislike and despondence, if not with disgust.

“ Unfortunately he had for several years looked to an office in the excise as a certain means of livelihood, should his other expectations fail. As has already been mentioned, he had been recommended to the board of excise, and had received the instruction necessary for such a situation. He now applied to be employed; and, by the interest of Mr. Graham of Fintry, was appointed exciseman, or, as it is vulgarly called, gauger, of

the district in which he lived. His farm was after this in a great measure abandoned to servants, while he betook himself to the duties of his new appointment.

“ He might indeed still be seen in the spring, directing his plough in a labour in which he excelled; or with a white sheet containing his seed-corn slung across his shoulders, striding with measured steps along his turned-up furrows, and scattering the grain in the earth. But his farm no longer occupied the principal part of his care or his thoughts. It was not at Ellisland that he was now in general to be found. Mounted on horseback, this high-minded poet was pursuing the defaulters of the revenue, among the hills and vales of Nithsdale, his roving eye wandering over the charms of nature, and *muttering his wayward fancies* as he moved along.

“ Besides his duties in the excise and his social pleasures, other circumstances interfered with the attention of Burns to his farm. He engaged in the formation of a society for purchasing and circulating books among the farmers of his neighbourhood, of which he undertook the management; and he occupied himself occasionally in composing songs for the musical work of Mr. Johnson, then in the course of publication. These engagements, useful and honourable in themselves, contributed no doubt to the abstraction of his thoughts from the business of agriculture.

“ The consequences may be easily imagined. Notwithstanding the uniform prudence and good management of Mrs. Burns, and though his rent was moderate and reasonable, our poet found it convenient, if not necessary, to resign his farm to Mr. Miller, after having occupied it three years and

half. His office in the excise had originally produced about fifty pounds per annum. Having acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the board, he had been appointed to a new district, the emoluments of which rose to about seventy pounds per annum. Hoping to support himself and his family on this humble income till promotion should reach him, he disposed of his stock and of his crop on Ellisland by public auction, and removed to a small house which he had taken in Dumfries, about the end of the year 1791.

“Hitherto Burns, though addicted to excess in social parties, had abstained from the habitual use of strong liquors, and his constitution had not suffered any permanent injury from the irregularities of his conduct. In Dumfries, temptations to *the sin that so easily beset him* continually presented themselves; and his irregularities grew by degrees into habits. These temptations unhappily occurred during his engagements in the business of his office, as well as during his hours of relaxation; and though he clearly foresaw the consequence of yielding to them, his appetites and sensations, which could not pervert the dictates of his judgment, finally triumphed over the powers of his will. Yet this victory was not obtained without many obstinate struggles, and at times temperance and virtue seemed to have obtained the mastery. Besides his engagements in the excise, and the society into which they led, many circumstances contributed to the melancholy fate of Burns. His great celebrity made him an object of interest and curiosity to strangers, and few persons of cultivated minds passed through Dumfries without

attempting to see our poet, and to enjoy the pleasure of his conversation. As he could not receive them under his own humble roof, these interviews passed at the inns of the town, and often terminated in those excesses which Burns sometimes provoked, and was seldom able to resist. And among the inhabitants of Dumfries and its vicinity, there were never wanting persons to share his social pleasures; to lead or accompany him to the tavern; to partake the wildest sallies of his wit; to witness the strength and the degradation of his genius.

“Still however he cultivated the society of persons of taste and of respectability, and in their company could impose on himself the restraints of temperance and decorum. Nor was his muse dormant. In the four years which he lived in Dumfries, he produced many of his beautiful lyrics, though it does not appear that he attempted any poem of considerable length. —

“Burns had entertained hopes of promotion in the excise; but circumstances occurred which retarded their fulfilment, and which in his own mind destroyed all expectation of their being ever fulfilled. The extraordinary events which ushered in the revolution of France, interested the feelings and excited the hopes of men in every corner of Europe. Prejudice and tyranny seemed about to disappear from among men, and the day-star of reason to rise upon a benighted world. In the dawn of this beautiful morning the genius of French freedom appeared on our southern horizon with the countenance of an angel, but speedily assumed the features of a demon, and vanished in a shower of blood.

“Though previously a jacobite
and

and a cavalier, Burns had shared in the original hopes entertained of this astonishing revolution by ardent and benevolent minds. The novelty and the hazard of the attempt meditated by the first or constituent assembly, served rather, it is probable, to recommend it to his daring temper; and the unfettered scope proposed to be given to every kind of talents, was doubtless gratifying to the feelings of conscious but indignant genius. Burns foresaw not the mighty ruin that was to be the immediate consequence of an enterprise, which, on its commencement, promised so much happiness to the human race. And even after the career of guilt and of blood commenced, he could not immediately, it may be presumed, withdraw his partial gaze from a people who had so lately breathed the sentiments of universal peace and benignity, or obliterate in his bosom the pictures of hope and of happiness to which those sentiments had given birth. Under these impressions, he did not always conduct himself with the circumspection and prudence which his dependent situation seemed to demand. He engaged indeed in no popular associations, so common at the time of which we speak; but in company he did not conceal his opinions of public measures, or of the reforms required in the practice of our government: and sometimes, in his social and unguarded moments, he uttered them with a wild and unjustifiable vehemence. Information of this was given to the board of excise, with the exaggerations so general in such cases. A superior officer in that department was authorised to inquire into his conduct. Burns defended himself in a letter addressed to one of the board, written with

with great independence of spirit, and with more than his accustomed eloquence. The officer appointed to inquire into his conduct gave a favourable report. His steady friend, Mr. Graham of Fintry, interposed his good offices in his behalf; and the imprudent gauger was suffered to retain his situation, but given to understand that his promotion was deferred, and must depend on his future behaviour.

“ This circumstance made a deep impression on the mind of Burns. Fame exaggerated his misconduct, and represented him as actually dismissed from his office. And this report induced a gentleman of much respectability to propose a subscription in his favour. The offer was refused by our poet in a letter of great elevation of sentiment, in which he gives an account of the whole of this transaction, and defends himself from the imputation of disloyal sentiments on the one hand, and on the other from the charge of having made submissions, for the sake of his office, unworthy of his character.

“ Though by nature of an athletic form, Burns had in his constitution the peculiarities and the delicacies that belong to the temperament of genius. He was liable, from a very early period of life, to that interruption in the process of digestion which arises from deep and anxious thought, and which is sometimes the effect, and sometimes the cause, of depression of spirits. Connected with this disorder of the stomach, there was a disposition to head-ache, affecting more especially the temples and eye-balls, and frequently accompanied by violent and irregular movements of the heart. Endowed by nature with great sensibility of nerves, Burns was, in his corporeal

as well as in his mental system, liable to inordinate impressions; to fever of body, as well as of mind. This predisposition to disease, which strict temperance in diet, regular exercise, and sound sleep, might have subdued, habits of a very different nature strengthened and inflamed. Perpetually stimulated by alcohol in one or other of its various forms, the inordinate actions of the circulating system became at length habitual; the process of nutrition was unable to supply the waste, and the powers of life began to fail. Upwards of a year before his death, there was an evident decline in our poet's personal appearance; and though his appetite continued unimpaired, he was himself sensible that his constitution was sinking. In his moments of thought he reflected with the deepest regret on his fatal progress; clearly foreseeing the goal towards which he was hastening, without the strength of mind necessary to stop, or even to slacken his course. His temper now became more irritable and gloomy; he fled from himself into society, often of the lowest kind. And in such company, that part of the convivial scene, in which wine increases sensibility and excites benevolence, was hurried over, to reach the succeeding part, over which uncontrolled passion generally presided. He who suffers the pollution of inebriation, how shall he escape other pollution? But let us refrain from the mention of errors over which delicacy and humanity draw the veil.

"In the midst of all his wanderings, Burns met nothing in his domestic circle but gentleness and forgiveness, except in the gnawings of his own remorse. He acknowledged his transgressions to the wife of his bosom, promised amendment,

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and again and again received pardon for his offences. But as the strength of his body decayed, his resolution became feeble, and habit acquired predominating strength.

"From October, 1795, to the January following, an accidental complaint confined him to the house. A few days after he began to go abroad, he dined at a tavern, and returned home about three o'clock in a very cold morning, benumbed and intoxicated. This was followed by an attack of rheumatism, which confined him about a week. His appetite now began to fail; his hand shook, and his voice faltered on any exertion or emotion. His pulse became weaker and more rapid, and pain in the larger joints, and in the hands and feet, deprived him of the enjoyment of refreshing sleep. Too much dejected in his spirits, and too well aware of his real situation to entertain hopes of recovery, he was ever musing on the approaching desolation of his family, and his spirits sunk into an uniform gloom.

"It was hoped by some of his friends, that if he could live through the months of spring, the succeeding season might restore him. But they were disappointed. The genial beams of the sun infused no vigour into his languid frame; the summer wind blew upon him, but produced no refreshment. About the latter end of June he was advised to go into the country; and impatient of medical advice, as well as of every species of control, he determined for himself to try the effects of bathing in the sea. For this purpose he took up his residence at Brow, in Annandale, about ten miles east of Dumfries, on the shore of the Solway-Firth.——

"At first Burns imagined bathing in the sea had been of benefit to him: the pains in his limbs were

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relieved ; but this was immediately followed by a new attack of fever. When brought back to his own house in Dumfries, on the 18th of July, he was no longer able to stand upright. At this time a tremor pervaded his frame; his tongue was parched, and his mind sunk into delirium when not roused by conversation. On the second and third day the fever increased, and his strength diminished. On the fourth, the sufferings of this great but ill-fated genius were terminated, and a life was closed in which virtue and passion had been at perpetual variance.

“ The death of Burns made a strong and general impression on all who had interested themselves in his character, and especially on the inhabitants of the town and county in which he had spent the latter years of his life. Flagrant as his follies and errors had been, they had not deprived him of the respect and regard entertained for the extraordinary powers of his genius, and the generous qualities of his heart. The gentlemen volunteers of Dumfries determined to bury their illustrious associate with military honours, and every preparation was made to render this last service solemn and impressive.—

“ Burns died in great poverty; but the independence of his spirit, and the exemplary prudence of his wife, had preserved him from debt. He had received from his poems a clear profit of about nine hundred pounds. Of this sum, the part expended on his library (which was far from extensive) and in the humble furniture of his house remained; and obligations were found for two hundred pounds advanced by him to the assistance of those to whom he was united by the ties of blood, and still more by

those of esteem and affection. When it is considered that his expences in Edinburgh, and on his various journeys, could not be inconsiderable; that his agricultural undertaking was unsuccessful; that his income from the excise was for some time as low as fifty, and never rose to above seventy pounds a year; that his family was large, and his spirit liberal—no one will be surprised that his circumstances were so poor, or that, as his health decayed, his proud and feeling heart sunk under the secret consciousness of indigence, and the apprehensions of absolute want. Yet poverty never bent the spirit of Burns to any pecuniary meanness. Neither chicanery nor sordidness ever appeared in his conduct. He carried his disregard of money to a blameable excess. Even in the midst of distress he bore himself loftily to the world, and received with a jealous reluctance every offer of friendly assistance. His printed poems had procured him great celebrity, and a just and fair recompense for the latter offsprings of his pen might have produced him considerable emolument. In the year 1795, the editors of a London newspaper, high in its character for literature and independence of sentiment, made a proposal to him, that he should furnish them once a week with an article for their poetical department, and receive from them a recompense of fifty-two guineas per annum; an offer which the pride of genius disdained to accept. Yet he had for several years furnished, and was at that time furnishing, the *Museum* of Johnson with his beautiful lyrics, without fee or reward, and was obstinately refusing all recompense for his assistance to the greater work of Mr. Thomson, which

which the justice and generosity of that gentleman was pressing upon him.

“The sense of his poverty, and of the approaching distress of his infant family, pressed heavily on Burns as he lay on the bed of death. Yet he alluded to his indigence, at times, with something approaching to his wonted gaiety.—‘What business,’ said he to Dr. Maxwell, who attended him with the utmost zeal, ‘has a physician to waste his time on me? I am a poor pigeon not worth plucking. Alas! I have not feathers enough upon me to carry me to my grave.’ And when his reason was lost in delirium, his ideas ran in the same melancholy train; the horrors of a jail were continually present to his troubled imagination, and produced the most affecting exclamations.

“As for some months previous to his death he had been incapable of the duties of his office, Burns dreaded that his salary should be reduced one half, as is usual in such cases. His full emoluments were however continued to him by the kindness of Mr. Stobbie, a young expectant in the excise, who performed the duties of his office without fee or reward; and Mr. Graham of Fintry, hearing of his illness, though unacquainted with its dangerous nature, made an offer of his assistance towards procuring him the means of preserving his health. Whatever might be the faults of Burns, ingratitude was not of the number. Amongst his manuscripts, various proofs are found of the sense he entertained of Mr. Graham’s friendship, which delicacy towards that gentleman has induced us to suppress; and on this last occasion there is no doubt that his heart overflowed towards him, though

he had no longer the power of expressing his feelings.

“On the death of Burns, the inhabitants of Dumfries and its neighbourhood opened a subscription for the support of his wife and family; and Mr. Miller, Mr. Macmurdo, Dr. Maxwell, Mr. Syme, and Mr. Cunningham, gentlemen of the first respectability, became trustees for the application of the money to its proper objects. The subscription was extended to other parts of Scotland, and of England also, particularly London and Liverpool. By this means a sum was raised amounting to seven hundred pounds; and thus the widow and children were rescued from immediate distress, and the most melancholy of the forebodings of Burns happily disappointed. It is true, this sum, though equal to their present support, is insufficient to secure them from future penury. Their hope in regard to futurity depends on the favourable reception of these volumes from the public at large, in the promoting of which the candour and humanity of the reader may induce him to lend his assistance.

“Burns, as has already been mentioned, was nearly five feet ten inches in height, and of a form that indicated agility as well as strength. His well-raised forehead, shaded with black curling hair, indicated extensive capacity. His eyes were large, dark, full of ardour and intelligence. His face was well formed, and his countenance uncommonly interesting and expressive. His mode of dressing, which was often slovenly, and a certain fullness and bend in his shoulders, characteristic of his original profession, disguised in some degree the natural symmetry and elegance of his

his form. The external appearance of Burns was most strikingly indicative of the character of his mind. On a first view, his physiognomy had a certain air of coarseness, mingled however with an expression of deep penetration, and of calm thoughtfulness approaching to melancholy. There appeared in his first manner and address perfect ease and self-possession, but a stern and almost supercilious elevation, not indeed incompatible with openness and affability, which however bespoke a mind conscious of superior talents. Strangers that supposed themselves approaching an Ayrshire peasant, who could make rhymes, and to whom their notice was an honour, found themselves speedily overawed by the presence of a man who bore himself with dignity; and who possessed a singular power of correcting forwardness and of repelling intrusion. But though jealous of the respect due to himself, Burns never enforced it where he saw it was willingly paid; and though inaccessible to the approaches of pride, he was open to every advance of kindness and of benevolence. His dark and haughty countenance easily relaxed into a look of goodwill, of pity, or of tenderness; and, as the various emotions succeeded each other in his mind, assumed with equal ease the expression of the broadest humour, of the most extravagant mirth, of the deepest melancholy, or of the most sublime emotion. The tones of his voice happily corresponded with the expression of his features, and with the feelings of his mind. When to these endowments are added, a rapid and distinct apprehension, a most powerful understanding, and happy command of language—of strength as well as brilliancy of ex-

pression—we shall be able to account for the extraordinary attractions of his conversation—for the forcery which in his social parties he seemed to exert on all around him. In the company of women this forcery was more especially apparent. Their presence charmed the fiend of melancholy in his bosom, and awoke his happiest feelings; it excited the powers of his fancy as well as the tenderness of his heart; and, by restraining the vehemence and the exuberance of his language, at times gave to his manners the impression of taste, and even of elegance, which in the company of men they seldom possessed. This influence was doubtless reciprocal. A Scottish lady, accustomed to the best society, declared with characteristic *naïveté*, that no man's conversation ever *carried her so completely off her feet* as that of Burns; and an English lady, familiarly acquainted with several of the most distinguished characters of the present times, assured the editor, that in the happiest of his social hours there was a charm about Burns which she had never seen equalled. This charm arose not more from the power than the versatility of his genius. No languor could be felt in the society of a man who passed at pleasure from *grave to gay*, from the ludicrous to the pathetic, from the simple to the sublime; who wielded all his faculties with equal strength and ease, and never failed to impress the offspring of his fancy with the stamp of his understanding.

“This indeed is to represent Burns in his happiest phasis. In large and mixed parties he was often silent and dark, sometimes fierce and overbearing; he was jealous of the proud man's scorn, jealous to
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an extreme of the insolence of wealth, and prone to avenge, even on its innocent possessor, the partiality of fortune. By nature kind, brave, sincere, and in a singular degree compassionate, he was on the other hand proud, irascible, and vindictive. His virtues and his failings had their origin in the extraordinary sensibility of his mind, and equally partook of the chills and glows of sentiment. His friendships were liable to interruption from jealousy or disgust, and his enmities died away under the influence of pity or self-accusation. His understanding was equal to the other powers of his mind, and his deliberate opinions were singularly candid and just; but, like other men of great and irregular genius, the opinions which he delivered in conversation were often the offspring of temporary feelings, and widely different from the calm decisions of his judgment. This was not merely true respecting the characters of others, but in regard to some of the most important points of human speculation.

“On no subject did he give a more striking proof of the strength of his understanding, than in the correct estimate he formed of himself. He knew his own failings; he predicted their consequence; the melancholy foreboding was never

long absent from his mind; yet his passions carried him down the stream of error, and swept him over the precipice he saw directly in his course. The fatal defect in his character lay in the comparative weakness of his volition, that superior faculty of the mind, which governing the conduct according to the dictates of the understanding, alone entitles it to be denominated rational; which is the parent of fortitude, patience, and self-denial; which, by regulating and combining human exertions, may be said to have effected all that is great in the works of man, in literature, in science, or on the face of nature. The occupations of a poet are not calculated to strengthen the governing powers of the mind, or to weaken that sensibility which requires perpetual control, since it gives birth to the vehemence of passion as well as to the higher powers of imagination. Unfortunately the favourite occupations of genius are calculated to increase all its peculiarities; to nourish that lofty pride which disdains the littleness of prudence, and the restrictions of order; and by indulgence to increase that sensibility, which in the present form of our existence is scarcely compatible with peace or happiness, even when accompanied with the choicest gifts of fortune!

EXTRAORDINARY ACCOUNT of a HINDOO DEVOTEE.

[From Captain TURNER'S ACCOUNT of an EMBASSY to the COURT of the TESHOO LAMA.]

“THE Gosein alluded to by the Regent, whose name is Prânporee, exhibited so extraordinary an instance of religious penance, that I cannot resist the temp-

tation of relating some particulars of his life.

“Having been adopted by an Hindoo devotee, and educated by him in the rigid tenets of his religion,

gion, he was yet young when he commenced the course of his extraordinary mortifications. The first vow, which the plan of life he had chosen to himself induced him to make, was to continue perpetually upon his legs, and neither to sit down upon the ground, nor lie down to rest, for the space of twelve years. All this time, he told me, he had employed in wandering through different countries. When I inquired how he took the indispensable refreshment of sleep, when wearied with fatigue, he said, that at first, to prevent his falling, he used to be tied with ropes to some tree or post; but that this precaution, after some time, became unnecessary, and he was able to sleep standing without such support.

“The complete term of this first penance being expired, the next he undertook was to hold his hands, locked in each other, over his head, the fingers of one hand dividing those of the other, for the same space of twelve years. Whether this particular period is chosen in compliment to the twelve signs of the zodiac, or to the Indian cycle of twelve years, I cannot decide. He was still determined not to dwell in any fixed abode; so that, before the term of this last vow could be accomplished, he had travelled over the greater part of the continent of Asia. He first set out by crossing the peninsula of India through Guzerat; he then passed by Surat to Bussora, and thence to Constantinople; from Turkey he went to Ispahan; and sojourned so long among the different Persian tribes, as to obtain a considerable knowledge of their language, in which he conversed with tolerable ease. In his passage from thence towards Russia, he fell

in with the Kussaucs (hordes of Cossacs) upon the borders of the Caspian sea, where he narrowly escaped being condemned to perpetual slavery: at length he was suffered to pass on, and reached Moscow: he then travelled along the northern boundary of the Russian empire, and through Siberia arrived at Pekin in China, from whence he came through Tibet, by the way of Teshoo Loomboo, and Nipal, down to Calcutta.

“When I first saw him at this place, in the year 1783, he rode upon a piebald Tangun horse from Bootan, and wore a satin embroidered dress, given to him by Teshoo Lama, of which he was not a little vain. He was robust, and hale; and his complexion, contrasted with a long bushy black beard, appeared really florid. I do not suppose that he was then forty years of age. Two Goseins attended him, and assisted him in mounting and alighting from his horse. Indeed he was indebted to them for the assistance of their hands on every occasion; his own, being fixed and immovable in the position in which he had placed them, were of course perfectly useless.

“The circulation of blood seemed to have forsaken his arms; they were withered, void of sensation, and inflexible. Yet he spoke to me with confidence of recovering the use of them, and mentioned his intention to take them down the following year, when the term of his penance would expire.

“Other Goseins assured me, though I could not help doubting the fact, that it is practicable to restore withered limbs, thus circumstanced, to perfect use. This is effected, they say, though not without great labour, and some pain, by means

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of long continued friction, before a large fire, with a certain ointment which they compound. To complete the full measure of his religious penance, I understood that there still remained two other experiments for Prânpooree to perform. In the first of these, the devotee is suspended by the feet to the branch of a tree, over a fire, which is kept in a continual blaze, and swung backwards and forwards, his hair passing through the flame, for one pahr and a quarter, that is, three hours and three quarters. Having

passed through this fiery trial, he may then prepare himself for the last act of probation, which is, to be buried alive, standing upright, in a pit dug for the purpose; the fresh earth being thrown in upon him, so that he is completely covered. In this situation he must remain for one pahr and a quarter, or three hours and three quarters; and if at the expiration of that time, on the removal of the earth, he should be found alive, he will ascend into the highest rank among the most pure of the Yogee (Jugi)."

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELIGION, MONASTIC ESTABLISHMENTS, CEREMONIES, FESTIVALS, CUSTOMS, &c. OF TIBET, including an Account of the Author's Interviews with the Infant TESHOO LAMA.

[From Captain TURNER'S ACCOUNT of an EMBASSY to the COURT of the TESHOO LAMA.]

“ I SHALL, for very obvious reasons, decline entering into any formal discussion respecting the nature of this religion. It is evidently a subject, to acquire a competent knowledge of which, necessarily demands a long residence in the country, and an accurate and critical acquaintance with its language. I shall therefore content myself, as I have hitherto done, with communicating faithfully, such superficial information as I was enabled to obtain, respecting the religion of Tibet, and with delineating what occurred to my own immediate observation respecting its external forms.

It seems, then, to be the schismatical offspring of the religion of the Hindoos, deriving its origin from one of the followers of that faith, a disciple of Budh, who first broached the doctrine which now prevails over the wide extent of Tartary. It is reported to have received its earliest admission in that part of Tibet bordering upon India, (which from hence became the seat of the sovereign Lamas) to have traversed over Mantchieux Tartary, and to have been ultimately disseminated over China and Japan.

Though it differs from the Hindoo in many of its outward forms, yet it still bears a very close affinity with the religion of Brahma in many important particulars. The principal idol in the temples of Tibet is Mahamoonie, the Budha of Bengal, who is worshipped under these and various other epithets throughout the great extent of Tartary, and among all the nations to the eastward of the Berhampooter. In the wide extended space over which this faith prevails, the same object of veneration is acknowledged under numerous titles: among others he is styled Godama or Gowtama, in Assam and Ava; Samana, in Siam; Amida Buth, in Japan; Fohi in China; Budha and Shakamuna, in Bengal and Hindoostan; Dherma Raja and Mahamoonie, in Bootan and Tibet. Durga and Kali; Ganeish, the emblem of wisdom; and Cartikeah, with his numerous heads and arms, as well as many other deities of the Hindoo mythology, have also a place in their assemblage of gods.

“ The same places of popular esteem or religious resort, as I have already hinted, are equally respected

ed in Tibet and in Bengal; Praag, Cashi, Durgedin, Saugor, and Jagarnaut, are objects of devout pilgrimage; and I have seen loads of the sacred water taken from the Ganges, travelling over these mountains, (which, by the bye, contribute largely to its increase) upon the shoulders of men, whom enthusiasts have deemed it worth their while to hire at a considerable expence for so pious a purpose.

“As far as I am able to judge respecting their ritual, or ceremonial worship, it differs materially from the Hindoo. The Tibetians assemble in chapels, and unite together in prodigious numbers, to perform their religious service, which they chant in alternate recitative and chorus, accompanied by an extensive band of loud and powerful instruments. So that, whenever I heard these congregations, they forcibly recalled to my recollection both the solemnity and sound of the Roman-catholic mass.

“The instruments made use of were all of an enormous size. Trumpets above six feet long; drums stretched over a copper cauldron, such as are termed now-but in Hindoostan; the gong, a circular Chinese instrument of thin hammered bell-metal, capable of producing a surprising sound; cymbals, hautboys; and a double drum, shallow, but of great circumference, mounted upon a tall, slender pedestal, which the performer turns with great facility, striking either side with a long curved iron, as the piece requires a higher or a lower tone: these, together with the human tibia, and sea conch, a large species of the buccinum, compose, for the most part, their religious band. Harsh as these instruments, individually

taken, might sound to a musical ear, yet when joined together in unison, with the voices of two or three hundred boys and men, managed with varying modulation, from the lowest and softest cadence to the loudest swell, they produced to my ear an effect extremely grand.

“Other musical instruments are in the hands of the people of Tibet. The mother of Teshoo Lama, on my visit to her (which I shall particularly describe hereafter), sung to me a very pleasing air, which she played at the same time on the guitar, her husband also accompanying her with the flagelet.

“From many of the prejudices essentially interwoven with the religion of the Hindoos, especially such as relate to their various and perplexing distinctions of casts, the Tibetan is almost entirely exempt. I was attended by them with an assiduity and attention that left me little room to suspect the existence of such prejudices. I have been served with tea from the same vessel with the sovereign Lama; for this always constituted a part of the ceremonial, at every interview. Nor, in the great variety of visitors that occasionally came to me, did I ever perceive the slightest scruple to partake either of tea, or of other liquors, as prepared by my own servants. This I notice, as a trait diametrically opposite to the unalterable practice of the Hindoos. A Brahman would deem it a profanation of the deepest dye, even to eat in the presence of one of an inferior cast; much more to partake of the same repast with a person of a different religion. A rigid Hindoo, though the most needy of his race, would rather suffer death than submit to such disgrace.

“In nothing, however, does there appear so great a difference,
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as in their religious establishments.

“ The religion of the Hindoo, without any acknowledged individual superior, and almost without any edifices of magnitude set apart for its professors (at least in Bengal and Hindoostan), mixes all alike in the common business of the world; and a promiscuous multitude is continually passing before the eye, among whom no external distinction of character can be traced, unless by chance you shall discover that sacred and discriminating mark, the zennâr, which is a small cord, made of the cusa grass, worn next the skin, passing over the shoulder to the hip, by the Brahman only. On such a discovery, I have seen a clean and well-dressed man come up to another who had been employed as a messenger between two Englishmen, humiliating himself before him with profound respect, touching the ground he trod on, and even kissing his slipper after he had been passing through wet and dirty roads. Those who are interested in keeping up the illusion are mixed and blended invariably with every rank of society; so that the machine, having been once set a-going, moves on in one uniform and incessant round; whilst enthusiasm is sufficiently kept alive by the frequent recurrence of public festivals, in which all are seen to take a share, celebrating them with the most extravagant pageantry and ostentatious parade.

“ The sober and reflecting character of the Tibetians exhibits a different picture. Among them, all is system and order. The mind readily obeys the superiority it has been accustomed to acknowledge. A sovereign Lama, immaculate, immortal, omnipresent, and omniscient, is placed at the summit of

their fabric. He is esteemed the vicegerent of the only God, the mediator between mortals and the Supreme. They view him only in the most amiable light, as perpetually absorbed in religious duty; and, when called to bestow attention on mortal beings, as employed only in the benign office of distributing comfort and consolation by his blessing, and in exercising the first of all attributes, forgiveness and mercy. He is also the centre of all civil government, which derives from his authority all its influence and power. At the same time that he is the soul which animates their whole system, a regular gradation, from the most venerated Lama, through the whole order of Gylongs to the young novice, is observed with rigid severity.

“ The inferior gradations from the president of a monastery, who is always styled Lama, in addition to the name of the station to which he belongs, are Gylong, Tohba, and Tuppa.

“ On the establishment of the monastery of Teshoo Loomboo, were reckoned at that period no less than three thousand seven hundred Gylongs, for the performance of daily service in the Goomba, or temple. Four Lamas, chosen from amongst them, superintend and direct their religious ceremonies.

“ One is annually elected from among the Gylongs, whose duty, for the time being, is that of attending to the due preservation of regularity and order; he inspects the distribution of provisions; has a right at all times to enter the apartments of the priests; is present at all religious assemblies and processions; and is armed, as a badge of office, with a wand in one hand, and a small brazier of burning incense,

cenſe, pendent by three chains from the extremity of a ſtaff, in the other. With theſe inſignia of his office, he is at liberty to mark any viſible inattention by ſlightly burning the party, or by a blow. The terrors of his office and his ſtation devolve, at the expiration of one year, on another of the *Gylongs*; during his continuance in authority he is ſtyled *Kegwi*.

“ Youth intended for the ſervice of the monastery are received into the eſtabliſhment at the age of eight or ten years; they are then called *Tuppa*; and are occupied in receiving the inſtruction ſuited to their age, and the duties for which they are deſigned. At fifteen they are uſually admitted of the order of *Tohba*, the firſt ſtep in their religious claſs; and if, after paſſing through a careful examination, they are found ſufficiently qualified, from that of *Tohba* they are admitted into the order of *Gylong*, between the age of twenty-one and twenty-four. They then become eligible, according to the weight of their intereſt, or ſtrength of their pretenſions, to the ſuperintendence of ſome endowed monastery, of which there are multitudes ſpread all over Tibet, with lands aſſigned to them for their ſupport. In this ſtation, as chief of a flock, the ſuperintendent is ſtyled *Lama*.

“ Thoſe who enter the religious order are enjoined ſobriety, forego the ſociety of women, and confine themſelves to the aſtere practices of the cloiſter. Of nunneries, as well as monaſteries, the number is conſiderable; and the ſtricteſt laws exiſt, to prevent any woman even from accidentally paſſing a night within the limits of the one, or a man within thoſe of the other. Indeed there appears to be a regulation among them, moſt completely

framed to obviate abuſe, and eſtabliſh reſpect towards the ſacred orders of both ſexes.

“ The nation is divided into two diſtinct and ſeparate claſſes; thoſe who carry on the buſineſs of the world, and thoſe who hold intercoure with heaven. No interference of the laity ever interrupts the regulated duties of the clergy. The latter, by mutual compact, take charge of all their ſpiritual concerns; and the former, by their labours, enrich and populate the ſtate.

“ I was one day called to the window by a ſudden and loud craſh of inſtrumental and vocal muſic, which ſtruck up at once at no great diſtance from my apartments. I ſoon ſaw a prodigious crowd advance, and turn into an avenue of the monastery, whether or not for the purpoſe of acquiring any addition to their party I cannot pronounce; but preſently they appeared again, and I obſerved a moſt motley group, compoſed of a very numerous concourſe of ſpectators, as well as a large party of *Gylongs*, who, as I was told, were engaged in the celebration of ſome religious feſtival.

“ A conſiderable number of prieſts advanced by files of two and two, led by a *Lama*, having a wand in one hand, and in the other a caſket or brazier of incenſe, ſuſpended by three metallic chains from the end of a long ſtaff, which emitted a thick ſmoke as the proceſſion moved along.

“ A powerful band of their moſt noiſy inſtruments immediately followed. Firſt were ten performers with huge trumpets, which they ſounded, reſting one end upon the ground; next followed twenty men with large tabors, a ſort of drum about three feet in diameter, fixed by

by the side upon a pedestal, and beaten by a long elastic curved iron: then came twenty men with cymbals, and two with the sea shell (*buccinum*), here termed chaunk.

“ Having entered the most spacious and open street, they began to arrange themselves in order. The trumpets took their station upon the right; next them the chaunks, and then the tabors; the cymbals were in front. The Lama stood before the whole band, appearing with his wand to mark the time, and give them words, which all, except the instrumental performers, chanted to the music. I observed, that the performance of this ceremony continued for near half an hour; when they formed their line again, and bent their course, passing by the dwelling of Teshaling Lama, a superior of the religious order, towards the extreme limits of the monastery upon the north-east.

“ Here stood a lofty and broad but shallow edifice, styled Kugopea, filled, as I was informed, with portraits of the sovereign Lamas, and with other sacred subjects appertaining to their mythology; and solemnly dedicated to the festive celebration of some mystic rites of their religion. From this place, after a short pause, the procession moved back again, and returned within the precincts of the monastery, where having repositied their solemn trappings, the priests retired to their respective apartments.

“ The priests were habited in long robes of yellow cloth, with a conical cap of the same colour, having flaps to fall down and cover the ears. I notice this peculiarity of colour in their dress, as it is a distinction adopted to mark one of the two religious sects that

divide almost the whole of Tartary, from Turkistan to the eastern limits of this continent. The other colour is red; and the tribes are known as belonging to the red, or the yellow cap. The former differ principally, as I understand, from the sectaries of the yellow, in admitting the marriage of their priests. But the latter are considered as the most orthodox, as well as possessed of far the greatest influence. The emperor of China is decidedly a votary of this sect, and he has sanctified his preference of the yellow colour by a sumptuary law, which limits it to the service of religion and the imperial use.

“ The two sects are distinguished by the appellations of Gyllookpa and Shammar; but the external appearance or dress of both is similar, except the distinction I have mentioned in the colour of the cap, the Gyllookpa having adopted yellow, the Shammar red; a circumstance which is strictly attended to on all occasions of ceremony. Three Lamas are placed at the head of each sect; Dalai Lama, Teshoo Lama, and Taranaut Lama, preside over the Gyllookpa, who have their residence at Pootalah, Teshoo Loomboo, and Kharka. This sect prevails over the greatest part of Tibet, and a division of the same is said to be established in a province of the Decan, called Seurra or Serrora.

“ In like manner, three Lamas also, Lam' Rimbochay, Lam' Sobroo Nawangnamghi, and Lam' Ghassatoo, preside over the Shammar; these have their residence in Bootan, in separate monasteries, but, from the limited extent of that country, at no great distance from each other. The principal of the Shammar sect in Tibet is styled Gongso Rimbochay, and has his residence at Sakia,

“ Great

“ Great contentions formerly prevailed between the sects Gyllookpa and Shammar; and in ancient times the latter is reported to have enjoyed the most extensive power. Khumbauk acknowledged its doctrines, whilst those of the Gyllookpa were settled in Kilmauk: the monasteries of both were promiscuously scattered over the face of the country, till at length the inhabitants of Kilmauk, the Gyllookpa, assembling together a mighty army, waged war against the sectaries of Khumbauk, the Shammar, and drove them from their possessions in various quarters, more particularly from the neighbourhood of Teshoo Loomboo, where they were then fixed in great numbers, and where they finally established their own authority. The Gyllookpa having thus displaced their opponents from their strongest post, where they had formed a large settlement, now razed it to the ground, and left not an habitation standing: but from the ruins arose the monastery of Teshoo Loomboo. After its establishment, the superiority of Teshoo Lama was firmly fixed, and the power of the Gyllookpa soon attained its highest ascendancy, in consequence of the emperor of China's having declared in its favour, and adopted for himself the distinction of the yellow hat. This completely turned the balance towards the sectaries of Gyllookpa, while those of the Shammar, no longer capable of maintaining their ground, were under the necessity of retiring where they might be permitted to enjoy a peaceful and uninterrupted station.

“ The tract of country bordering on Tibet towards the south, marked by a line inhospitable and intemperate in the extreme, which was

passed over by the Shammar, was found, on examination, capable of affording them a residence, and shelter from their adversaries. Here then it was that they established themselves, and fixed their abode, while others, styled Dykba, still live in tents and tend their flocks, rambling from place to place.

“ I frequently observed many of the ancient and idle inhabitants of this place loiter away much of their time, in basking in the sun, upon the house-tops; from whence I inferred, that the interests and occupations of domestic life were extremely limited. My friend Goo-rooba, who was a humane, intelligent, good creature as could exist, used to pass many hours in the day lounging upon the terrace, and, having stripped his shoulders of the thick mantle that he wore, turned his back to the sun's rays, as if he derived from it the most friendly and genial influence. His lips, I could frequently perceive, moved with great rapidity; but for what purpose I cannot pronounce: I gave him credit, however, for his prayers. During this time he was for the most part employed in rolling up between his fingers little pellets of dough, which he chucked to ravens perched upon the walls; and so familiar were these birds, that they came near enough to catch them before they fell to the ground. They had acquired indeed such an apparent intimacy with man, that they would sometimes take these pellets even from his hand; while kites and eagles kept at a loftier distance, and soared above, watching where they should descend next, and share with dogs and ravens in the funeral obsequies.

“ The tribute of respect is paid, in this region, to the manes of the dead,

dead, in various ways. The sovereign Lamas are deposited entire, in shrines prepared for their remains, which ever after are looked upon as sacred, and visited with religious awe. The bodies of inferior Lamas are usually burnt, and their ashes preserved with great care in little metallic idols, which have places assigned them in their sacred cabinets. Common subjects are treated with less ceremony; some of them are carried to lofty eminences, where, after having been disjointed, and the limbs divided, they are left a prey for ravens, kites, and other carnivorous birds. Others, with less respect, are committed to the usual receptacle of the dead. The last, but less frequent, mode of disposing of the dead, is committing them to the waters of the river. Burial, that is, inhuming the corpse entire in the earth, is altogether unpractised.

“ On one side of the monastery of Teshoo Loomboo I saw the place, the Golgotha if I may so call it, to which they convey their dead. It was a spacious area, inclosed on one part by the perpendicular rock, and on the others by lofty walls, raised probably with a view to seclude from public observation the disgusting objects contained within them. At the top it was totally uncovered, so as to be perfectly open to the birds; and at the bottom a narrow passage was left through the walls, near their foundation, for the sole purpose of admitting dogs, or other beasts of prey. On the rock above, a platform overhung the inclosure, which had been constructed for the convenience of precipitating the dead bodies with greater ease, over the walls, into the area. And here, I understood, the only rites performed in honour of the dead were

merely such as tended to facilitate the destruction of the body by dogs, or birds of prey. But though this was the general receptacle, yet there were some who declined the use of it, and conveyed their friends to the summit of some neighbouring hill, where, I was told, they disjointed and mangled the dead body, that it might become a more easy prey to carnivorous birds. I concluded, that there was a strong prejudice in their minds, of some idea of pollution attached to ‘ being given to the dogs,’ which was sufficient to create a preference of the contrary practice.

“ In Tibet, as well as in Bengal, an annual festival is kept in honour of the dead. On the 29th of October, as soon as the evening drew on, and it became dark, a general illumination was displayed upon the summits of all the buildings in the monastery; the tops also of the houses upon the plain, as well as in the most distant villages, scattered among the clusters of willows, were in the same manner lighted up with lamps, exhibiting all together a brilliant and splendid spectacle. The night was dark, the weather calm, and the lights burnt with a clear and steady flame. The Tibetians reckon these circumstances of the first importance, as, on the contrary, they deem it a most evil omen if the weather be stormy, and their lights extinguished by the wind or rain.

“ It is worthy of notice, how materially an effect depends upon a previously declared design, and how diametrically opposite the emotions may be, although produced by appearances exactly similar. In England, I had been accustomed to esteem general illuminations as the strongest expression of public joy;

by; I now saw them exhibited as solemn token of melancholy remembrance, an awful tribute of respect paid to the innumerable generations of the dead. The darkness of the night, the profound tranquillity and silence, interrupted only by the deep and slowly-repeated tones of the nowbut, trumpet, gong, and cymbal, at different intervals; the tolling of bells, and the loud monotonous repetition of sentences of prayer, sometimes heard when the instruments were silent; were all so calculated, by their solemnity, to produce serious reflection, that I really believe no human ceremony could possibly have been contrived, more effectually to impress the mind with sentiments of awe. In addition to this external token of solemn retrospect, acts of beneficence performed during this festival are supposed to have peculiar merit, and all persons are called upon, according to their ability, to distribute alms, and to feed the poor.

"This is a festival of equal celebrity in Bengal and Hindoostan, with both Mohammedans and Hindoos; by the former it is called Shubibauraut, by the latter Cheraug-pooja.

"Being governed in all the concerns of life by an awful regard to the dictates of superstition, it is no wonder that we find this people placing implicit confidence in a series of lucky and unlucky days. Devoted to astrology, they yield a willing homage to its professors. Hence we find no prudent traveller ever attempting to undertake a journey, without previously appealing to this authority, and endeavouring to obtain an auspicious presage. The same signal of favour is deemed indispensably requisite in every important enterprise, and

the same wary circumspection enters equally into all the more minute concerns of domestic life. The union of the sexes, and the giving names to infants, are neither of them events to be accomplished without a regular appeal to the same decisive oracle.

"Among that order of men to whom the due performance of every ceremony connected with their religion is committed, some are found who are peculiarly skilled in this obscure science; and the declaration of its decisions belongs, of course, to the discreet, initiated Gylong.

"I cannot here enumerate the various modes of seeking out some decisive presage, which they usually practise. The *sortes sanctorum* is a pious and venerated appeal: in trivial affairs, the mind is often governed by a casual cast of the die: and hence, dice are almost always found to constitute an appendage to a Tartar dress.

"The custom of these regions obliged me, sometimes, to have recourse to the oracular denunciations of my attendant Gylong; which indeed I had little difficulty in doing, as I found he had the consideration seldom to suffer his decisions to oppose my wishes. I consequently thought it prudent to travel as he directed, and never commenced a journey without his previous concurrence. I soon learned to confide in his discretion, and he never failed to calculate for me both every auspicious and inauspicious presage.

"The same superstition that influences their view of the affairs of the world, pervades equally their general calculations. On this principle it is that they frame their common calendar of time. I have one now in my possession; and, as
far

far as I can understand it, from what has been explained to me, a recapitulation of lucky and unlucky times constitutes the chief merit of the work. —

“ It is asserted that the art of printing has, from a very remote age, been practised in Tibet, though limited in its use, as far as I could learn, by the powerful influence of superstition. It has hitherto remained appropriated principally to sacred works, and to the service of learning and religion. Copies on these recondite subjects are multiplied, when required, not by the aid of moveable types, but by means of set forms, having the subjects of their works carved with appropriate embellishments on blocks of wood, with which they impress their matter upon thin narrow slips of paper, fabricated among themselves from the fibrous root of a small shrub, and the leaf bears the impression of the characters designed for it, on each side. The leaves of a book, when they are completed, are loosely put together, placed upon each other, and inclosed between two equal slips of wood as covers.

“ The southern Indians, who dwell along the margin of the sea, and never, I believe, possessed the art of printing, engrave their works upon the recent leaf of the palmira tree, which, growing at the extremity of a long footstalk, is naturally formed in narrow folds like a half extended fan, and is easily divided into segments about two inches in width. In correspondence to the purpose required, the fairest parts of the leaf are selected, and uniformly shaped by means of a sharp knife. On either side of these narrow slips letters are traced or engraven, by means of a strong steel stylus, which makes an indelible impression;

though sometimes, to render the writing more distinctly legible, the traces of the point are lightly powdered by the dust collected from the fume of their midnight lamps. This simple method of transmitting records to future times is practised in those countries alone in which the palm-tree thrives. The leaf must be used while fresh; its fibrous substance seems indestructible by vermin.

“ The printed and written character, appropriate to works of learning and religion, is styled, in the language of Tibet, the *Uchen*; that in which business and correspondence is carried on, is called the *Umin*. —

“ On the morning of Tuesday, the 4th of December, I was allowed to visit Teshoo Lama, and found him placed, in great form, upon his musnud; on the left side stood his father and mother; on the other the officer particularly appointed to wait upon his person. The musnud is a fabric of silk cushions, piled one upon the other, until the seat is elevated to the height of four feet from the floor; a piece of embroidered silk covered the top, and the sides also were decorated with pieces of silk, of various colours, suspended from the upper edge, and hanging down. At the particular request of Teshoo Lama's father, Mr. Saunders and myself wore the English dress.

“ I advanced, and, as the custom is, presented a white pelong scarf, and delivered also into the Lama's hands the governor general's present of a string of pearls, and coral; while the other things were set down before him. Having performed the ceremony of exchanging scarfs with his father and mother, we took our seats on the right hand of Teshoo Lama.

“ A multi-

" A multitude of persons, all those who had been ordered to escort me, were admitted to his presence, and allowed to make their prostrations. The infant Lama turned towards them, and received them all with a cheerful look of complacency. His father then addressed me in the Tibet language, in words which were explained to me by the interpreter: he said that ' Teshoo Lama had been used to remain at rest until this time of the day, but he had woken very early this morning, and could not be prevailed upon to remain longer at his repose, for (added he) the English gentlemen were arrived, and he could not sleep.' During the time we were in the room, I observed that the Lama's eyes were scarcely ever turned from us; and when our cups were empty of tea, he appeared uneasy, and, throwing back his head and contracting the skin of his brow, continued to make a noise, as if he could not speak, until they were filled again. He took some burnt sugar out of a golden cup containing some confectionary, and, stretching out his arm, made motion to his attendants to give them to me. He sent some, in like manner, to Mr. Saunders, who was with me. I found myself, though assisting an infant, under the necessity of saying something; for it was intimated to me, that notwithstanding he is unable to reply, it is not to be inferred that he cannot understand. However, his incapacity of answering excused me many words, and he briefly said, that ' the governor general on receiving the news of his decease in China was overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, and continued to lament his absence from the world, until the cloud that had overcast the happiness

of this nation was dispelled by his re-appearance; and then, if possible, a greater degree of joy had taken place, than he had experienced of grief on receiving the first mournful news. The governor anxiously wished that he might long continue to illumine the world by his presence, and was hopeful that the friendship, which had formerly subsisted between them, would not be diminished, but rather that it might become still greater than before; and that by his continuing to show kindness to my countrymen, there might be an extensive communication between his votaries and the dependents of the British nation.'

" The little creature turned, looking stedfastly towards me, with the appearance of much attention while I spoke, and nodded with repeated but slow movements of the head, as though he understood and approved every word, but could not utter a reply. His parents, who stood by all the time, eyed their son with a look of affection, and a smile expressive of heartfelt joy, at the propriety of the young Lama's conduct. His whole attention was directed to us; he was silent and sedate, never once looking towards his parents, as if under their influence at the time; and with whatsoever pains his manners may have been so correctly formed, I must own that his behaviour, on this occasion, appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous, and not directed by any external action, or sign of authority.

" The scene, in which I was here brought to act a part, was too new and extraordinary, however trivial, or perhaps preposterous, it may appear to some, not to claim from me great attention, and consequently minute remark.

“Teshoo Lama was at this time eighteen months old. Though he was unable to speak a word, he made the most expressive signs, and conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum. His complexion was of that hue which in England we should term rather brown, but not without colour. His features were good; he had small black eyes, and an animated expression of countenance; altogether, I thought him one of the handsomest children I had ever seen.

“His mother, who stood by him, appeared to be about twenty-five years of age; she was low in person, but rather handsome, though possessing a true Tartar countenance. Her complexion was somewhat darker than her son's; she had regular features, black eyes, and a character that particularly distinguishes ladies of rank in Tibet; the corner of the eyelids being extended as far as possible, by artificial means, towards the temples. Her hair was black, but scarcely visible, from the vast profusion of ornaments that nearly covered it, consisting of pearls, rubies, emeralds, and coral. Pearls intermixed with beads of gold, and some rubies, constituted the ornaments of her ears. Chaplets of larger gems hung round her neck, among which were balass rubies, lapis lazuli, amber, and coral in numerous wreaths, one chaplet beneath the other, descending to the waist. Her vest was close buttoned round the neck. A girdle embraced it round the waist, which was fastened by a golden buckle, having a large ruby in the centre. A garnet-coloured shawl, wrought with white stars, completed her dress, which descended to the knee; she wore bulgar boots.

“Gyap, the father of the Lama, was dressed in a yellow satin garment, wrought with gold, and emblazoned with the imperial dragon. Our conversation was extremely limited; the Lama's father said that he had instructions from Teshoo Loomboo to entertain me four days, and he pressed me earnestly to stay one more, on his account, that I could not decline the invitation.—

“I again waited upon Teshoo Lama on Saturday, the 6th of December, to present some articles of curious workmanship, which I had brought for him from Bengal. He appeared most pleased with the mechanism of a small clock, and had it held up to him, watching for a long time the revolutions of the second hand. He admired it, but with gravity, and without any childish emotion. There was nothing in the ceremony different from that of the first day's visit. The father and mother were present. After staying about half an hour, I retired, intending to return and take my leave in the afternoon.

“The votaries of Teshoo Lama already began to flock, in great numbers, to pay their adorations to him. Few were yet admitted to his presence. Those who could not be shown to them from the window, particularly if they were able to make their prostrations before him, was removed. There came that day a party of Kilmauks (Calmuk Tartars) for the purposes of devotion, and to make their offerings to the Lama. When I returned from visiting him, I saw them standing at the entrance of the square, in front of the palace, each with his cap off, his hands being placed together, elevated, and held even with his eyes.

with his face. They remained upwards of half an hour in this attitude, their eyes being fixed upon the apartment of the Lama, and anxiety very visibly depicted in their countenances. At length, I imagine, he appeared to them; for they began all together by lifting up their hands, which were still closed, above their heads, then bringing them even with their faces, and afterwards lowering them to their breasts; then separating them, to assist them in sinking and rising, they dropped upon their knees, and struck their heads against the ground. This, with the same motions, was repeated nine times. They afterwards advanced to deliver their presents, consisting of tarreema, or talents of gold and silver, with the products of their country, to the proper officer; and when he had received them, they retired, apparently with much satisfaction.

“ Upon inquiry I learnt, that offerings made in this manner are by no means unfrequent, and, in reality, constitute one of the most copious sources from which the Lamas of Tibet derive their wealth.

“ No one thinks himself degraded by performing these humiliations. The persons I have described, as coming for this devout purpose, were attendant on a man of superior rank, who seemed to be more earnest and attentive than the rest in the performance of the ceremony. He wore a rich satin garment lined with fox-skins, and a cap with a tassel of scarlet silk, flowing from the centre of the crown upon the sides all round, and edged with a broad band of Siberian fur.

“ According to appointment, I went in the afternoon to make my last visit to Teshoo Lama. I

received his dispatches for the governor general, and from his parents two pieces of satin for the governor, with many compliments.

“ They presented me with a vest lined with lambs' skins, making me many assurances of a long remembrance, and observing, that at this time Teshoo Lama was an infant, and incapable of conversing, but they hoped to see me again when he should be grown to maturity. I replied, ‘ that, by favour of the Lama, I might perhaps again visit this country; that I looked forward with anxiety to the time when he should mount the musnud, and should then be extremely happy in the opportunity of paying him my respects.’ After some expressions and protestations of mutual regard, my visit was concluded. I received the scarfs, and took my leave, with a resolution to pursue my journey towards Bengal at the dawn of day.

“ As soon as the sun had risen, we quitted the gates of the monastery of Terpaling, and descended to the valley, crossing a narrow water-course, that divided the hill which we had left from another on the opposite side: having ascended this, we came down soon after upon a wide plain, bounded on all sides by naked eminences; upon the summit of one of which, and on its southern aspect, was a large religious settlement of female devotees. This kind of edifice is styled an Annee Goomba. In this solitary station, like the Gy-longs of Terpaling, the Annees rise to their orisons, chant their mid-day mass, and, having concluded their vespers, retire to their solitary cells. This association of nuns had often been mentioned to me, but in the course of my travels

I had never yet seen one of them before, though many were said to be existing at that time in various parts of Tibet. I would gladly have gone to visit these devotees in their secluded station; but it was at some distance from our road, and the loss of time dissuaded me from the attempt. Though nuns, the admission of male visitors among them during the day is not prohibited; but no male is ever suffered to pass a night within the walls that inclose the Annees, any more than a female is within those that surround the Gylongs.

“ That they should be thus drawn in such multitudes, to these solitary retreats, from the business and the pleasures of the world, will less excite our surprise, when we reflect on the peculiar custom that prevails, with regard to the union of the sexes, in Tibet; a custom, at once different from the modes of Europe, where one female becomes the wife of one male, and opposite to the practice of Asia, at least of very great part of it, where one male assumes an uncontrolled despotism over many females, limiting his connexion with wives and concubines only by the extent of his resources. Here we find a practice equally strange, that of polyandry, if I may so call it, universally prevailing; and see one female associating her fate and fortune with all the brothers of a family, without any restriction of age or of numbers. The choice of a wife is the privilege of the elder brother; and, singular as it may seem, I have been assured that a Tibetan wife is as jealous of her connubial rites, though thus joined to a numerous party of husbands, as the despot of an Indian *zennana* is of the favours of his imprisoned fair. Under circumstances so unfavour-

able, it is no wonder that the business of increasing the species is but coldly carried on.

“ Officers of state, as well as those who aspire to such distinctions, deem it, indeed, a business ill suited with their dignity, or duties, to attend to the propagation of their species; and retire from this essential care, abandoning it entirely to mere plebeians. Marriage, in fact, amongst them, seems to be considered rather as an odium, a heavy burden, the weight and obloquy of which a whole family are disposed to lessen by sharing it amongst them.

“ The number of husbands is not, as far as I could learn, defined or restricted within any limits; it sometimes happens that in a small family there is but one male; and the number may seldom perhaps exceed that which a native of rank, during my residence at Teshoo Loomboo, pointed out to me in a family resident in the neighbourhood, in which five brothers were then living together very happily, with one female, under the same connubial compact. Nor is this sort of league confined to the lower ranks of people alone; it is found also frequently in the most opulent families.

“ However this custom, which as a traveller I am obliged to notice, may intrinsically deserve reprobation, yet it must at the same time be allowed, that local laws very frequently result from local causes; and that, in consequence of the peculiar prejudices and opinions of one people, the same practice may be viewed in one country in the blackest light, which another people may not only see fit occasion to tolerate, but even to recommend. Thus we find, that neither the practice of polygamy in India, nor
of

of polyandry in Tibet, is without its advocates.

“ The influence of this custom on the manners of the people, as far as I could trace, has not been unfavourable. Humanity, and an unartificial gentleness of disposition, are the constant inheritance of a Tibetan.

“ I never saw these qualities possessed by any people in a more eminent degree. Without being servilely officious, they are always obliging; the higher ranks are unassuming; the inferior, respectful in their behaviour; nor are they at all deficient in attention to the female sex; but, as we find them moderate in all their passions, in this respect, also, their conduct is equally remote from rudeness and adulation. Comparatively with their southern neighbours, the women of Tibet enjoy an elevated station in society. To the privileges of unbounded liberty the wife here adds the character of mistress of the family, and companion of her husbands. The company of all, indeed, she is not at all times entitled to expect. Different pursuits, either agricultural employments, or mercantile speculations, may occasionally cause the temporary absence of each; yet, whatever be the result, the profit of the labourer flows into the common store; and when he returns, whatever may have been his fortune, he is secure of a grateful welcome to a social home.

“ To descant upon established usages that have existed far beyond the date of any written records, or the more obscure traces of tradition; with a view to discover their origin, or object, is indeed entering upon a field which affords ample scope for ingenious and fanciful speculation; but, under such cir-

cumstances, all the efforts of the speculatist frequently tend only to raise new doubts, and involve the subject of inquiry in still more mysterious obscurity. Whether or not, at some remote period of time, when population was in its infancy, from the operation of some unknown cause there existed so great a proportion of males to females in this nation, as rendered the single possession of one woman a blessing too great for any individual to aspire to, and, in consequence, this compromise may have been adopted by general consent; or whether a too numerous population may have overburdened a meagre soil; I will leave to the determination of others more able to decide on such a question. It is sufficient for me to mark manners as I find them.

“ But it certainly appears, that superabundant population, in an unfertile country, must be the greatest of all calamities, and produce eternal warfare, or eternal want. Either the most active and the most able part of the community must be compelled to emigrate, and to become soldiers of fortune, or merchants of chance; or else, if they remain at home, be liable to fall a prey to famine, in consequence of some accidental failure in their scanty crops. By thus linking whole families together in the matrimonial yoke, the too rapid increase of population was perhaps checked, and an alarm prevented, capable of pervading the most fertile region upon earth, and of giving birth to the most inhuman and unnatural practice in the richest, the most productive, and the most populous country in the world. I allude to the empire of China; where a mother, not foreseeing the means of raising, or providing for, a numerous family, ex-

poses her new-born infant to perish in the fields: a crime, however odious, by no means, I am assured, unfrequent. With this the Tibetians never can be charged. Their custom, as it eventually operates against superabundant population, tends also to prevent domestic discords, arising from a division of family interests, and to concentrate all the spirit, and all the virtues, inherent in illustrious blood.

“ The ceremonies of marriage are neither tedious nor intricate in Tibet. Their courtships are carried on with little art, and quickly brought to a conclusion. The elder brother of a family, to whom the choice belongs, when enamoured of a damsel, makes his proposal to the parents. If his suit is approved, and the offer accepted, the parents with their daughter repair to the suitor's house, where the male and female acquaintance of both parties meet and carouse for the space of three days, with music, dancing, and every kind of festivity. At the expiration of this time the marriage is complete. The priests of Tibet, who shun the society of women, have no share in these ceremonies, or in ratifying the obli-

gation between the parties. Mutual consent is their only bond of union, and the parties present are witnesses to the contract, which, it seems, is formed indissolubly for life. The husband has it not in his power to rid himself of a troublesome companion, nor the wife to withdraw herself from the husband, unless, indeed, the same unison of sentiment that joined their hands should prompt their separation; but, in such a case, they are never left at liberty to form a new alliance. Instances of incontinency are rare; but if a married female be found to violate her compact, the crime is expiated by corporal punishment, and the favoured lover effaces the obloquy of his transgression by a pecuniary fine.

“ If, in general society, the males be sometimes chargeable with coldness towards the female sex, they cannot, therefore, be said with cynical severity to forbid them all indulgence; since very precise chastity, before they marry, is not expected in the fair sex, though, when they have once formed a contract, they are by no means permitted, with impunity, to break it.”

MANNER of receiving the BRITISH EMBASSY at the BIRMAN COURT.

[From Lieutenant-Colonel SYMES's Account of an EMBASSY to the KINGDOM of AVA.]

“ ON the 30th of August we took an early breakfast, and about eight o'clock a fere-dogee, or secretary of the lotoo, came to acquaint us that boats were prepared to convey us across the lake. Our domestics had received orders to hold themselves in readiness, dressed in

the livery of the embassy, and the guard was paraded without arms. The presents having been sent before, we walked to the water-side, attended by Baba-Sheen, the fere-dogee, and several inferior officers: at the same time the two junior members of the Chinese mission, the

the senior being now at the point of death, came forth from the gate of their inclosure, attended by a retinue comparatively very small. We found three war boats at the bank ready to receive us; these boats were sufficiently capacious for the number they were destined to contain: the largest was of fifty oars, but they were not above one-third manned, probably with a view to our accommodation, as the vessels are so narrow, that persons unaccustomed to them cannot sit between the rowers without inconvenience: it did not, however, escape our notice that they were quite plain, without either gilding or paint.— We were about twenty minutes in rowing to the opposite side of the lake, and found a crowd of people collected near the water's edge to see us land. The place where we landed appeared to be nearly a mile, in a direct line, below the fort, the southern walls of which are washed by the lake when the waters are swollen. Three elephants and several horses were waiting to convey us; and some Birman officers of inferior consequence attended at the bank, dressed in their robes and caps of ceremony. The furniture of the animals we were to ride was far from being superb. Men of rank in the Birman empire always guide their own elephants, and sit on the neck, in the same manner that the drivers or mohaats do in India: owing to this custom, they are unprovided with those commodious seats in which an Indian gentleman reposes at ease on the back of this noble beast, whilst the government of it is intrusted to another person. A large wicker basket, somewhat resembling the body of an open carriage, but smaller, without any elevated seat, and covered with

carpets at the bottom, was fastened on the back of the elephant by means of iron chains that passed under his belly, and were prevented from chafing him by tanned ox-hides — This equipage was neither comfortable nor elegant; but as I had not learned how to manage an elephant, and ride between his ears, there was no alternative; I was obliged either to take what was provided, or submit to a less dignified conveyance. The drivers, instead of making the beast kneel down to receive his rider, as is the custom in other countries, drove him up to a temporary stage that had been erected for the purpose of mounting. Each of the Chinese deputies was also honoured with an elephant. Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan rode on handsome spirited horses, of the small Pegue breed, which had been prepared for them, and were equipped with much better furniture than was assigned to the elephants. The Birman saddles, however, not being well calculated for the ease of an European rider, two of English manufacture, which we had brought with us, were substituted in their stead. The moonshee, the pundit, and the painter, were likewise permitted to ride on horseback. After we had adjusted the ceremonial of mounting, the procession was marshalled in the following order:

A sandohgaan, or master of the ceremonies, on horseback:

An oniroupseree, or register of strangers, on horseback:

A letzounferee, or register of presents, on horseback;

dressed in their official robes and caps. Soldiers that composed the escort.

The elephant of the representative of the governor-general.

Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan, on horseback.

Baba-Sheen, as chief interpreter.

The Chinese deputies, on elephants, preceded by their servants, bearing flags.

A woondock, or second counsellor of state.

Two *terrezogees*, or officers who hold judiciary stations.

The servants of the embassy walked on each side, two by two; and a number of constables attended, with long white rods, to keep off the populace.

“The procession being thus arranged, we commenced our march, keeping a moderate pace, so as not to distress the bearers of the presents. After proceeding a short way, we entered a wide and handsome street that was paved with brick: the houses on each side were low, built of wood, and covered with tiles; they had been evidently prepared for the occasion, being fresh white-washed, and decorated with boughs and flowers; the shops, which are usually open towards the street, displayed their best goods. In front of each house was a slight latticed railing of bamboo, advanced into the street, to the distance of three or four feet; over this space was spread a shade of bamboo mats, that reached from the eaves of the houses to the railing, forming a sort of covered balcony, every one of which was crowded with spectators, men and women indiscriminately. Boys sat on the tops of the houses, and the streets were so thronged as to leave only a sufficient space for the procession to move without interruption. But what rendered the scene most remarkable was, the posture which the multitude preserved; every person, as soon as we came in sight, squatted on his hams, and continued in that attitude until we had passed by: this was an indication of high respect. Throughout the crowd there was no disturb-

ance nor any extraordinary noise; the populace looked up and gazed in silence, nor did they attempt to follow us, but were satisfied with a transient view. The *pagwaats*, or constables, armed with long rods, sometimes affected to strike those who were most forward, in order to make them recede; but in this act they humanely avoided hurting any one, generally directing the blow to the ground close to those whom they intended to remove.—

Thus we passed through several wide streets running in a straight direction, and often crossed by others at right angles. We perceived only two brick houses, and these we were informed belonged to foreigners. Contiguous to the fort was a small street, entirely occupied by the shops of silversmiths, who exhibited their wares in the open balcony, and displayed a great variety of Birman utensils in plate.—The distance from the landing-place to this street we computed to be two miles. Immediately after we crossed the ditch of the fort, which was wide, deep, and faced with brick, but had little water in it: the passage was over a causeway formed on a mound of earth, in which there was a chasm of about ten feet to carry off the rain, and across this a strong bridge of planks was laid. Between the bridge and the foot of the wall there was a space eighty or a hundred feet wide, on which two redoubts were raised to defend the passage of the ditch; the rampart, faced by a wall of brick, was about twenty feet high, exclusive of the parapet, which had embrasures for cannon, and apertures for musquetry. Small demi-bastions projected at regular distances beyond the wall, but they did not appear to contain sufficient space to admit of heavy ordnance. The
body

body of the rampart was composed of earth, sustained externally and within by strong walls; the gate was massive, with a wicket in it; and the fort altogether, considered as an eastern fortification, was respectable, but insufficient to resist the approaches of an enemy skilled in the science of war. The Birmans, however, believe it to be impregnable; they put their trust in the height and solidity of their wall, which they conceive to be strong enough to resist all assaults, independent of the cover of a glacis, or any other advanced work than the ditch. I did not attempt to mortify their pride by telling them a disagreeable truth, that a battery of half a dozen cannon would, in a few hours, reduce their walls to a heap of ruins; and indeed, if I had told them so, it is probable that they might not have credited the information.

"We entered by the western gate: there was little distinction between the houses in the fort and those of the city, except that the dwellings of persons of official consequence, and the members of the royal family, who resided within the walls, were surrounded by a wooden partition that inclosed a court. We passed, making several angles in our way, through a market supplied with rice, pulse, and other vegetables, but saw neither meat nor fish. At the distance of two short streets from the palace, we came to a spot where bamboo stages were erected for us to alight, similar to those at the landing-place; here we dismounted, and walked in the same order as we had rode. Coming to the top of a short street leading down to the palace, we were desired by the sandohgaan, or master of the ceremonies, through Baba-Sheen, to stop and make obeisance to the splendour of majesty, by a gentle

inclination of the body, and raising the hand to the head, as they did; a desire with which I complied, although I conceived the distance so great as hardly to require that mark of respect. When we had proceeded two or three hundred yards farther, the sandohgaan repeated the ceremony of bowing, to which I offered no objection; nor should I have felt the smallest reluctance in complying, had not the manner of the sandohgaan been what I considered extremely disrespectful. Thus we proceeded until we came to the rhoom, which was a lofty hall, raised four or five feet from the ground, and open on all sides; it was situated about a hundred yards from the gate of the palace court, on the left hand, and in the centre of a spacious area. Putting off our shoes we entered the saloon, and sat down on carpets that were spread for us, with our faces towards the palace gate: here the presents were deposited, whilst the Chinese deputies took their places on the other side.

"It was now about ten o'clock, and the woondock intimated that we must wait until all the princes of the royal family arrived, before it would be proper for us to enter: we had sat but a short time, when the prince of Pegahm, the junior of the king's sons in point of rank though not in years, being born of a different mother, made his appearance. He was mounted on the neck of a very fine elephant, which he guided himself, sitting on a scarlet cloth embroidered with gold, whilst a servant behind, on the back of the animal, screened him from the sun with a gilded parasol. About fifty musqueteers led the way; these were followed by a number of halberdiers, carrying spears with gilded shafts, and decorated with gold tassels. Six or eight officers

officers of his house hold (each of the king's sons have a separate establishment) came next, dressed in velvet robes with embroidered caps, and chains of gold depending from the left shoulder to the right side; these immediately preceded the prince's elephant; another body of spearmen, with his palanquin of state, closed the procession. On entering the gate, he gave to one of his attendants a polished iron hook, with which he governed his elephant; as not any thing that can be used as a weapon is suffered to be brought within the precincts of the palace, not even by his majesty's sons.—The prince's escort halted without the gate, and the greater number of his attendants were stopped, those only being admitted who were of higher rank, together with the men who carried his large betel-box of gold, and his flagon of water, which are brought rather for state than for refreshment. When the prince had alighted, his elephant returned, and all the attendants ranged themselves in the area between the rhoom and the palace gate. Soon after the prince of Pegahm had entered, the prince of Tongho, the next in precedence, appeared; he was attended by a suite nearly similar to that of his brother; and in succession came the princes of Bassein and of Prome: the engy teekien, or heir apparent, came last; when he arrived it was twelve o'clock, which the great drum that proclaims the hours sounded from a lofty tower near the palace. The state in which the latter personage made his public entrance was highly superb, and becoming his elevated station. He was preceded by a numerous body guard of infantry, consisting of four or five hundred men, armed with musquets, who marched in regular files, and were uniformly clothed and accoutred. Next came a party of Cas-

say troopers, habited in their fanciful dress, with high conical caps bending backwards. We were told that through respect they had alighted from their horses nearly at the same place where we had dismounted.—Twenty or thirty men followed these, holding long gilded wands; then came eighteen or twenty military officers of rank, with gilded helmets; next, the civil officers of his household and his council, wearing the tzaloe, or chain of nobility, and arrayed in their robes and caps of state, varied according to their respective ranks. The prince, borne on men's shoulders, in a very rich palanquin, but without any canopy, followed; he was screened from the sun by a large gilded fan, supported by a nobleman; and on each side of his palanquin walked six Cassay astrologers, of the Braminical sect, dressed in white gowns and white caps, studded with stars of gold; close behind, his servants carried his water-flagon, and a gold betel-box, of a size which appeared to be no inconsiderable load for a man. Several elephants and led horses with rich housings came after; some inferior officers, and a body of spearmen, with three companies of musqueteers, one clothed in blue, another in green, and a third in red, concluded the procession.

“In every part of this ostentatious parade, perfect regularity was maintained, which considerably increased the effect. All things seemed to have been carefully predisposed and properly arranged. If it was less splendid than imperial Delhi in the days of Mogul magnificence, it was far more decorous than any court of Hindoostan at the present day. The rabble was not tumultuous, the attendants and soldiery were silent, and every man seemed to know his own place. No noisy heralds, as is the custom in India, ran before, vociferating

ating titles, and overturning people in their way. The display of this day was solemn and dignified, and I doubt much whether, in any other capital, such multitudes could be brought together with so little confusion; as, besides the attendants and the military, there were many thousands of spectators.

"Our delay in the room had now been protracted to two hours—a circumstance which, though it gratified our curiosity with a novel and most interesting spectacle, yet could not be considered as a mark of respect, especially as we had not the company of any person of distinguished rank, the junior woondock excepted, who stayed with us but a very short time. The attendance of the maywoon of Pegue was, according to the usage of the country, on this occasion our undoubted right; and the example of the viceroy of Bamoo, who paid that compliment to the Chinese deputies, placed the omission in a more striking point of view, whilst the singular character of the people put it out of my power to attribute the neglect to chance or to casual inadvertency.

"A few minutes after the engy teekien, or prince royal, had entered, we received a summons, in compliance with which we proceeded from the room, observing the same order as before; the presents carried in front, and the members of the Chinese embassy following the English deputation. As we proceeded, the sandohgaan was exceedingly troublesome, by calling on us to make frequent superfluous obeisances, whilst his manner of requiring them was conspicuously uncivil. I checked his insolence, by observing through Baba-Sheen, that if he wished me to proceed, he must alter his tone and demeanour. This reproof, however,

had only a momentary effect; he soon resumed his arrogant behaviour, which he repeated throughout the day, whenever opportunity offered.

"On approaching the gate, the greater part of our attendants were stopped, and not permitted to follow us; and we were desired to put off our shoes—with which we immediately complied.

"The area we now entered was spacious, and contained the lotoo, or grand hall of consultation and of audience, where the woongees meet in council, and where affairs of state are discussed and determined. Within this inclosure there is an inner court, separated by a brick wall, which comprehends the palace, and all the buildings annexed to the royal residence. Within the gate, a troop of tumblers were performing their feats, while dancing girls were exhibiting their graces in the open air, and on the bare ground, to the sound of no very harmonious music. We were next ushered up a flight of stairs into a very noble saloon, or open hall, called the lotoo, where the court was assembled in all the pomp that Birman grandeur could display.—On entering this hall, a stranger cannot fail to be surprised at the magnificence of its appearance; it is supported by seventy-seven pillars, disposed in eleven rows, each consisting of seven. The space between the pillars I judged to be about twelve feet, except the central row, which was probably two feet wider. The roof of the building is composed of distinct stages, the highest in the centre. The row of pillars that supported the middle or most lofty roof we judged to be thirty-five or forty feet in height; the others gradually diminish as they approach the extremities of the building; and those which sustain the balcony

balcony are not more than twelve or fourteen feet. At the farther part of the hall there is a high gilded lattice, extending quite across the building, and in the centre of the lattice is a gilded door, which, when opened, displays the throne; this door is elevated five or six feet from the floor, so that the throne must be ascended by means of steps at the back, which are not visible, nor is the seat of the throne to be seen, except when the king comes in person to the lotoo. At the bottom of the lattice there is a gilt balustrade, three or four feet high, in which the umbrellas and several other insignia of state were deposited. The royal colour is white, and the umbrellas were made of silk of that colour, richly bespangled with gold. Within this magnificent saloon were seated, on their inverted legs, all the princes and the principal nobility of the Birman empire, each person in the place appropriated to his particular rank and station: proximity to the throne is, of course, the most honourable situation; and this station was occupied by the princes of the blood, the woongees, the attawoons, and other great officers of state. The engy teekien (or heir apparent) sat on a small stool, about six inches high; the other princes on fine mats. The space between the central pillars that front the throne, is always left vacant, for this curious reason, that his majesty's eyes may not be obliged to behold those whom he does not mean to honour with a look. The place allotted for us was next to this unoccupied part; but we afterwards discovered that the Chinese deputies had taken possession of those seats which, according to the etiquette that had been agreed upon, the English gentlemen were to have occupied. So trivial a circumstance would

not have merited attention, had it not been followed by circumstance which left no room to suppose, that any act relating to external form, was either accidental or unpremeditated on the part of those who regulated the ceremonials.

"After we had taken possession of mats that had been spread for us, it was civilly intimated, that we ought not to protrude the soles of our feet towards the seat of majesty, but should endeavour to sit in the posture that was observed by those around us. With this desire we would readily have complied, if it had been in our power, but we had not yet learned to sit upon our own legs: the flexibility of muscles which the Birmans, and indeed all the natives of India, possess, is such as cannot be acquired by Europeans. A Birman, when he sits, seldom touches the seat with his posteriors, but is supported by his heels. It is scarcely practicable for an European, dressed in close garments, to place himself in such an attitude: and if he were able, it would be out of his power to continue long in it. We inverted our legs as much as possible, and the awkwardness with which we did this excited a smile from some: not a word, however, was uttered, and our endeavours, I thought, seemed to give satisfaction. In a few minutes eight Bramins, dressed in white sacerdotal gowns, and silk caps of the same colour, fludded with gold, assembled round the foot of the throne, within the balustrade, and recited a long prayer in not unpleasing recitative; this ceremony lasted a quarter of an hour. When they had withdrawn, the letter from the governor-general, which I delivered to a woondock, was placed on a silver tray in front of the railing, and a sandohgaan, or reader, advanced into the vacant space,

ce, and made three prostrations, touching the ground each time with forehead; he then read, or rather chanted, in a loud voice, what understood was a Birman translation of the letter. When this was done, the reader repeated his prostrations, and next proclaimed a list of the presents for the king. These general readings being finished, he repeated his obeisances and retired: after an interval of a few minutes, an officer, entitled nakhaangee, advanced, and proposed a question to me, as if from his majesty: on receiving my answer he withdrew, as might be supposed to communicate the reply; and returned in an adequate time to ask another: thus he put three separate questions to me, which were as follows: 'You come from a distant country; how long is it since you arrived? How were the king, queen, and royal family of England, when the last accounts came from thence? Was England at peace or war with other nations? and was your country in a state of disturbance?'

"The latter question alone contained more than words of compliment and ceremony, and, coming in such a solemn manner, required a clear and determinate answer on my part. I replied in the Persian language—'That Great Britain was in enmity with France; that the continent of Europe was the seat of war; but that the kingdom of England enjoyed perfect tranquillity, which it was not probable would be disturbed.' This interrogation seemed to indicate, that the Birmans had received impressions of our situation in Europe from no very favourable quarter; and I had afterwards occasion to know, that the unremitting and restless industry of French propagators had pervaded even this remote region; and that

though in such a country they dare not avow their equalizing principles, they left no art unpractised, through the means of their emissaries, to insinuate doubts, excite fears, and create distrust of the English.

"These were all the questions that were proposed; neither the Chinese nor any other person being interrogated. In a few minutes after my last reply had been conveyed, a very handsome dessert was brought in, and set before us; it consisted of a variety of sweetmeats, as well Chinese as Birman; lapack, or pickled tea-leaf, and betel, formed part of the entertainment, which was served up in silver, china, and glass ware: there appeared to be not less than a hundred different small dishes: we tasted of a few, and found some of them very palatable; but none of the courtiers partook, or moved from their places. About half an hour had elapsed, when we were informed by the sandohgaan that there was no occasion for us to remain any longer. The non-appearance of his majesty was a considerable disappointment, as I had been taught to expect that he would have received the governor-general's letter in person: it was not, however, until some time afterwards that I was made acquainted with the true reason of his absence.

"When we rose to leave the lotoo, the sandohgaan desired us to make three obeisances to the throne, by a slight inclination of the body and raising the right hand to the head; we were then reconducted to the saloon, where we were informed it was necessary we should remain until the princes came forth from the palace, and had got upon their elephants, as their etiquette did not allow any person, on such occasions, to mount before the members of the royal family: we accordingly took

took our places in this hall as before: shortly afterwards the court broke up with as much form and parade as it had assembled.

“The ceremony of departure differed from that of entrance: the engy teekien came out first, who went in last; next followed the other members of the royal family in rotation, and after them came the chobwaas, or petty tributary princes: these are personages who, before the Birmans had extended their conquests over the vast territory they now possess, had held small independent sovereignties, which they were able to maintain so long as the balance of power continued doubtful between the Birmans, Peguers, and Siamese; but, the decided success that has attended the Birman arms since the accession of the present family having deprived them of their independence, their countries are now reduced to subordinate provinces of the Birman empire. As many of their governors as confidence could be placed in, and who were willing to take the oath of allegiance to their conquerors, were continued in the management of their former possessions, and are obliged to make an annual visit to the capital, to pay homage in person at the golden feet. The moderation as well as the policy of this measure is said to have fully answered the ends that were proposed.

“As soon as the royal family had departed, we returned to the place where we had left our elephants, and proceeded home.”

Different Circumstances attending a more honourable Reception.

“On the 30th of September, the day appointed by his Birman majesty to receive the English gentlemen in the character of an imperial deputation, we crossed the lake at ten

o'clock in the morning, attended by our customary suite, and accompanied by Baba-Sheen and several Birman officers. We entered the fort, as usual, by the western gate when, instead of passing, as on former occasions, along the north side of the inclosure of the palace, to reach the street leading down to the lotoo, we now proceeded round to the south, and in this new direction observed many more houses of distinguished structure than by the other route. In our way we passed through a short street, entirely composed of saddlers' and harness-makers' shops. On alighting, we were conducted into the room, to wait there until the engy teekien should arrive, which he did precisely at the hour of twelve. Several chobwaas, who were to be introduced on this day, had taken their seats in the room before we entered; each of them held a piece of silk or cotton cloth in his lap, designed, according to the established etiquette, as a propitiatory offering to his majesty; and on the cloth was placed a saucer, containing a small quantity of unboiled rice, which it seems is an indispensable part of the ceremony. The Birman custom differs in this particular from the usage of Hindoostan: a person, on his presentation at the imperial court of Delhi, offers to the sovereign an odd number of the gold coin commonly called mohurs, an even number being considered as inauspicious; but the court of Ummerapoora, with a more delicate refinement, never permits an offering in money, but requires from a foreigner something of the produce of his country, and from a subject some article of manufacture. The donation of rice is not, as in India, when presented by Brahmins to the incarnations of Vishnu, meant as an acknowledgment

men

ment of divine attributes, but is merely designed as a recognition of the power of the monarch, and an acknowledgment of the property of the soil being vested in him; a truth which is expressly declared, by offering him its most useful production. During our continuance in the room, tea was served to us; and when we advanced to the outer gate, we were not obliged to put off our shoes, but were permitted to wear them until we had reached the inner inclosure that separates the court of the lotoo from that of the royal palace, within which not any nobleman of the court is allowed to go with his feet covered.— There is a double partition wall dividing the two courts, with an intervening space of ten or twelve feet, through which a gallery leads, that is appropriated exclusively to the use of the king when he chooses to preside in person in the lotoo.

“ On entering the gate, we perceived the royal saloon of ceremony in front of us, and the court assembled in all the parade of pomp and decoration. It was an open hall, supported by colonnades of pillars twenty in length, and only four in breadth: we were conducted into it by a flight of steps, and, advancing, took our places next the space opposite to the throne, which is always left vacant, as being in full view of his majesty. On our entrance, the basement of the throne, as at the lotoo, was alone visible, which we judged to be about five feet high; folding doors screened the seat from our view. The throne, called yazapalay, was richly gilded and carved; on each side a small gallery, inclosed by a gilt balustrade, extended a few feet to the right and left, containing four umbrellas of state; and on two tables at the

foot of the throne were placed several large vessels of gold, of various forms, and for different purposes: immediately over the throne, a splendid parasol rose in seven stages above the roofs of the building, crowned by a tee, or umbrella, from which a spiral rod was elevated above the whole.

“ We had been seated little more than a quarter of an hour, when the folding doors that concealed the seat opened with a loud noise, and discovered his majesty ascending a flight of steps that led up to the throne from the inner apartment; he advanced but slowly, and seemed not to possess a free use of his limbs, being obliged to support himself with his hands on the balustrade. I was informed, however, that this appearance of weakness did not proceed from any bodily infirmity, but from the weight of the regal habiliments in which he was clad; and if what we were told was true, that he carried on his dress fifteen viss, upwards of fifty pounds avoirdupois of gold, his difficulty of ascent was not surprising. On reaching the top he stood for a minute, as though to take breath, and then sat down on an embroidered cushion, with his legs inverted. His crown was a high conical cap, richly studded with precious stones; his fingers were covered with rings; and in his dress he bore the appearance of a man cased in golden armour, whilst a gilded, or probably a golden, wing on each shoulder did not add much lightness to his figure. His looks denoted him to be between fifty and sixty years old, of a strong make, in stature rather beneath the middle height, with hard features, and of a dark complexion; yet the expression of his countenance was not unpleasant, and seemed, I thought, to indicate

indicate an intelligent and inquiring mind.

“On the first appearance of his majesty, all the courtiers bent their bodies, and held their hands joined in an attitude of supplication. Nothing farther was required of us, than to lean a little forward, and to turn in our legs as much as we could; not any act being so unpolite, or contrary to etiquette, as to present the soles of the feet towards the face of a dignified person. Four Brahmins, dressed in white caps and gowns, chanted the usual prayer at the foot of the throne: a nakhaan then advanced into the vacant space before the king, and recited in a musical cadence the name of each person who was to be introduced on that day, and of whose present, in the character of a suppliant, he entreated his majesty's acceptance. My offering consisted of two pieces of Benares gold brocade; doctor Buchanan and Mr. Wood each pre-

sented one. When our names were mentioned, we were separately desired to take a few grains of rice in our hands, and, joining them, to bow to the king as low as we conveniently could; with which we immediately complied. When this ceremony was finished, the king uttered a few indistinct words, to convey, as I was informed, an order for investing some persons present with the insignia of a certain degree of nobility: the imperial mandate was instantly proclaimed aloud by heralds in the court. His majesty remained only a few minutes longer, and during that time looked at us attentively, but did not honour us with any verbal notice, or speak at all; except to give the order before mentioned. When he rose to depart, he manifested the same signs of infirmity as on his entrance: after he had withdrawn, the folding doors were closed, and the court broke up.”

RELIGION, LAWS, ROYAL and MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS, CUSTOMS, and CHARACTER of the BIRMANS.

[From the same Work.]

“THE Birmans are Hindoos: not votaries of Brahma, but sectaries of Boodh, which latter is admitted by Hindoos of all descriptions to be the ninth Avatar, or descent of the deity in his capacity of preserver. He reformed the doctrines contained in the Vedas, and severely censured the sacrifice of cattle, or depriving any being of life: he is called the author of happiness: his place of residence was discovered at Gaya in Bengal, by the illustrious Amara, renowned amongst men, ‘who caused an

‘image of the supreme Boodh to be made, and he worshipped it: ‘reverence be unto thee in the form of Boodh; reverence be unto thee, ‘Lord of the earth; reverence be ‘unto thee, an incarnation of the ‘deity; and, eternal one, reverence ‘be unto thee, O God in the form ‘of Mercy.’

“Gotma, or Goutum, according to the Hindoos of India, or Gaudma, among the inhabitants of the more eastern parts, is said to have been a philosopher, and is by the Birmans believed to have flourished

nourished above 2300 years ago: he taught, in the Indian schools, the heterodox religion and philosophy of Boodh. The image that represents Boodh is called Gaudma, or Goutum, which is now a commonly received appellation of Boodh himself: this image is the primary object of worship in all countries situated between Bengal and China. The sectaries of Boodh contend with those of Brahma for the honour of antiquity, and are certainly far more numerous. The Cingaleze in Ceylon are Boodhists of the purest source, and the Birmans acknowledge to have originally received their religion from that island. It was brought, say the rhahaans, first from Zehoo (Ceylon) to Arracan, and thence was introduced into Ava, and probably into China; for the Birmans assert with confidence that the Chinese are Boodhists.

“This is a curious subject of investigation, and the concurrent testimony of circumstances, added to the opinions of the most intelligent writers, seems to leave little doubt of the fact. It cannot, however, be demonstrated beyond the possibility of dispute, till we shall have acquired a more perfect knowledge of Chinese letters, and a readier access to their repositories of learning. Little can at present be added to the lights cast on the subject by the late sir William Jones, in his discourse delivered to the Asiatic Society on the Chinese. That great man has expressed his conviction in positive terms, that Boodh was unquestionably the Foe of China, and that he was also the god of Japan, and the Woden of the Goths; an opinion which corresponds with, and is perhaps grafted on, the information of 1800.

the learned and laborious Kæmpfer, corroborated afterwards by his own researches. On whatever grounds the latter inference rests, it will not tend to weaken the belief of his first position, when I observe that the Chinese deputies, on the occasion of our introduction to the seredaw or high priest of the Birman empire, prostrated themselves before him, and afterwards adored an image of Gaudma with more religious fervour than mere politeness, or acquiescence in the customs of another nation, would have excited: the bonzes also of China, like the rhahaans of Ava, wear yellow as the sacerdotal colour, and in many of their customs and ceremonies there may be traced a striking similitude.

“Whatever may be the antiquity of the worship of Boodh, the wide extent of its reception cannot be doubted. The most authentic writer on the eastern peninsula calls the image of Gaudma, as worshipped by the Siamese, Somona-Codom: being unacquainted with the language of Siam, which, from so short a residence as four months, it was impossible he could have acquired, he confounds two distinct words, Somona, and Codom, signifying Codom, or Gaudma, in his incarnate state; the difference between the letters C and G may easily have arisen from the mode of pronunciation in different countries; even in the Birman manner of uttering the word, the distinction between these letters is not very clear. The Boodh of the Indians and the Birmans is pronounced by the Siamese Pooth, or Pood; by the vulgar, Poo; which, without any violence to probability, might be converted by the Chinese into foe; the Tamulic termination *en*, as Mr. Chambers

remarks, creates a striking resemblance between Pooden and the Woden of the Goths; every person who has conversed with the natives of India, knows that Boodh is the Dies Mercurii, the Wednesday, or Woden's day, of all Hindoos. Chronology, however, which must always be accepted as a surer guide to truth, than inferences drawn from the resemblance of words and etymological reasoning, does not, to my mind, sufficiently establish that Boodh and Woden were the same. The period of the ninth incarnation of Vishnu was long antecedent to the existence of the deified hero of Scandinavia. Sir William Jones determines the period when Boodh appeared on the earth to be 1014 years before the birth of Christ. Odin, or Woden, flourished at a period not very distant from our Saviour, and was, according to some, a cotemporary of Pompey and of Julius Cæsar. The author of the Northern Antiquities places him 70 years after the Christian era. Even the Birman Gaudina, conformably to their account, must have lived above 500 years before Woden. So immense a space can hardly be supposed to have been overlooked: but if the supposition refers, not to the warrior of the north, but to the original deity Odin, the attributes of the latter are as widely opposed to those of Boodh, who was himself only an incarnation of Vishnu, as the dates are incongruous. The deity whose doctrines were introduced into Scandinavia was a god of terror, and his votaries carried desolation and the sword throughout whole regions; but the ninth Avatar brought the peaceful olive, and came into the world for the sole purpose of preventing sanguinary acts. These appa-

rent inconsistencies will naturally lead us to hesitate in acknowledging Boodh and Woden to be the same person; their doctrines are opposite, and their eras are widely remote.

“Had that distinguished genius, whose learning so lately illumined the east, been longer spared for the instruction and delight of mankind, he would probably have elucidated this obscurity, and have removed the dusky veil that still hangs over the religious legends of antiquity. The subject, as it now stands, affords an ample field for indulging in pleasing theories, and fanciful speculations; and as the probability increases of being able to trace all forms of divine worship to one sacred and primeval source, the inquiry in proportion becomes more interesting, and awakens a train of serious ideas in a reflecting mind.

“It would be as unsatisfactory as tedious to attempt leading my reader through the mazes of mythological fable, and extravagant allegory, in which the Hindoo religion, both Braminical and Boodhic, is enveloped and obscured; it may be sufficient to observe, that the Birmans believe in the Metempsychosis, and that, after having undergone a certain number of transmigrations, their souls will at last either be received into their Olympus on the mountain Meru, or be sent to suffer torments in a place of divine punishments. Mercy they hold to be the first attribute of the divinity: ‘Reverence be to thee, O God, in the form of ‘mercy!’ and they worship God by extending mercy unto all his creatures.

“The laws of the Birmans, like their religion, are Hindoo; in fact, there is no separating their laws from

from their religion: divine authority revealed to Menu the sacred principles in a hundred thousand slokas, or verses; Menu promulgated the code; numerous commentaries on Menu were composed by the Munis, or old philosophers, whose treatises constitute the Dherma Sastra, or body of law.

“ The Birmans generally call their code Derma Sath, or Sastra; it is one among the many commentaries on Menu: I was so fortunate as to procure a translation of the most remarkable passages, which were rendered into Latin by Padre Vincentius Sangermano, and, to my great surprise, I found it to correspond closely with a Persian version of the Arracan code which is now in my possession. From the inquiries to which this circumstance gave rise, I learned that the laws, as well as the religion, of the Birmans had found their way into the Ava country from Arracan, and came originally from Ceylon. The Birman system of jurisprudence is replete with sound morality, and, in my opinion, is distinguished above any other Hindoo commentary for perspicuity and good sense; it provides specifically for almost every species of crime that can be committed, and adds a copious chapter of precedents and decisions to guide the inexperienced in cases where there is doubt and difficulty. Trial by ordeal and imprecation are the only absurd passages in the book; but on the subject of women it is, to an European, offensively indecent; like the immortal Menu, it tells the prince and the magistrate their duty, in language austere, manly, and energetic; and the exhortation at the close is once noble and pious.—

“ Laws thus dictated by reli-

gion are, I believe, in general, conscientiously administered. The criminal jurisprudence of the Birmans is lenient in particular cases, but rigorous in others; whoever is found guilty of an undue assumption of power, or of any crime that indicates a treasonable intent, is punished by the severest tortures. The first commission of theft does not incur the penalty of death, unless the amount stolen be above 800 kiat, or tackal, about 100*l.* or attended with circumstances of atrocity, such as murder or mutilation. In the former case, the culprit has a round mark imprinted on each cheek by gunpowder and punctuation, and on his breast the word thief, with the article stolen; for the second offence he is deprived of an arm; but the third inevitably produces capital punishment; decapitation is the mode by which criminals suffer, in the performance of which the Birman executioners are exceedingly skilful.

“ The city of Ummerapoora is divided into four distinct subordinate jurisdictions, in each of which a maywoon presides. This officer, who in the provinces is a viceroy, in the metropolis resembles a mayor, and holds a civil and criminal court of justice; in capital cases he transmits the evidence in writing, with his opinion, to the lotoo, or grand chamber of consultation, where the council of state assembles; the council, after close examination into the documents, reports upon them to the king, who either pardons the offender, or orders execution of the sentence: the maywoon is obliged to attend in person, and see the punishment carried into effect.

“ Civil suits may be transferred from the courts of the maywoons

to the lotoo; this removal, however, is attended with a heavy expence. There are regular established lawyers, who conduct causes and plead; eight only are licensed to plead in the lotoo; they are called ameendozaan: the usual fee is five tackal, equal to sixteen shillings; but the government has large profits on all suits that are brought into court.

“ There is no country of the East in which the royal establishment is arranged with more minute attention than in the Birman court; it is splendid without being wasteful, and numerous without confusion; the most distinguished members, when I was at the capital, were: the sovereign, his principal queen, entitled Nandoh Praw, by whom he has not any sons; his second wife, Myack Nandoh, by whom he has two sons; the engy teekien, or prince royal, and pée teekien, or prince of Prome. The princes of Tongho, Bassien, and Pagahm, are by favourite concubines. Meedah Praw is a princess of high dignity, and mother of the chief queen. The prince royal is married, and has a son and two daughters, all young; the son takes precedence of his uncles, the crown descending to the male heirs in a direct line. These were the principal personages of the Birman royal family.

“ Next in rank to the princes of the blood royal are the woongees, or chief ministers of state. The established number is four, but the place of one has long been vacant: these form the great ruling council of the nation; they sit in the lotoo, or imperial hall of consultation, every day except on the Birman sabbath, from twelve till three or four o'clock, or later, as there happens to be business; they issue

mandates to the maywoons, or viceroys of the different provinces; they control every department of the state, and, in fact, govern the empire, subject always to the pleasure of the king, whose will is absolute, and power undefined.

“ To assist in the administration of affairs, four officers, called woondocks, are associated with the woongees, but of far inferior authority; they sit in the lotoo in a deliberative capacity, having no vote: they give their opinions, and may record their dissent from any measure that is proposed; but the woongees decide: the woondocks, however, are frequently employed to carry into execution business of great public importance.

“ Four attawoons, or ministers of the interior, possess a great degree of influence that sometimes counteracts with success the views and wishes of the woongees; these the king selects to be his privy counsellors, from their talents, and the opinion he entertains of their integrity; they have access to him at all times; a privilege which the principal woongee does not enjoy.

“ There are four chief secretaries, called sere-dogeés, who have numerous writers or inferior serees under them.

“ Four nachaangee sit in the lotoo, take notes, and report whatever is transacted.

“ Four sandohgaan regulate all ceremonies, introduce strangers of rank into the royal presence, and are the bearers of messages from the council of state to the king.

“ There are nine sandozains, or readers, whose business it is to read all official writings, petitions, &c. Every document, in which the public is concerned, or that is brought

brought before the council in the lotoo, is read aloud.

“ The four maywoons already mentioned are restricted to the magisterial superintendence of their respective quarters of the city; they have nothing farther to do with the lotoo, than to obey the commands they receive from thence.

“ The assaywoon, or paymaster-general, is also an officer of high importance; the place is at present held by one of the woongees, who is called assay woongee.

“ There are several other officers of distinction, who bear no ostensible share in the administration of public affairs, such as the daywoon, or king's armour-bearer; the chaingeewoon, or master of the elephants; also the woons of the queen's household, and that of the prince royal. Each of the junior princes has a distinct establishment.

“ In the Birman government there are no hereditary dignities or employments; all honours and offices, on the demise of the possessor, revert to the crown.

“ The tsaloe, or chain, is the badge of the order of nobility, of which there are different degrees, distinguished by the number of strings or small chains that compose the ornament; these strings are fastened by bosses where they unite: three of open chain work is the lowest rank; three of neatly twisted wire is the next; then of six, of nine, and of twelve: no subject is ever honoured with a higher degree than twelve; the king alone wears twenty-four.

“ It has already been noticed, that almost every article of use, as well as ornament, particularly in their dress, indicates the rank of

the owner; the shape of the betel-box, which is carried by an attendant after a Birman of distinction wherever he goes, his ear-rings, cap of ceremony, horse furniture, even the metal of which his spitting-pot and drinking-cup are made (which if of gold, denote him to be a man of high consideration), all are indicative of the gradations of society; and woe be unto him that assumes the insignia of a degree which is not his legitimate right!

“ The court dress of the Birman nobility is very becoming; it consists of a long robe, either of flowered satin or velvet, reaching to the ankles, with an open collar and loose sleeves; over this there is a scarf, or flowing mantle, that hangs from the shoulders; and on their heads they wear high caps made of velvet, either plain or of silk embroidered with flowers of gold, according to the rank of the wearer. Ear-rings are a part of male dress; persons of condition use tubes of gold about three inches long, and as thick as a large quill, which expands at one end like the mouth of a speaking-trumpet; others wear a heavy mass of gold beaten into a plate, and rolled up; this lump of metal forms a large orifice in the lobe of the ear, and drags it down by the weight to the extent sometimes of two inches. The women likewise have their distinguishing paraphernalia: their hair is tied in a bunch at the top of the head, and bound round with a fillet, the embroidery and ornaments of which express their respective ranks; a short shift reaches to the pit of the stomach, is drawn tight by strings, and supports the breasts; over that is a loose jacket with close sleeves; round

round their waist they roll a long piece of silk, or cloth, which, reaching to their feet, and sometimes trailing on the ground, encircles them twice, and is then tucked in. When women of condition go abroad, they put on a silk sash, resembling a long shawl, which crosses their bosom, and is thrown over the shoulders, gracefully flowing on each side. The lowest class of females often wear only a single garment, in the form of a sheet, which, wrapped round the body, and tucked in under the arm, crosses their breasts, which it scarcely conceals, and descends to their ankles: thus, when they walk, the bottom of the cloth, where it overlaps, is necessarily opened by the protrusion of the leg, and displays to a side view as high as the middle of the thigh; such an exposure, in the opinion of an European, bears an indecent appearance, although it excites no such idea in the people themselves. There is an idle and disgusting story related by some writers, respecting the origin of this fashion, which, being wholly unfounded, does not deserve repetition; it has been the established national mode of dress from time immemorial: and every woman, when walking, must show great part of her leg, as what may be called their petticoat is always open in front, instead of being closed by a seam.

“ Women, in full dress, stain the palms of their hands and their nails of a red colour, for which they use a vegetable juice, and strew on their bosoms powder of sandal wood, or of a bark called sunneka, with which some rub their faces. Both men and women tinge the edges of their eyelids and their teeth with black; this latter operation

gives to their mouths a very unseemly appearance in the eyes of an European, which is not diminished by their being constantly filled with betel-leaf. Men of rank wear, in common dress, a tight coat, with long sleeves made of muslin, or of extremely fine nankeen, which is manufactured in the country; also a silk wrapper that encircles the waist: the working class are usually naked to the middle, but in the cold season a mantle or vest of European broad cloth is highly prized.

“ The Birmans in their features bear a nearer resemblance to the Chinese than to the natives of Hindostan. The women, especially in the northern part of the empire, are fairer than Hindoo females, but not so delicately formed; they are, however, well made, and in general inclined to corpulence: their hair is black, coarse, and long. The men are not tall in stature, but active and athletic; they have a very youthful appearance, from the custom of plucking their beards instead of using the razor: they tattoo their thighs and arms into various fantastic shapes and figures, which they believe operate as a charm against the weapons of their enemies. Neither the men nor the women are so cleanly in their persons as the Hindoos of India, among whom diurnal ablution is a religious as well as a moral duty. Girls are taught, at an early age, to turn their arms in such a manner as to make them appear distorted: when the arm is extended the elbow is inverted, the inside of the joint being protruded, and the external part bending inwards.

“ Marriages among the Birmans are not contracted until the parties attain

attain the age of puberty : the contract is purely civil ; the ecclesiastical jurisdiction having nothing to do with it. The law prohibits polygamy, and recognizes but one wife, who is denominated Mica ; concubinage, however, is admitted to an unlimited extent. A man may repudiate his wife under particular circumstances, but the process is attended with a heavy expence. Concubines, living in the same house with the legitimate wife, are, by law, obliged to perform menial services for her, and when she goes abroad they attend her, bearing her water-flagon, betel-box, fan, &c. When a husband dies, his concubines, if bound in servitude to him, become the property of the surviving widow, unless he shall have emancipated them by a specific act previous to his decease. When a young man is desirous to espouse a girl, his mother, or nearest female relation, first makes the proposal in private ; if the suit be well received, a party of his friends proceed to the house of the parents of the maiden, with whom they adjust the dotal portion. On the morning of the bridal day the bridegroom sends to the lady three loongees, or lower garments, three tubbecks, or sashes, and three pieces of white muslin ; such jewels also, ear-rings and bracelets, as his circumstances will admit : a feast is prepared by the parents of the bride, and formal writings are executed : the new-married couple eat out of the same dish, the bridegroom presents the bride with some læpack, or pickled tea, which she accepts, and returns the compliment : thus ends the ceremony, without any of that subsequent riot and resistance on the part of the young lady and her female friends, with which the Sumatran

damfels oppose the privileges of an ardent bridegroom.

“ When a man dies intestate, three-fourths of his property go to his children born in wedlock, but not in equal proportions ; and one-fourth to the widow, who is the guardian both of the property and the children, until the latter attain the age of maturity. A Birman funeral is solemnized with much religious parade, and external demonstration of grief : the corpse is carried on a bier, on men’s shoulders ; the procession moves slowly ; the relations attend in mourning ; and women hired for the occasion precede the body, and chant a dirge-like air. The Birmans burn their dead, unless the deceased is a pauper, in which case he is either buried or cast into the river, as the ceremony of burning is very expensive. The bier is placed on a funeral pile six or eight feet high, made of billets of dried wood laid across, with intervals to admit a circulation of air, and increase the flame. The rhahaans walk round the pile, reciting prayers to Gaudma, until the fire reaches the body, when the whole is quickly reduced to ashes : the bones are afterwards gathered and deposited in a grave. Persons of high distinction, such as the feredaw, or chief ecclesiastic of a province, a maywoon, a woongee, or a member of the royal family, are embalmed, and their remains preserved six weeks or two months after decease, before they are committed to the funeral pile : during this period the body is laid in state in some kioum or religious building ; but at the capital it is placed in a sacred saloon, beautifully ornamented with gilding, and exclusively appropriated to that pious purpose. I was told, that honey is the principal ingredient

made use of to preserve the body from putrefaction.

“ Of the population of the Birman dominions I could only form a conclusion from the information I received of the number of cities, towns, and villages in the empire; these, I was assured by a person who might be supposed to know, and had no motive for deceiving me, amount to eight thousand, not including the recent addition of Arracan. If this be true, which I have no reason to doubt, and we suppose each town, on an average, to contain three hundred houses, and each house six persons, the result will determine the population at fourteen millions four hundred thousand. Few of the inhabitants live in solitary habitations; they mostly form themselves into small societies, and their dwellings thus collected compose their ruas, or villages: if, therefore, we reckon their numbers, including Arracan, at seventeen millions, the calculation may not be widely erroneous; I believe it rather falls short of than exceeds the truth. After all, however, it is mere conjecture, as I have no better data for my guidance than what I have related. —

“ The Birman may be termed a nation of soldiers, every man in the kingdom being liable to be called upon for his military services; and war is deemed the most honourable occupation: the regular military establishment of the Birman is, nevertheless, very inconsiderable; not exceeding the numbers of which the royal guard is composed, and such as are necessary to preserve the police of the capital. When an army is to be raised, a mandate issues from the golden palace to all viceroys of provinces and miougees of districts, requiring a certain number

of men to be at a general rendezvous on an appointed day, under command sometimes of the viceroy himself, but oftener that of an inferior officer: the levy is proportioned to the population of the province or district, estimated from the number of registered houses that it contains. The provincial court determines the burthen which each house is to bear; commonly every two, three, or four houses are to furnish among them one recruit, or to pay 300 tackal in money, about 40*l.* or 45*l.*; this recruit is supplied with arms, ammunition, and, I believe, with a certain daily allowance of grain from government, but is not entitled to pay. The families of these conscripts are carefully retained in the district which they inhabit, as hostages for the good conduct of their relation. In case of desertion or treachery, the innocent wife, children, and parents of the guilty person are dragged to execution without the least remorse or pity; even cowardice subjects the family of the delinquent to capital punishment. This barbarous law, which is rigorously enforced, must have a powerful effect in securing the allegiance of the troops, and of impelling them to vigorous exertion; and it is, perhaps, the only sure mode of inciting to enterprises of danger, men who are not actuated by an innate sense of honour, and who do not feel any national pride.

“ Infantry and cavalry compose the regular guards of the king; the former are armed with muskets and sabres, the latter are provided with a spear about seven or eight feet long, which they manage on horseback with great dexterity, seldom requiring or making use of any other weapon. The infantry are

are not uniformly clothed; I heard various accounts of their numbers: 700 do constant duty within the precincts, and at the several gates of the palace: I think that on the day of my public reception I saw about 2000, and have no doubt that all the troops in the city were paraded on that occasion. I was told that there were only 300 cavalry in Ummerapoora, but that 2000 were scattered, in small detachments, throughout the neighbouring districts. All the troopers in the king's service are natives of Cassay, who are much better horsemen than the Birmans. Mr. Wood, who saw some of them at exercise, informed me, that they nearly resembled those whom he had met with in Assam: they ride, like all orientals, with short stirrups and a loose rein; their saddle is hard and high, and two large circular flaps of strong leather hang down on each side, painted or gilded, according to the quality of the rider. Their dress is not unbecoming; they wear a tight coat, with skirts reaching down to the middle of the thigh: and on their head a turban of cloth, rolled hard and plaited, which forms a high cone, that bends backward in a graceful manner. The horses of Ava are small, but very hardy and active; contrary to the practice of other eastern countries, they castrate their horses, and are thus enabled to maintain them with little trouble and expence, and can also turn a number loose in a field together, without any risk of their injuring one another. Horses are frequently exported in timber ships bound for Madras, and other parts of the coast, where they are disposed of to considerable advantage.

“The government of Ava is

extremely attentive to provide, in times of peace, for the contingencies of war: the royal magazines, I was told, could furnish 20,000 firelocks, which, if they resembled the specimens I saw, cannot be very formidable; these have been imported, at different periods, into the country, by ships trading to Rangoon and other parts of the empire, and are either of French manufacture, or condemned muskets from the English arsenals in India. The Birmans are very fond of their arms, of which they take great care; their gunsmiths, who are all natives of Cassay, keep them in repair; but they are in general so bad as to be out of the power of art to render them serviceable. I saw a tolerably good fowling piece, which they said was entirely the work of a Cassay artificer; this, however, was allowed to be an extraordinary effort of genius: the person who showed it to me, presented me, at the same time, with a bamboo, which threw out a short spear of iron by means of a spring; it was executed by the maker of the gun, and seemed to be formed after a model of an English walking-stick, that contained a concealed spike; the imitation evinced much ingenuity, although the workmanship was coarse, and the iron badly polished.

“By far the most respectable part of the Birman military force is their establishment of war-boats. Every town of note, in the vicinity of the river, is obliged to furnish a certain number of men, and one or more boats, in proportion to the magnitude of the place. I was informed, that the king can command, at a very short notice, 500 of these vessels: they are constructed out of the solid trunk of the teak tree, which is excavated partly by fire, and

and partly by cutting; the largest are from eighty to one hundred feet long, but the breadth seldom exceeds eight feet, and even this space is produced by artificially extending the sides after the trunk has been hollowed. They carry from fifty to sixty rowers, who use short oars that work on a spindle; the prow is solid, and has a flat surface, on which, when they go to war, a piece of ordnance is mounted, a six, a nine, or even a twelve pounder; the gun carriage is secured by lashings to strong bolts on each side, and swivels are frequently fixed on the curvature of the stern.

“ Each rower is provided with a sword and a lance, which are placed by his side whilst he plies the oars. Besides the boatmen, there are usually thirty soldiers on board, who are armed with muskets: thus prepared, they go in fleets to meet the foe, and, when in sight, draw up in a line, presenting their prows to the enemy. Their attack is extremely impetuous; they advance with great rapidity, and sing a war-song, at once to encourage their people, daunt their adversaries, and regulate the strokes of their oars: they generally endeavour to grapple; and when that is effected, the action becomes very severe, as these people are endued with great courage, strength, and activity. In times of peace, they are fond of exercising in their boats, and I have often been entertained with the dexterity they display in the management of them. The vessels being low in the water, their greatest danger is that of being run down by a larger boat striking on their broadside, a misfortune which the steersman is taught to dread, and to avoid, above all others. It is surprising to see the

facility with which they flee, and elude each other in their mock combats. The rowers are also practised to row backwards, and impel the vessel with the stern foremost: this is the mode of retreat, by means of which the artillery still bears upon their opponent. The largest of the war-boats do not draw more than three feet water. When a person of rank is on board, there is a sort of moving tilt or canopy, for his particular accommodation, placed sometimes in the centre, and sometimes on the prow. The sides of the boat are either gilt as far as the water's edge, or plain, according to the rank of the person it carries. Gilded boats are only permitted to princes of the blood, or to persons holding the highest stations, such as a maynoon of a province, and a minister of state.

“ It is by no means improbable, that the use of gunpowder was well known in India before its effects were discovered in the west; yet there is not any reason to believe, that the natives of Ava applied it to the purpose of musketry, till Europeans instructed them in the art. According to Indian accounts, cannon were fabricated in the east long before the era of European conquest: their artillery, however, was not capable of being transported with facility, or at all used in the field: they were made of iron bars beaten into a cylindrical form, rudely put together, but of great strength and enormous weight, from which, when raised on a rampart or tower, they threw huge stones to annoy the enemy. The musket was first introduced into the Pegue and Ava countries by the Portuguese, and is an implement of war which the inhabitants unwisely prefer to their own native

native weapons, the spear and sabre; a partiality that is highly prejudicial to themselves, for nothing can be less formidable than such fire-arms as they possess, or have the means of procuring. The proper indigenous weapons of the country are the spear, the javelin, which is thrown from the hand, the cross-bow, and the sabre; the latter is used by the Birmans not only as an implement of war, but is likewise applied to various purposes as an instrument of manual labour; with this the peasant fells trees, shapes timbers, cuts bamboos, or defends himself against an enemy and wild beasts; he never travels without it, and generally, when on a journey, carries a shield on his left arm; they encumber themselves with less baggage than perhaps any other people; and are satisfied with a scanty portion of the hardest fare.

"In their food, the Birmans, compared with the Indians, are

gross and uncleanly. Although their religion forbids the slaughter of animals in general, yet they apply the interdiction only to those that are domesticated; all game is eagerly sought after, and in many places it is publicly sold; reptiles also, such as lizards, guanas, and snakes, constitute a part of the subsistence of the lower classes. During our voyage up the river, the boatmen, after we had brought-to, used frequently to hunt for cameleons and lizards among the thickets. They are extremely fond of vegetables; at those places where garden greens were not to be procured, they gathered wild sorrel, and sometimes substituted the tender leaves of trees; these, boiled with rice, and moistened with a little oil, or seasoned with gnapee, or pickled sprat, compose a meal with which a Birman peasant or boatman is satisfied: the higher ranks, however, live with more delicacy, although their fare is never very sumptuous."

POPULATION of MALAYALA, or MALABAR, with REMARKS on the MANNERS, CUSTOMS, and INDUSTRY of the INHABITANTS.

[From FRA PAOLINO DA SAN BARTOLOMEO'S VOYAGE to the EAST INDIES: with Notes and Illustrations by JOHN REINHOLD FORSTER, LL. D.]

THE inhabitants of *Malayala*, which, comprehending all its provinces from Cape *Illi* to *Tovala*, is 120 Indian miles in length; and from the Gauts to the sea, between twenty-five and thirty in breadth, consist, besides the native Indians, who are partly Pagans and partly Christians, of Arabs, black and white Jews, Canarians, and Europeans of different nations, who have here formed establishments. In

the year 1771, the Christians of St. Thomas, according to M. Florentius à Jesu, the bishop and apostolic vicar on the coast of Malabar, amounted to 94,600. In the year 1787, when a poll-tax was about to be imposed on them by the king of Travancor, they estimated their number themselves at 100,000 persons. Ten thousand of them, I confess, lost their lives during the war against Tippoo Sultan; but still there

there will remain 90,000 Catholic Christians, who follow the Syrio-Chaldaic ritual. They have in their possession sixty-four churches, some of which however were destroyed by Tippoo. The Jacobites have thirty-two churches, to which belong 50,000 Schismatics. These, therefore, form all together 140,000 Christians, who adhere to the Syrio-Chaldaic rites. There are likewise seventy-five churches of the *Mucoas* and *Paravas* on the coast of Travancor; and twenty churches belonging to the Latin ritual, which lie in the district between *Porrocada* and *Cape Illi*. All these churches can muster more than 100,000 Christians, newly converted to the Romish faith. The number of the Jews who reside at *Mattincera*, *Muttam*, and *Cayamcolla* may be about from 15 to 20,000. To these must be added 100,000 Arabs, established there since the ninth century: also the *Canarians*, *Banians*, *Cettis*, and *Cumuttis*, who together amount to 30,000 souls; and, lastly, 15,000 Europeans, Creoles, Mestises, and *Topasis*, who are partly Catholics, partly Lutherans and Calvinists. But far greater than the sum-total of all these foreigners is the number of the original inhabitants of the country. The former may be estimated at

400,000, the latter at 1,600,000, so that Malayala contains above two millions of inhabitants. This calculation was made too at a time when the population of the country had greatly suffered by the wars with Hayder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultan. If we reflect, therefore, that this district is not very large, that it is intersected by a great number of streams, and that on the east it is bounded by high mountains and impenetrable forests, it is evident that, in proportion to its cultivated surface, it is extremely well peopled*. This is to be ascribed chiefly to the simple and temperate manner in which the Indians live, as they eat nothing but rice, milk, fruit, herbs, butter, coco-nut oil, fish, and other kinds of food which are easy of digestion, and promote the generative powers†. Monogamy, which prevails among the Christians and Pagans, though among the latter it is not general, contributes also to increase the population; for, by these means, the affection between parents and children is preserved, and that also between husband and wife. Another circumstance which tends to promote population is, that all young women, without exception, must marry. One of the chief objects of every father, whether Christian or Pagan,

* "This population, in a country so small as the coast of Malabar, or Malayala, is undoubtedly very great. About forty *cofs* or Malabar miles make a degree. This coast, therefore, contains at most 450 geographical square miles, and to each of these are consequently almost 3703 persons. In other parts of India a far greater number of persons live on a square mile; but we must take into consideration the mountains, forests, lakes, and rivers in Malabar, and also the devastation occasioned in the country by the merciless Tippoo Saib."

† "The author ought not to have called milk, butter, and coco-nut oil food easy of digestion. The continual use of milk renders it at length very heavy for the stomachs of most people. The fat parts of butter and coco-nut oil are indigestible; and as the acid parts of fat separate from it, this acid attacks the stomach and the bowels. Now the Indians use no flesh, which contains abundance of alkaline parts, and therefore the acid cannot be neutralised by these parts. It is, however, true in general, that the great moderation of the Indians, though indeed often occasioned by want, contributes greatly to their healthfulness. That such moderation promotes the generative power is very doubtful."

is to procure husbands for his daughters; and when he is not able to give them portions, he is assisted either by the cast to which he belongs, or by the Christian congregation of which he is a member. There are here neither convents, nor any other establishments, in which young women can be immured; but they are obliged, as already said, to enter into the state of matrimony, and to gain their livelihood by the labour of their hands. The Indians are not fond of celibacy, and the state of widowhood is held in the utmost contempt. The women in Malabar, indeed, bring forth few children; but the loss occasioned to population by this natural deficiency is fully supplied by the great number of marriages. The expence of rearing children is also rendered extremely easy, as they require very little for their nourishment and clothing*. In the second book I shall give a fuller account of these and other causes which contribute to increase the population of India. I must, however, not omit here to observe, that it is impeded also by very great obstacles. Among these are:

“ 1. The small-pox, which, in

India, are extremely malignant, and which every year sweep off many thousands†.

“ 2. Polygamy, and the celibacy of a great number of persons who cannot resolve to confine their affections to one object‡.

“ 3. The continual wars and revolutions in India, by which a great number of men are destroyed.

“ 4. The oppression of sovereign princes, who impose on their subjects excessive labour, and by these means ruin many persons both married and unmarried.

“ 5. The slave-trade, by which several thousands of men are sold annually, like cattle, and sent out of the country.

“ The complexion of the natives of Malabar is brown, but much brighter than that of the *Tamulians*, who inhabit the coast of Cidlamandala. The *Mucoas* or fishermen, the *Paravas* or people who manufacture and dye the cotton articles with which they carry on trade, and all those who reside on the sea-coast, are totally black; because, by the nature of their employments, they are always exposed to the heat of the sun, and to the sea air. The nobler casts, and other families

* “ Monogamy, the great care employed by parents to get their daughters married, the want of nurseries, the great honour in which marriage is held in India, and the little expence required for educating and clothing children, are the real causes of the increase of population in that country. Even among us the middle and lower classes would produce more children were they not afraid of the expences of education.”

† “ I have, in general, observed, that the small-pox are malignant where the body, in order to prevent perspiration, is frequently rubbed over with fat or oily substances. Dirtiness, immoderation, or luxury in eating and drinking, and particularly the use of heating things, greatly increase the malignity of the disease. A confirmation of what I have here asserted may be found in America, the Cape of Good Hope, in Africa among the Negroes, and among the Calmucks in Russia. Among people who employ the warm-bath, as the Russians, Turks, Persians, &c. the small-pox are less malignant.”

‡ “ That the polygamy of the Mahometans and Indians of higher rank does not contribute to population is certain: for, 1st, Polygamy deprives many a male of a female; 2d, It occasions more female children to be born, and consequently destroys the true proportion so well suited to monogamy.—Perhaps the polyandria of the women among the Nays causes more males to be brought into the world, and thus supplies the deficiency.”

who

who live in palm-gardens and enclosures*, are much fairer; because they spend the greater part of their time under the shade of trees, and are surrounded by a milder atmosphere, which moderates the heat of the sun. I have seen Brahman women, both married and unmarried, who were uncommonly beautiful. The most of the female Indians have fine long hair, black eyes, extended ears which are pierced, and straight delicate persons. They are accustomed to wash themselves twice a-day; to anoint their bodies every week with coco-nut oil, or the white of an egg: and to rub their skin with a plant called *incia*, the rind of which has the property of removing all filth. This ablution and friction strengthen the body, and at the same time prevent too violent perspiration. Till their thirtieth year they are stout and vigorous; but after that period they alter much faster than the women in any of the nations of Europe†. Early marriage, labour, and diseases exhaust their constitutions before the regular time of decay. They are lively, active, and tractable; possess great acuteness; are fond of conversation; employ florid expressions, and a phraseology abundant in images; never carry any thing into effect till after mature deliberation; are inquisitive and prying, yet modest in discourse; have a fickle inconstant disposition; make promises with great readiness, yet seldom perform them; are importunate in their requests, but ungrateful when they have obtained their end; behave in a cringing obsequious manner when they fear any one, but are haughty and insolent when they gain the superiority; and assume an air of calmness and composure when they can acquire no satisfaction for an injury, but are malicious and irreconcilable when they find an opportunity of being revenged. I was acquainted with many families who had ruined themselves with law-suits, because they preferred the gratification of revenge to every consideration of prudence. The men, both of the higher and lower classes, bind a piece of cotton cloth round their loins, and for the most part leave the remainder of the body uncovered. The women of the inferior casts go about almost in the same manner. The wives and daughters of the Brahmans, on the other hand, conceal the upper part of the body with a piece of fine cotton cloth, the extremity of which is thrown over the shoulder. They go bare-footed; but wear a great many ornaments, which generally consist of three or four bracelets of brass, a necklace of gold or precious stones, and earrings of gold or of diamonds. They

* "It is well known, that the ancient Greek authors have observed, in regard to the Indian literati and persons of rank, that they lived in woods, and places planted with palm-trees.—The intelligent reader will here recollect Otaheite, where those who are under no necessity of exposing themselves to the sun and the sea air have a pale-brown colour, inclining to yellow; and where the complexion of the most beautiful women approaches nearer to the colour of the Europeans than that of the men, so that an agreeable ruddiness can be seen to flush in their cheeks when they are animated. The *Tautaus*, or labouring class, are much browner; so that one might believe they belong to another race."

† "Bruce also, during his travels through Arabia, observed that the women soon acquired every mark of old age, and that they left off child-bearing at an early period. This, perhaps, has given rise to polygamy in Arabia."

bind

bind their hair together in a roll on the top of the head, and paint on the forehead some sacred mark. They bear in their hand an umbrella of palm-leaves, which they always hold before their face when they meet any of the male sex. They, however, turn speedily round, in general, when a man has passed them, and seem to cast a wistful look towards him. This is a plain proof that in every country of the globe the daughters of Eve are subject to the like weaknesses.

“ The houses of the nobility and opulent persons consist of two stories. Before the lowest there is generally a small hall, supported by thin pillars of *teka* wood, which is of a yellow colour, and exceedingly hard. This hall is called *varanda*, and supplies the place of a parlour. The upper story is called *malaga*; and in this the Indians are accustomed to sleep, to study, or to perform any business in which they do not wish to be interrupted. A building which consists of seven stories is called *elammaliga*, that is, a tower; and is considered as a habitation which none but a king or reigning prince dare inhabit. The huts of

the poor people are constructed of the branches of the coco-nut tree interwoven through each other; and are covered with its leaves, or with rushes or straw. The entrance into these huts is low, and the interior part of them is dark. Their whole furniture consists of a *kattila*, or bed-frame, on which a mat is placed: a few flat dishes of copper or brass; a *kindi*, or brass drinking vessel with a spout; a pot or kettle, in which they boil their rice; a *wilacca*, or round lamp of iron or brass, fastened to a chain, by which it can be suspended in the middle of the hut; and a large wooden mortar, in which they pound their *nella*, or unshelled rice. Though the Indians see daily before them the furniture and cooking utensils of the Europeans, they have never yet thought proper to make use of them. The customs prevalent among them above three thousand years ago still remain unchanged*. We must, however, do the Indians the justice to confess, that they are very well acquainted with agriculture, botany, gardening, hunting, fishing, and architecture†. Their style and taste are indeed extremely

* “ There are various reasons which prevent the Indians from imitating the household furniture and cooking utensils of the Europeans. The poorer sort of people cannot do it, on account of their circumstances; and the rich will not, because they hate and detest the whites, by whom they are oppressed. Beside, many of the European customs, articles of furniture, &c. are not suited to the climate of India. The attachment of the Indians to every thing handed down to them by their ancestors, arises from that pride prevalent among all little cultivated nations, who, like the Chinese, for example, consider what they themselves possess as the best in the world.”

† “ The object of agriculture in India is almost exclusively rice, and that kind of it the growth and increase of which are particularly promoted by inundating the fields. As the chief point is to devise proper means for watering the land, the large rivers have been divided into small streams, and conducted by ditches and canals to the nearest plains. When the rivers are not swelled up by abundant rains, so as to overflow their banks, the water is raised by machines put in motion by men or oxen; or large reservoirs are formed, which the Europeans call *tangs* or *tanks*. In these reservoirs the rain water, which pours down in torrents during the time of the monsoons, is collected, and afterwards conveyed through different channels to the rice fields. A great deal of sesamum is sown on account of its oil; and poppies, particularly in Bengal, are cultivated,

tremely wretched; but they possess a wonderful aptitude for imitating the arts and inventions of the Europeans, as soon as the method has been pointed out to them. The greater part of the houses in Malabar are built of *teka* wood, which is much harder and heavier than oak, and which withstands corruption for a very great length of time. I have seen several houses more than 400 years old, which during that period had suffered little or no decay. The palm-leaves with which they are covered, and the above wood, have the property of attracting the moisture, and of suffering it again to escape as soon as a breath of air begins to stir, or the sun to shine. Hence it happens,

that these houses are much healthier than those of stone and lime; which, if not allowed to dry properly, evaporate, for a long time after they are built, a great many calcareous and highly pernicious particles*.

"The Indians, after the manner of all the oriental nations, never eat at noon. In the morning, before they go out to labour, they generally take their *cagni*, or beverage, consisting of water in which a certain quantity of rice has been boiled till all its mealy, nourishing, and cooling particles are dissolved. After this breakfast they proceed to their labour, and continue it without interruption till about four o'clock. An hour after, or sometimes later, they take their

cultivated, in order to produce opium. Millet, maize, and the kind of rice which grows in dry soil, are less generally cultivated. Rice, when freed from the husk, is called *nella*. Every Indian has in his house a wooden mortar and pestle for reducing it to that state.—Horticulture, in India, consists only in planting certain portions of ground with palms and different kinds of fruit-trees. The fruits are figs, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, &c. The coco, areca, and butter-palms are the trees most common in gardens: roses, jasmin, and different kinds of lilies, are reared on account of their smell.—Botany is comprehended only in the *Upaveda* books, written in the earliest periods, in the Sanscrit language; one division of which, the *Adschurveda*, gives an account of the uses of the Indian plants, together with the method of cultivating them. This part of the sacred books is, however, studied by very few of the learned Brahmans. It is not improbable that it contains a number of observations carefully made and collected in the most remote ages, though it may readily be supposed that a great deal of useless and superstitious matter must be interspersed throughout them; for every plant and flower is dedicated to one or more of the Indian deities. Lovers in India have the art, as may be seen in the play called *Sacotala*, to express various ideas by flowers, and by the method of arranging them, or interweaving them into garlands; and this art is, no doubt, taught in the before-mentioned work.—Hunting is the occupation of great men and princes, who employ, for that purpose, tamed leopards (*tschittabs*), falcons, dogs, nets, and a great number of attendants.—Fishing is the employment only of the *Mucoas*, or persons of the meanest and lowest classes.—The architecture of the Indians, in their large public buildings, and particularly those devoted to religious worship, or the sciences, such for example as observatories, is far from being contemptible. Their cement, with which they mix oil, is durable, and almost indestructible. Their style in their oldest edifices, such as the temple of Elephanta at Bombay, has a great likeness to the Egyptian. Whether the Indians were taught architecture by the Egyptians, or the Egyptians by the Indians, will always remain doubtful, until better and more decisive proofs are produced to determine the question."

* "The teka wood (*teetona grandis* LINN. GMEL.) employed in India for building houses and ships, is indeed strong and durable; but the dry climate of that country is one of the chief causes why edifices constructed of such timber stand so long. The common people in India build houses of mud and loam, the walls of which are infested by centipedes (*scolopendræ*), scorpions, and snakes; so that it is not only unpleasant, but dangerous, to reside in them."

evening

evening meal; go to sleep at sunset, and rise next morning at break of day. This mode of life is perfectly agreeable to the nature of man, for whom the elements and heavenly bodies were created. It not only saves the Indians a great deal of oil, but secures to them agreeable repose, and preserves their bodies healthful. The day and the night are almost always of the same length near the equator, and therefore they seldom or never depart from the above regular course. The women are obliged to cook, and to place the dishes on the table. The husband and wife never eat together; for the Indians consider it as indecent, and contrary to that respect which is due to the former. The consequence is, that their meals are very short; and that nothing takes place, in the presence of the rest of the family, which can offend against decency or good manners. At table they use merely the right hand; for the left, with which they wash the lower part of the body, &c. they look upon as unclean. The rice is served up on a broad banana leaf, which supplies the place of a dish; and near it is placed the *karil*, that is, soup which consists of herbs, fruit, pepper and cardamoms. It is exceedingly well prepared; has a delicious smell, and a pungent taste. This soup they pour, at different times, over the rice, which in very small morsels they put into their mouth with the right hand. If they have no *kail*, or spoon, they employ in its stead a *mava* leaf rolled together. When their meal is finished, they throw away their dish and spoon, because leaves of

the like kind may be every where found. Persons of condition, however, employ at their meals vessels of copper and brass, which they keep remarkably clean, and which are always washed after they have been used. They eat, along with their rice, sour milk and butter, or herbs which have been baked in butter or oil. The king of Travancor has generally at his table fifteen different kinds of soup, which are varied from time to time. He eats also preserved nutmegs with his rice, which of itself has an excellent and aromatic taste.

“ During their meals the Indians sit down on a mat spread out on the floor, and, according to the oriental custom, place their legs across each other under them. They drink nothing but water; and when they wish to quench their thirst, they pour it from their *kindi*, or drinking-vessel, directly into their throat, without letting it touch their lips. When the men have ended their meal, it is then the women's turn; and as soon as these have finished, they repair all together to a river or pond, where they wash themselves, and mutter over various forms of prayer*. This ablution is called *sandhivayana*, that is, the evening's devotion; and is directed either to *Shiva* or *Vishnu*, *Bhagavadi* or *Bhavanani*, to the goddess of nature and her children, the stars and the elements. They are convinced that the whole world, with every thing in it, had a beginning; that it will endure for a certain period, and at last have an end: and this belief conducts them to exalted ideas respecting their present and future destination. Never are they heard

* “ Such readers as are acquainted with the different voyages to the South Seas will be struck with the similarity between the Indian manners and those of the natives of Orahete.”

to pronounce an indecent word, except on the festival of *Shiva* or *Bhagavadi*, in honour of which deities they always sing obscene songs. As for love letters, they are totally unknown to them. No young man dare venture to visit the object of his affection at her home; for the parents, on whose will the marrying of the girl depends, would consider this as an infringement on their right. This observation, however, is applicable only to the nobility and families of distinction; for people of the lower casts have manners and customs peculiar to themselves. Thus, for example, when they address themselves to a prince, brahman, magistrate or superior, they salute him by folding the hands together, raising them above their head, letting them then fall down, turning the fingers of both hands three times outwards, and raising up their folded hands again. They then place the left hand on their breast, the right on the mouth, and in that posture wait for permission to speak. This ceremony is called *tolunu*. When a scholar wishes to address his preceptor, he must first prostrate himself at full length before him. This method of showing respect is called *shash-tang*. A scholar never dares to sit down in the presence of his *guru* or teacher*.

The industry of the Indians does not arise so much from their ingenuity, as from the fertility of the soil which they cultivate. They plant rice, pepper, the areca tree, millet, ginger, sugar-canes, *magnel* or saffron, beans, pease, and *mudira*, a kind of corn which they use for feeding horses. From the sesa-

mum, of which they raise also great quantities, they procure an oil, employed either for burning in their lamps, or for anointing their bodies during their lustrations. Prunes, tamarinds, cardamoms, wild cinnamon or *cassia lignea*, *cassia fistula*, long pepper, *ciaca*, *teka*, *bittayani*, *mava*, and *sandal* wood grow here without any nursing or care. Of the so called *nella*, or rice in the shell, there are three kinds, viz. *virippa*, *mundaven*, and *puncia*. The first kind is reaped in September, the second in December or January, and the third in March or April. These three crops, however, are not procured from the same field; and the last, during the summer, is brought forward by strong and often repeated watering. The water is drawn from the rivers in buckets, and conducted to the rice-fields by channels between them. The *nella* is reaped in such a manner that the straw is left standing on the ground: it is then threshed; scalded in hot water; spread out on mats, where it is left to dry in the sun; and afterwards preserved in *patajas*, or granaries, built of *teka* wood. Those people who in the course of the year use only a small quantity of *nella* hoard it up without scalding it, and subject it to that operation as they consume it. The scalding and pounding as well as every other preparation of the *nella* are left entirely to the women. When it is dried, pounded, and perfectly white, though still raw, it is called *ciorra*, and in the Samscrit language *annam* or *odanam*. The straw, as already mentioned, is left standing on the ground in order that it may rot and serve a

* "The great respect paid to superiors and preceptors among the Indian nation shows that they possess a certain degree of cultivation, and a delicate sense of moral obligation and gratitude."

manure. If it be not sufficient for that purpose, they make small pits here and there in the ground, fill them with leaves and tender twigs, which they cover with earth; and in this manner prepare whatever quantity of manure may be necessary. As the Indians consider cowdung to be sacred, and daub it over their houses, it may be readily conceived that they never carry it out to their fields. All the lands, without exception, belong to the king, who sells them at pleasure, or lets them on lease. The *olà*, or deed, in virtue of which the sovereign disposes of any piece of ground, and puts a person in full and free possession of it, is called *attipèra* or *antiperòla caranam*. If the *olà* relates only to the lease of such a piece of ground, it is named *pàt-tòla*. The case is the same in regard to the sale or lease of a palm-garden.

“That fruit called in the Malabar language *tenga*, and in the Sanscrit *sasyaga*, is a large nut produced by the real palm-tree, or *tengamaram*. When the young trees are carefully watered, they bear a number of such nuts at the end of five years. This tree and its fruit supply almost every thing necessary for the wants of man. Small ships, houses and roofs are formed of the trunk. Of the hulk of the nut ropes are made; and the shell is employed for dishes and spoons. If the fruit be not quite ripe, the milk in it affords an excellent cooling and very wholesome beverage. When the milk is converted into a kernel, an oil is expressed from it. The sap which flows from the branches gives the agreeable well-tasted *sura*; and, when distilled, becomes a kind of brandy. If it be placed in the sun, with the addition of a little *nella*,

it is converted into strong vinegar. Of the tender bark of the tree a sort of coarse linen is prepared. If the kernel be bruised while young, a kind of sweet cream will be obtained; and the pith extracted from the upper young shoots of the tree is employed for preparing the so called *aciara*, a kind of confection which is eaten with rice. The substance which remains after the oil has been expressed from the kernel, and which is known by the name of *pinàca*, supplies food for swine, ducks and poultry. In a word, I have reckoned up forty different properties which this tree possesses, and which are all useful to man.

“Ginger grows at *Cadaturutti*, *Adirampushe*, *Codamalur*, and, in general, in districts to which the seawater cannot penetrate. The small black pepper is a kind of ivy, planted for the most part at the bottom of trees the trunks of which are tall. Large forests of it may be found at *Aragoshe*, *Poròtta*, *Valaya*, *Vaypur*, and every where at the foot of the Gauts, where the soil is black, rich, argillaceous, and hot. The wild cinnamon grows in gardens as well as in the woods; and it is not improbable that it would equal in goodness that produced in the island of Ceylon, were it treated with proper care. The coffee plant propagates readily in the gardens and groves, and is not easily extirpated where it has once taken root; but it is not cultivated by the natives of Malabar, who bestow their attention on other productions of more utility.

“The different kinds of wood known under the names of *teka*, *viti*, *ayani*, and *ciaca* or *plava*, all grow on the mountains. The *teka* wood is employed chiefly for building houses and ships. Of the *viti* commodoes, small tables, side-boards

boards and bureaus are made. The forests are let upon lease by the king. The principal lessee of these kinds of wood, during my stay in India, was *Mattu Tarraguen*, a Christian native, possessed of great property.

"The cardamom is an aromatic production of a triangular form, and a hot fiery taste. This plant is about three or four feet in height, and has at the top a few broad, green, prickly leaves. Its stem, which is smooth, has neither leaves nor branches. From its root, concealed by the earth, there arise a few fibres, which bend backwards in a parabolic direction, and bear some small pods, that contain the seeds inclosed in four different small capsulæ. This production is stronger than pepper, and of more value. It is found at the bottom of the Gauts, at *Maleatur*, *Codomangalam*, *Vaypur*, and various other places. It is fond of growing under the shade of large thick-leaved trees, through which the sun cannot penetrate, and where the soil is manured by the fallen leaves that have rotted in the moisture. Pepper and cardamoms belong to the *vhandâraga*, that is, the royal revenues; and no private person is permitted to trade with either of these articles. The king makes a real monopoly of them. Formerly those who smuggled them out of the country had

their nose and ears cut off; but at present they are punished only with imprisonment. In regard to all the other productions of India trade is free; because the kings, in ancient times, were of opinion that it was contrary to their dignity to cause them to be sold on their own account. The modern kings, however, are not ashamed to act the part of merchants; but from this conduct their dominions derive very little benefit.

"It appears, from what has been here said, that the inhabitants of Malayala are supplied with every necessary which their climate or manner of life can require; that the country produces much more than is annually consumed; and consequently that the inhabitants sell a great deal to foreigners, and receive in return every year considerable sums of money. Besides what they use themselves, they annually sell 10,000 bags of rice, and 1000 *candil* of pepper, to the English alone; who, in my time, paid for each *candil*, of 500 pounds ninety rupees. The English also gave to the king of Travancor, for each *candil* of Malabar cinnamon (called the old *cassia lignea*), eighty rupees; and Malabar supplied at least 500 *candil* *. To this may be added 1000 *candil* of pepper sold every year to the Dutch; and 100 *candil* more which the king delivers

* "Since the English have taken from the Dutch the island of Ceylon (*Singhala*) and got possession of the real cinnamon tree, *laurus cinnamomum* LINN. they will make little or no use of the Malabar cinnamon, *laurus cassia* LINN. which is perhaps only a variety of that of Ceylon. The Malabar cinnamon will in time be totally forgotten and banished from commerce; as the real cinnamon tree, as well as those which produce nutmegs and cloves, have been raised from the seed, and planted several years ago in the isles of Reunion and France (Bourbon and Mauritius), and also in the Seche isles, Guadeloupe, Jamaica, and the northern Circars. This much is certain, that the Malabar cinnamon has not so aromatic a smell, and does not contain so many particles of ethereal oil, as that of Ceylon. The former, hitherto, has been imported into England only through necessity, in order to prevent the sale of the latter."

ed to the Chinese, Arabs, and other merchants, who sold it again on their own account.

“ I shall say nothing of the sale of *teka* wood, which the Arabs and Persians employ for building their ships; nor of the trade carried on with cardamoms, as well as *copra*, large quantities of which are every year sent to Persia, Arabia, and other eastern countries. *Anandacetti*, a merchant at *Mattineera*, always kept by him, for sale, *teka* wood to the value of five lacks of rupees*. The stuffs and different articles of cotton which he had in his warehouses, without reckoning other merchandize, were worth four lacks more. This man purchased and sold, sometimes in a quarter of an hour, a whole ship's cargo valued at five millions of rupees. Such instances are not uncommon in India. The merchants show to

each other catalogues of their goods; select the principal articles by which they think they can acquire profit; mark and erase, sell, exchange and purchase, according as they find it for their advantage; and in this manner gain often in a single hour incredible sums. The king of Travancor purchases every year, from the Europeans, iron, cannon, and cloth for the use of his soldiers; but as the merchandize which he gives in return amounts to much more than the value of these articles, the English and Dutch are always in his debt. This in general is the result in regard to the balance of the Malabar trade; and we here see where the French crowns, the Dutch ducats, the Venetian sequins, the Spanish piastras, and the Portuguese lisabonines at last remain.”

PARTICULARS CONCERNING THE DJEOUABY ARABS and the BEDOUINS.

[From MEMOIRS relative to EGYPT, &c. by the LEARNED and SCIENTIFIC MEN who accompanied the FRENCH EXPEDITION.]

“ THE banks of the Natron lakes are frequented every year by the Dejouabys †, a hospitable tribe who lead a shepherd's life, and encamp there every winter with their flocks. They are employed during this time in carrying natron and prickly reeds; they also have some traffic in dates, which they fetch in caravans from Sioua in the Ammonian Oasis: it is a jour-

ney of twelve to fifteen days. These Arabs are *marabout*s of peaceful people ‡, who wander here and there to find water and pasture for their cattle. This tribe has more than any other preserved their ancient customs; they are merely shepherds, and refuse to cultivate the soil. Their manners are mild, and partake of the simplicity of their way of life. They

* “ A lack amounts to about 12,500 l. sterling.”

† “ The Dejouabys have for their leaders Karamit-aboughaleb, chief sheik of the tribe, Hhadjy-thabih-aloudihil and Hhadjy-ica-abou-ali. This tribe is composed of about two thousand men, and possesses about sixty houses.”

‡ “ They never make war, and only take up arms to defend themselves, and even this but rarely; they almost always trade for money.”

are not however exempted from the turbulence of the passions, and especially that of love, which in every country, and especially in the East, is closely allied to jealousy, and this sometimes hurries them into the most cruel excesses*.

“The clothing of the Djeouabys consists of an *ibbram* and a *bernous*, a kind of cloak similar to the surplice which is worn by those that officiate in the Romish church; it is made of white wool. This stuff, which is used to clothe both men and women, is manufactured in Barbary; it is bought at Cairo, but chiefly at Alexandria. The women spin the wool from their own sheep to make the cloth used for their tents, and other common purposes. The wealth of the Djeouabys, and in general of the Arabs of the Desert, consists in camels and sheep, whilst that of the Arabs who inhabit the villages is in large cattle; for these last have but few camels. —Who would imagine that in the midst of deserts a style of easy circumstances establishes the same distinctions as with civilized people, and turns aside natural propensities? The Arabian women do not all suckle their own children, the more opulent employ wet nurses.

“Those mothers who do not abandon their children to hired nurses appear equally susceptible of the same feelings towards this tender age as the more civilised

people. At the attack of an Arabian camp, which was surprised by some of our troops, the men took to their horses and fled with precipitation towards the Nile, abandoning the women to their fate. These, whether by the impulse of the moment, or from reflection, thought to protect themselves from the fury of the soldiers, and retard their progress, by laying their children at the feet of their pursuers. This, however, did not stop our brave men; for in the midst of pursuit they lifted from the ground these little innocents, gave them into the arms of their mothers, and continued as before to follow their enemies.

“It is very difficult to prevent disorder from reigning in a camp taken by assault. In these cases the Arab women, under the apprehension of submitting to the desires of the conquerors, have been known to have recourse to a singular stratagem in order to inspire disgust, that of besmearing over their faces with cowdung.

“The Arabs of the Desert bear the name of Khaiah Arabs, or inhabitants of tents, *khaiah* meaning canvas. The village Arabs are called Khaith, or dwellers within walls. These last were once wandering tribes, who gradually approaching a more cultivated country, at first dwelt in tents, but insensibly changed them for settled habitations, like the fellahs of Egypt.

* “Haoud, a respectable old man, head of a large family, and a dependent on Bhadjy Taha, had his only son assassinated in the arms of his wife. She had had a former husband who repudiated her on frivolous pretences; but filled with love and rage, this atrocious wretch swore that he would kill with his own hand every one who should marry her, and he kept his word. Haoud, not being able to bear the sight of the murderer of his own son, had retired to Upper Egypt, and, without wishing it, he had drawn with him several families. This unfortunate father, perceiving that his retirement occasioned disorder in the tribe, has rather chosen to suppress his resentment than injure the common interest, and has returned to Bhadjy Taha. But he appears always melancholy, his eyes filled with tears, and he drags out a languishing existence.”

“ There is no kind of convention which binds the members of any tribe to the chief; he is almost always of an ancient family, and respected as such; but to maintain his authority as the head of the tribe, he must employ persuasion, address, accommodating manners, in a word, all the art of an experienced leader: he has, however, the right of making peace or war, and is charged with what concerns the general welfare of the tribe.

“ As soon as peace is made with a tribe, or a treaty commenced, the chief is invested with a cloak, or pelisse; and this custom of making presents is so fully established, that the contract would not be thought binding without this distinction.

“ The Arab sheiks negotiate with a sort of dignity, or rather reserve, like all other knaves. What has been called *eating bread and salt* with their new friends, and which has been thought so sacred a pledge, is, in fact, a mere farce, consecrated by custom. The Arabs on each bank of the Nile have shown that they pay no regard to the sacredness of an oath: they violate their own treaties whenever fear or interest impels them to it.

“ When the Arabs present themselves before a person whom they respect, they leave their horses at about a hundred paces distance, and then advance on foot.

“ They know no other laws than that of retaliation. Where there are no penal laws, nor magistrates to put them in execution, murder would go unpunished, if assassination did not in some degree supply the want of public energy. Hence it is that this, which with us is looked upon as a base crime, becomes a legitimate act of vengeance, which is pursued by the re-

lations of the sufferer from generation to generation.

“ These murders constantly foment warfare between different tribes, or between the wandering tribes and the villages. It is then called *having blood between them*.

“ Sometimes, to *ransom the blood* and to restore peace, a payment is made as a compromise; but this is accounted shameful, and thus the weak, or pusillanimous, become doubly tributary to the stronger.

“ The villages that refuse to pay, are liable to be pillaged three times. These plunders strike the country with terror, and make the inhabitants regard the Arabs as some of the most formidable scourges with which they are afflicted. I asked a sheik if he had had the plague this year in his village? ‘ We have had,’ said he, ‘ the plague and the Arabs.’

“ The Arabians, like all the inhabitants of the East, are much addicted to pæderasty. The Arabs say five prayers in the day: they eat in the forenoon, and again before the fifth prayer, or at the end of twilight. Two inhabitants of the villages will consume as much food as ten Arabs. These make but little bread—to grind their corn they use hand mills, furnished with small grindstones. They eat dates, drink little water, and camel’s milk in preference, and sleep about six hours. Flesh meat is a rarity to them. They make no sumptuous entertainments; a roasted sheep set on table entire, all but the head, which is cut off, is the principal dish, and that is served up whenever a sheik is of the party.

“ The Arabs only measure their day by the stated times for prayers. They measure time by the length of their shadow: the shadow is

measured with their naked feet, which they place alternately one before the other. Their rules for estimating are: That in the summer solstice, mid-day is one foot from the vertical point; that in winter, at the same hour, the shadow is nine feet in length; that in summer the shadow which answers to the middle point of the interval from noon to sunset is seven feet beyond the place of the shadow at noon.—These measurements are exactly conformable to the latitude of the country.

“These people, ignorant and credulous, are persuaded that the treatment of a fever, and other diseases, consists in placing under the head of the sick man a slip of paper containing some mystic words, written by a dervise; and the patient lies down full of confidence in this receipt, and still more in Providence.

“The women, when arrived at the full term of their pregnancy, find what assistance they require in delivery, among persons of their own sex, who make it their profession. I was assured, that if the unmarried women or widows become pregnant, they are killed by their relations, unless they destroy themselves.

“The Arabs, have a great dread of the small-pox and the plague: those who have not had these diseases take great pains to avoid those that are suffering under them. The small-pox leaves very considerable pitting in their faces. Notwithstanding the prejudices of religion, the bodies of those dead of the plague are burnt with the greatest care.

“The ages of their children are dated from certain events or periods: thus those born this year will date from the entry of the

French into Egypt. The Arabs have a kind of chronicle which comprehends about ten years. They have no public registers. The date of the birth of their children is written on a slip of paper over a page of the Koran, and that of the children of the village on the gates or walls of the houses.

“The want of chirurgical instruments gives rise to a very singular custom in gun-shot wounds, the intention of which (however fulfilled) is to supply the place of forceps to extract the ball when it has only made a flesh-wound. This custom is to make an incision in the hinder parts of a frog, of a corresponding size with the lips of the wound, and unite the whole with a good ligature. They pretend that this process, and the convulsive movement of the dying animal, draws to the surface the ball that made the wound. They then dress the wound with oil or butter, and burn it with verdigrise, to hinder it from closing too soon. It is for the same purpose, and in order to promote suppuration, that they put in the wound a small stone, which is the same with the cautery which is employed in Europe.

“The Arabs always carry with them that which makes the greater part of their riches, and with which they provision their dwelling camps. They preserve their chopped straw and their grain in large pits dug under ground. The neighbourhood of a well of fresh water, a few slips of land of a scanty product, or salt lakes that can be worked with some profit, determine the site of these encampments. The Arabs possess besides, at four or five leagues from the margin of cultivated countries, store.

store-houses kept fast closed, and further on in the Desert deposits under the sand known by some outward marks to the proprietors only.

“The Djeouabys, in order to escape being pillaged by the wandering tribes, are obliged to receive them into their camps, and furnish them with provisions, and barley for their horses. The Arabs of the Desert are a lawless predatory race, and had been in a state of constant warfare with the Mamelukes, who, however, kept them in some kind of awe. On the first arrival of the French the women of the Hennadys* chanted

Success to the people who have driven Mourad from Cairo.

Success to the people who have brought us into the villages.

Success to the people who have fed us with *fouthyer* †.

“Since, however, we have repressed their incursions by vigorous measures, they have ceased to celebrate our arrival. The same distrust ought to be entertained of these Arabs as of robbers and assassins: they are but little formidable as a military force, except where they experience no opposition; and the expeditions of the French in pursuit of them, penetrating into the centre of their arid sands and their deserts, which were esteemed inaccessible, will, no doubt, be attended with the happiest effects.

“The principal weapon of the Arabs is a pike ‡, which they wield and throw with great dexterity. They manage their horses with equal skill, and pay the greatest attention to them; nevertheless, one of their practices appears to an European, at least, very injudicious; it is that of checking the horse on full speed, and making him rear on his hind legs. The Arabs never attack in line, but always like foragers, uttering at the same time loud cries and invectives; their style of fighting being merely that of light troops.

“The horses of the Arabs are very swift, and they push them to their full speed; at the same time, and without letting go the reins, which they hold in their left hand, they charge an enemy in front. If successful they strip him, and sometimes cut off his head, which they bear in triumph at the end of their pike. When they miss their blow they return to the charge by a half wheel to right or left, or endeavour to gain the 'vantage ground.

“The Arabs are in general but ill equipped. Their fire-arms and powder are very bad; their balls are not well cast; the powder is granulated in an inartificial manner, and is for the most part charcoal; they carry it in a wooden flask, and the balls separately in a leathern bag, seldom charging their pieces with cartouches.

* “Monsa-Abu-Ali is the chief of the principal tribe of Hennadys. They possess about three or four hundred horses, and with their allies can muster from 900 to 1000 cavalry. The Hennadys are the most ancient of the Libyan tribes that are known in Egypt.”

† “A kind of cake spread over with butter, which is eaten with honey, or more commonly with molasses.”

‡ “The pike consists of a squared iron head, terminated by a sharp point, and fixed to a pole from four to five metres long. The wounds made by this weapon are not so deep as those of the lance, the head of which is compressed; but their consequences are generally more serious, not unfrequently terminating in locked jaw. The Arabs east of the Nile have, almost all of them, pikes or lances; but those of Libya carry fire-arms.”

“The

“ The Arabs bordering on Egypt were in the habit of sending spies to Boulak, disguised as husbandmen, in order to learn the kind and number of the troops about to march against them from Cairo. As soon as their spies returned, the tribe broke up camp, and sent far into the Desert their wives and children, and all their valuables. The men themselves made a few days march to fatigue their enemies, and in the mean time, being joined by the confederate tribes, they either commenced hostilities or received the attack.

“ Every camp has advanced guards on the neighbouring heights, who carry their turbans on the point of their lances. If the camp is to advance, the vedettes march on the same side as the enemy, or the prey which they propose to carry off; if the contrary, the vedettes return towards the camp.

“ As soon as the Arabs are apprehensive of an attack, they separate into several small camps at a great distance from each other, and tie their camels to the tents so as to be able to move off at a moment's notice.

“ When one tribe is engaged with another, the women come within sight of the combatants, playing on the tambourine, and singing strains powerful to excite their courage: the wounded are taken care of by their wives or mistresses. The women hold valour

in great estimation, and a chief covered with scars is the boast of the whole tribe; thus the support of empires is the band of union among these miserable hordes of robbers.

“ A combat in which twenty or twenty-five men are killed, is reckoned a bloody battle, the date of which forms an important era.

“ It is necessary when marching during night in the Desert, against the Arabs, to be aware of a circumstance, which would otherwise often give a needless alarm of the presence of the enemy; this is the light of the horizontal stars, which here, as well as at sea, are very apt to be mistaken for fires.

“ The natural increase of mankind imposes on them the necessity of seeking for subsistence; hence the forty thousand Arabs that border upon Egypt, finding no resource in their arid sands, consider this country as their own domain, and under this pretext are perpetually making predatory incursions. The government has often ineffectually, and never with more than partial success, endeavoured to repress this mischief: in the mean time the unhappy cultivator was exposed to the vexatious oppression of the agents of government, and the devastation and cruelty of the Arabs. Such was the condition of the inhabitants of Egypt; it is greatly to be wished that it may be henceforth ameliorated.”

On the present STATE of WOMEN in the FRENCH REPUBLIC.

[From the Second Volume of SKETCHES of the STATE of MANNERS and OPINIONS in the FRENCH REPUBLIC, towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century, by HELEN MARIA WILLIAMS.]

“YOU ask me if I made one of the three millions and upwards who signed the Constitution, with somewhat of the same sort of flippancy that a *petit-maitre* at Frestati's, or an opera-lobby lounge, calls the female attendant at the box-door, when he means to express his utmost contempt, *Citoyen!*—If your inquiry was meant for raillery, I deny that it has any point, and insist that it only proves your ill-nature.

“Although I am certainly not hostile to the new order of things, as far as I understand it, I was rather relieved when the whole business was settled; for nothing but disquisitions on the Constitution were buzzed in my ear; and though some wished for a change in one article, and some were desirous of making a little addition in another, the general and almost unanimous impulse was to accept and sign with all possible alacrity. It is the first time I have ever witnessed so universal an assent among Frenchmen on any important subject.

“A Parisian wag, who I presume was no great revolutionist, has characterised the acceptance of this Constitution by two verses from the *Henriade*, where the head of admiral Coligni is presented to Mary de Medicis, who is said to have received it

‘Sans craint, sans plaisir, maîtresse de
‘ses sens,

‘Et comme accoutmée à de pareils pré-
‘sens’

There was more wit, however, than truth in the application.

“But you tell me that you are chiefly anxious to know what the ladies of Paris think of this new organization. If I could guess what sentiment had guided your pen in making the inquiry, I should know better how to reply; but as that appears to me equivocal, I shall from mere good nature answer you as Sterne says a Frenchman always does a doubtful compliment, and suppose that your inquiry is dictated by a spirit of courtesy, rather than of malice.

“In a calculation, made by one of the first of our political polemics, of the numbers who compose the people of England, at least that part of the community who are endowed with the faculty of thinking or reasoning on public transactions, the women come in for their share to the enormous amount of twenty thousand. You will be more surprised at the magnitude of this number, when you learn that the reasoners of the other sex, according to the same calculator's opinion, are estimated at no more than nineteen times that amount. But as in the whole quantity a fifth part are stated to be pure jacobins, utterly incapable of amendment, it may be presumed that, in this eighty thousand, a proportionate number of females were included in the class of incurables.

“I know not on what data this *compte rendu* of political opinion is formed; but, as the writer is no mean authority in political enumeration, and had no motives to swell the hostile numbers, we may conclude

clude that he is not far wrong in his arithmetic. Had this great man had an opportunity of examining the state of French politics in France, he would, I am sure, have found cause to take a large portion of French ladies into more tender affection than those of his own country.

“The title of *homme d'état*, or statesman, was, during the time of terror, as great a reproach in France as that of stateswoman in England, which was so pleasantly ridiculed by Mr. Addison. Statesmen have of late regained their title and their consequence; but the name of the *femmes d'état*, or stateswomen, has been hitherto unknown. Had Addison lived in our times, and in the French republic, he might have found female follies enough to employ his pen; but that passion which he calls party-rage, and against which he inveighs with so much eloquence, would have formed no subject of his animadversion. Nothing can be more calm and complacent than French ladies in general, when the topic of political events or opinions strays into conversation. The noise of disputants may invade their ear; but the jargon is to them perfectly unintelligible; for no definitions can be understood, where the terms are not comprehended. Here no patches distinguish a whig lady from a tory lady; no Camilla who values herself more on being the virago of one party, than the toast of both, encounters the fierce and beautiful Penthesilea across a tea-table; and, shaking with anger in the earnestness of dispute, scalds her fingers, and spills a dish of tea on her petticoat.

“Amidst the war of domestic factions which have disturbed the internal repose of the republic, the

ladies have hitherto, whatever may have been their secret wishes, like the wiser part of the Northern Powers, preserved a strict neutrality.

“And let no surly republican suppose that this indifference proceeds from insensibility. The females of France have feelings for national glory, like the females of other countries. As the ladies of England have decorated themselves with Duncan plaids, and Orange streamers, in honour of valorous chiefs, so heretofore the French ladies, adorned in caps à la belle poule, à la Grenade, à la d'Estaing, à la Fayette, and even *au compte rendu* of Mr. Necker, offered their homage to the heroes and statesmen of their country. Since the revolution, indeed, ornaments of national allusion have been little in fashion. The revolution has been a thing in the eyes of women, of doubtful, and sometimes of portentous aspect. The republic has often worn a stern and menacing countenance. Its forms have been terrifying, or repulsive; it has affrighted even men; no wonder that women have shrunk from the fraternal embrace. Women, who are in general more accurate calculators of good and evil from sentiment, than reasoners from abstract principle to remote consequences, have kept aloof from the contest, and, to use a military phrase, stood on their arms. A few only, of more ardent or enlightened minds, I speak not of the mob, either high or low, who follow mechanically the impulse given them, have ranged themselves in the respective ranks.

“That the almost universality of Frenchmen should have readily embraced, and, notwithstanding all its phases of ominous aspect, should have adhered to the revolution, is not surprising; the vast majority have

have been great and substantial gainers. The women, indeed, participate in some of those advantages at second-hand; but they may be allowed to entertain doubts, whether the positive benefits they enjoy from the change, form a sufficient subsidy to tempt them to depart from their neutrality.

“ The present equal division of hereditary property is certainly a great and substantial benefit conferred on the women; and as wealth, in all countries, is power, their real influence is considerably augmented. That cruel tyranny of paternal authority can also no longer be exercised, which so often doomed the younger branches of noble families to wither in the gloom of convents, or with stern despotism disposed of the persons of females, without their choice or consent. These advantages may have been deemed sufficient to have obtained for the revolution somewhat more of females’ smiles. But the women may reply, that the question is not, whether they have gained by the revolution, but whether they have gained as much as they ought. They do not mean to insinuate that they should form a senate apart, as under the reign of the Roman emperor Heliogabalus, where all matters respecting women, such as dress, precedence, and affairs of equal importance, were decided by themselves. They do not aspire to the rank of leaders of armies, or rulers of states, or wish to exercise the functions of ministers or directors; though such has often been the administration in the republic, that the nation, while it was making experiments, would probably have acted not unwisely, had it made the trial. They also observe, *en passant*, that the rod of empire has often been held, and not ingloriously, by

women; and suggest, that had the women of France been its legislators, it may be doubted whether, notwithstanding their natural love of domination, they would have composed more than the forty thousand laws, some of which have till lately so much distressed the republic.

“ Of the injustice which has been done, or rather of the justice which has been withheld from the female part of the state, complaints have been made by some of the most celebrated advocates of the revolution. Condorcet and Syeyes have entered protests in their favour; and a late writer, Mr. Theremin, has discussed more largely the question, in a treatise on the condition of women in republics. This champion of the ladies condemns, with the fervour of an eloquent pen, that want of national liberality which, while the law opens numerous establishments for the children of the one sex, has provided no means of support or instruction to those of the other. I know not what ideas men in general may entertain on this subject; but I am sure every woman must feel the justice of the observation.

“ What claim has the republic to the attachment of that part of the human race from whom it withholds the first privilege of our nature, the first gift of Heaven—instruction and knowledge? How should the heart of woman glow with the love of liberty, or her understanding assent to the force of truth?—She receives no lesson in the schools of wisdom or philosophy—she is considered as a being unworthy to participate in the higher acquisitions of the mind, and unfitted for those intellectual attainments which ennoble our nature.—While inscriptions on every portal

tal where instruction is dispensed throughout the republic invite man to enter—while, in every region of learning which he seeks to explore, his path is carefully traced, his footsteps firmly guided, and the accumulated wisdom of ages unfolded to his research—she, whose bosom glows with the sacred ray of genius, or the proud desire of pre-eminence, finds the gates of learning rudely barred against her entrance—She has no professor but her music-master—no academy but that of dancing—She may fill the hours which domestic duties leave vacant, by dress, dissipation, cards, or public amusements; but, although destined to be the companion of man through life, let her not aspire to the lofty privilege of comprehending his studies, or becoming the associate of his labours.—She to whose forming care the first years of the republican youth are confided, is expected to instil principles which she has never imbibed, and teach lessons which she has never learned.—She who exerts over man an empire which, being founded in nature, is as immutable as her laws, and beyond the reach of his imperious institutions, is treated as a being merely passive in the important interests of the state, while she has power to fix the republic on an immoveable basis, or shake it to its very foundations.—No!—When republican law-givers shall have established public institutions where women may receive the blessings of a liberal education, when they shall have allotted for her whose mind is enlightened by study, and refined by nature, some honourable and dignified employments, which, if she is destitute of fortune, may shield her from the cruel alternative of penury, with all its train of ills, or of uniting herself to a man whom

her heart despises or rejects—the victim perhaps of a sentiment of exalted virtue—sacrificing, at the very moment when the beating heart of sensibility first unfolds itself to the charm of tender emotions, all chance of happiness for ever, to save perhaps from despair a widowed mother, whom the revolution has reduced, and the republic has left to penury—when woman is shielded by the guardian care of the state from conflicts such as these—when she is supplied with the means of knowledge, and of honourable independence—then will she kneel, with that glowing enthusiasm, that instinctive impulse of admiration for what is great and generous which the female heart wants no lesson to feel, and bless the tutelary sway of the republic!—then will she bind the brow of its heroes with chaplets which her hands have woven—she will decorate her form with the cherished symbols of the trophies of her country, and teach her infants first to lisp the hallowed name of Liberty.

“Mr. Theremin proposes to allot to women different offices in the public instruction of the state, certain portions of power in the decision of family tribunals, some distinguished places of parade in the celebration of national festivals, because, says he, gallantly, ‘les femmes sont, pour ainsi dire, formées pour les fêtes, et il est bien constant que sans elles il n’y-auroit point de fêtes sur la terre.’ He also proposes subordinate occupations for the exercise of their physical and moral powers, but with a careful exclusion from all political rights. ‘Women being by nature so constituted,’ says he, as ‘to be necessarily and intimately united to an individual of our sex, and consequently

‘ frequently to have their interests and
 ‘ their will in common with his;
 ‘ their suffrage in the first place will
 ‘ not be free, and in the second place
 ‘ will not be necessary, because the
 ‘ individual to whom they are attach-
 ‘ ed cannot be doubly represented,
 ‘ and has no need of manifesting
 ‘ twice the same will. The husband
 ‘ and wife are but one political per-
 ‘ son, and never can be any thing
 ‘ else, although they may be two ci-
 ‘ vil persons.’

“ Some political Thalestris, war-
 ring for the rights of women, would
 probably hesitate in admitting either
 the proposition or consequence of
 this position. Political right, she
 would observe, is no more affected
 by this union than by any other ci-
 vil association; nor is it certain that
 union of persons constitutes ne-
 cessarily union of will, unless it be
 by the mode of reasoning adopted
 by the lady to whose lot had fallen
 an husband she disliked, and who,
 not dissembling the *ennui* she felt in
 his company, answered his re-
 proaches by observing, that, as she
 understood both were now *one*, she
 was extremely tired of herself.

“ The above-mentioned Thale-
 stris might also observe, that if civil
 liberty be the consequence of poli-
 tical liberty, it is not clear how from
 this union women can remain ci-
 villy single, and politically married;
 that if the representation must al-
 ways be vested in one party, since
 they are constituted by nature to
 exist together, like the oak and the
 hamadryad, yet that, society which is
 said to correct all inequalities, ought
 at least to leave to the choice of the
 tree, and the nymph, which should
 have the right of representation:
 she might also observe, that no pro-
 vision was made for those to whose
 lot no such union had fallen, or
 with whom it had ceased.—Were

such persons to have no political
 existence, because no oak had been
 planted to shade them? or were they
 to perish politically when the tree
 had undergone its physical dissolu-
 tion?

“ These are points of casuistry I
 do not pretend to settle, and shall
 therefore return to your inquiries,
 whether the women approve of the
 late change in the government. Al-
 though the women of France have
 nothing at present to do with the
 Constitution but to obey it, you
 may be assured that their tacit assent
 has been more cordially given to
 this new order of things, than to
 any by which it was preceded. If
 women are born to be controlled,
 it must be by objects fitted to cap-
 tivate them. The love of glory is
 natural to the sex; they love it in
 themselves, and in others. Many are
 the reasons which they might allege
 to justify their former political dis-
 affection; but there is something in
 the idea of the conqueror of kings,
 and founder of states, that excuses
 superiority, while it excites admira-
 tion. Various symptoms of good-un-
 derstanding already discover them-
 selves between the present govern-
 ment and the ladies of Paris.

“ One of the amusements which
 the Parisians held in most reverence,
 and which has been proscribed since
 the revolution, has been resorted
 to by them—that of masquerades,
 to which they flock with most un-
 remitting ardour, and which hither-
 to have been attended with none of
 those inconveniences the fear of
 which led timid prudence or suspi-
 cion to proscribe them. French la-
 dies may be Grecian, but they are
 not Spartan dames; and it is more
 easy to win them by favours than
 to subdue them by force. A fair
 royalist is now no longer compelled,
 when she enters the garden of the
 Thuilleries,

Thuileries, with hostility in her heart and defiance in her eye, to hoist a flag of truce as she passes the gates, or devise some stratagem as she approaches, to elude the microscopic eye of the Cerberean sentinels, who, if they did not ken the national cockade, often imperceptible from its diminutiveness to common eyes, or spitefully placed so as to lurk unseen beneath the folds of a riband, sternly pronounced the ungrateful sounds of ‘Citoyenne, your cockade;’ and, when no cockade was to be found, refused to let the rebel pass.

“These are very important concessions on the part of government; and there is no doubt that, with a few more preliminaries of this nature, Buonaparte may succeed in coming to a definitive treaty of peace and amity with those female powers.

“When the Russian admiral Ushakoff, after the taking of Corfu, was informed by a French lady, that the women in France were republicans, excepting a few devotees, who were too old to change, he had the good sense to observe that—‘if that were the case, the coalition was ruined; and that it would be impossible to conquer the French.’ This patriotic lady was excusable in boasting of the strength and disposition of her forces before an enemy; and if the assertion at that period contained a little fiction, there is great reason to hope that it will soon become real history.

“While we are on the subject of the women of France, would be unjust indeed to forget the part they acted at that fatal epocha of the revolution during which the courage of so many of the other sex shrunk back appalled. It was women, who, in those days of horror, proved that sensibility has its hero-

ism—and that the affections of the heart can brace the nerves with energy that mocks the calculations of danger.—It was women who penetrated into the depths of dungeons, who flew to the abodes of despair—who were the ministering angels that whispered hope and comfort to the prisoner—who wiped the cold damps from the brow of the extenuated sufferer—it was women, who, in defiance of captivity and death, fought the dwellings of tyrants covered with the blood of innocence, and pleaded the cause of the captive with that irresistible eloquence which belongs to the inspiration of the heart.

“And if the women of France knew how to sympathise in the sorrows of others, who knew so well as themselves how to suffer and how to die?—Have we not seen the daughter, led in the bloom of beauty to the scaffold with her parents, seeming to forget that she had herself the sacrifice of life to make, and only occupied in sustaining their sinking spirits?—Have we not seen the wife, refusing to survive her husband, provoke also the fatal sentence, which it was her choice to share, and mingle her blood with his under the axe of the executioner?—What Roman virtue was displayed by Charlotte Corday!—what more than Roman fortitude dignified the last moments of madame Roland!

“Since that period, new revolutions have left new memorials of female virtue. That class of the women of Naples who were born to elevated rank and splendid affluence, nursed in the lap of luxury and pleasure, whom ‘the winds of heaven had never visited too roughly,’ those women have exhibited the most sublime examples of greatness, generosity and courage. ‘The
‘last

‘last sighs of an handsome woman,’ says St. Evremond, ‘are more for the loss of beauty than of life.’ Without any reflection on female weakness, we may presume that exalted rank, and the distinctions it confers, have charms for the sex as well as beauty; of that rank the women of Naples, however, divested themselves, with as much indif-

ference as if it had been a worn-out robe. They have endured the most cruel privations without complaint—they have borne the most horrible persecutions without shrinking—they have nobly suffered, or greatly died—and Naples seems destined to exhibit at once, in the female character, the most striking extremes of vice and virtue’

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, and SUPERSTITIONS of the MODERN WELSH.

[From the Second Volume of a TOUR through NORTH WALES, &c. by the Rev. W. BINGLEY, B. A.]

“FROM ancient I will now descend to modern times, from that hardy race of warlike characters, which were with so much difficulty subdued by the English monarchs, to their present peaceful state, in which they enjoy happiness, that, in feudal times, they never experienced.

“In those mountainous or secluded parts of the country, that are scarcely known to the English tourist, where their manners still retain the greatest degree of originality, the lower class of the inhabitants appear to possess an innocence and simplicity of character unknown in the populous parts of our own country; and amongst these it is that we are to search for that native hospitality so much boasted of by the Welsh writers: but, wherever the English have had frequent communication, from their being in general so profuse of their money, and from the temptation that this has afforded to practise impositions on them, I have found the people but little differing from the like class amongst us. On the great roads, they seem to take a

pride in over-reaching, in most of their little bargains, their Saxon neighbours, as they denominate the English. A Welsh gentleman informed me, (and in many instances I have experienced it’s truth) that it is a common practice amongst them to ask nearly as much more for an article as they mean to take; and with those who know them, it is always usual to offer them less. This is the case in some measure in our own country, but certainly not so frequently as in Wales.

“The Welsh people have in general a rustic bashfulness and reserve, which, by strangers unused to their manners, has been often mistaken for fullness. They are generally said to be very irascible. This may be so; but I am inclined to think, that the natural rapidity of their expression, in a language not understood, has alone been frequently construed into passion, when there has been nothing of the kind. Persons who form ideas from the opinions of others, without taking the pains to make observations for themselves, are very often misled, and such I am confi-

dent has been the case a thousand times, in the judgments that have been formed of this circumstance.

“ They have every appearance of being most miserably poor. Their cottages are frequently constructed of stones, whose interstices are filled up with peat or mud; and so careful are they of glass, that their windows are scarcely large enough to light around their wretched sheds.

“ Their general food is bread, cheese, and milk; and sometimes what they call flummery, which is made of oatmeal and milk, mixed together and then boiled. Animal food, or ale, are not among their usual fare.

“ The women in the mountainous parts are generally about the middle size, though more frequently below than above it; and though their features are often very pretty, their complexions are for the most part somewhat fallow. They wear long blue cloaks, that descend almost to their feet; these they are seldom to be seen without, even in the very hottest weather, owing most probably to the sudden showers, which the attraction of the mountains renders them liable to be taken in. In North Wales, they have all hats, similar to those of the men, and they wear blue stockings, without any feet to them, which they keep down by a kind of loop, that is put round one of their toes. In the most unfrequented parts, they seldom wear any shoes, except on a Sunday, or the market-day, and even then they often carry them in their hands, as they go along the roads; I have seen them by six or eight together, seated on the bank of a rivulet, after their journeys from the neighbouring villages, washing their feet, before they entered the towns. In these

journeys, if their hands are not otherwise employed, they generally occupy their time in knitting, and I have sometimes seen that even a heavy fall of rain would not compel them to give it up. Their employment within doors is chiefly in spinning wool.

“ The Welsh people are naturally inquisitive and curious; but this is by no means a circumstance peculiar to this country. In all wild and unfrequented parts of the world it is the same, and it is only in such parts of Wales that this disposition is the most observable. Dr. Franklin has told us that this curiosity prevailed so much in America, that when he travelled in that country, if he only wished to ask the road, he found it expedient to save time, by prefacing his question with ‘ My name is Benjamin Franklin—by trade a printer—am come from such a place—and going to such a place; and now—which is my road?’ In all travels through unfrequented countries, we find it very common; and from the inquisitive dispositions of men in general, where novelty lays such hold upon their attention, it would even seem strange were we not to find it so.

“ They are much inclined to superstition. But in all countries there are weak and foolish people; in England, many of our peasantry are ready to swallow, with the most credulous avidity, any ridiculous stories of ghosts, hobgoblins, or fairies. In Wales it is more general, and the people are certainly more credulous than the generality of the English. There are very few of the mountaineers who have not by heart a whole string of legendary tales of those disembodied beings.

“ The Roman Cavern, in Llany-mynech

nynech hill, called Ogo, has been long noted as the residence of a clan of the fairy tribe, of whom the villagers relate many surprising and mischievous tricks. They have listened at the mouth of the cave, and have sometimes even heard them in conversation, but always in such low whispers, that their words have been never distinguishable. The stream that runs across it is celebrated as being the place in which they have been heard to wash their clothes, and do several other kinds of work.

“ These busy little folk seem to be somewhat allied to what are called *knockers*, which by the Welsh are believed to be a species of aerial beings, that are heard underground, in or near mines, who by their noises direct the miners where to find a rich vein. The following extraordinary account of them is from a letter of Mr. Lewis Morris, to his brother Mr. William Morris, comptroller of the customs at Holyhead, dated October the 14th, 1754. I will make no comment upon it, and only preface it by observing, that Mr. Morris was a very learned and sensible man, and a person whose judgment is esteemed of great weight, by every one who has been either acquainted with him or his writings. People who know very little of arts or sciences, or the powers of nature, (which, in other words, are the powers of the author of nature) will laugh at us Cardiganshire miners, who maintain the existence of *knockers* in mines, a kind of good-natured impalpable people, not to be seen, but heard, and who seem to us to work in the mines; that is to say, they are types, or forerunners of working in mines, as dreams are of some accidents which happen

‘ to us. The barometer falls before
‘ rain or storms. If we did not
‘ know the construction of it, we
‘ should call it a kind of dream
‘ that foretells rain; but we know
‘ it is natural, and produced by
‘ natural means comprehended by
‘ us. Now how are we sure, or
‘ any body sure, but that our
‘ dreams are produced by the same
‘ natural means? There is some
‘ faint resemblance of this in the
‘ sense of hearing; the bird is
‘ killed before we hear the report
‘ of the gun. However this is, I
‘ must speak well of these *knockers*,
‘ for they have actually stood my
‘ very good friends, whether they
‘ are aerial beings, called spirits, or
‘ whether they are a people made
‘ of matter, not to be felt by our
‘ gross bodies, as air and fire, and
‘ the like.

“ “ Before the discovery of *Esgair y*
‘ *Mwyn* mine, these little people, as
‘ we call them here, worked hard
‘ there day and night; and there
‘ are abundance of honest sober
‘ people, who have heard them,
‘ and some persons who have no
‘ notion of them, or of mines either;
‘ but, after the discovery of the
‘ great ore, they were heard no
‘ more.

“ “ When I began to work at
‘ *Llwyn Llwyd*, they worked so
‘ fresh there for a considerable time,
‘ that they even frightened some
‘ young workmen out of the work.
‘ This was when we were driving
‘ levels, and before we had got any
‘ ore; but when we came to the
‘ ore, they then gave over, and I
‘ heard no more talk of them.

“ “ Our old miners are no more
‘ concerned at hearing them *blast-*
‘ *ing*, boring holes, landing *deads*,
‘ &c. than if they were some of
‘ their own people: and a single
‘ miner will stay in the work, in
‘ the

‘dead of the night, without any
 ‘man near him, and never think of
 ‘any fear or harm they will do him;
 ‘for they have a notion, that the
 ‘*knockers* are of their own pro-
 ‘fession, and are a harmless people,
 ‘who mean well. Three or four
 ‘miners together shall hear them
 ‘sometimes, but if the miners stop
 ‘to take notice of them, the *knock-*
 ‘*ers* will also stop; but let the
 ‘miners go on at their own work,
 ‘suppose it is *boring*, the *knockers*
 ‘will go on as brisk as can be, in
 ‘*landing*, *blasting*, or beating down
 ‘the *loose*; and they were always
 ‘heard a little from them before
 ‘they came to the ore.

“ ‘These are odd assertions, but
 ‘they are certainly facts, though
 ‘we cannot and do not pretend to
 ‘account for them. We have
 ‘now very good ore at *Llwyn*
 ‘*Lloyd*, where the *knockers* were
 ‘heard to work, but have now
 ‘yielded up the place, and are no
 ‘more heard. Let who will laugh,
 ‘we have the greatest reason to re-
 ‘joice and thank the *knockers*, or
 ‘rather God, who sends us these
 ‘notices.’

“An intelligent friend of mine informs me that these noises of the *knockers*, as they are called, have very lately been heard in the parish of Llanvihangel Ysgeiviog, in Anglesea, where they continued at different intervals for some weeks. In accounting for these noises it has been observed, that they probably proceeded either from the echo of the miners at work, or from the dropping of water; but these seem by no means sufficient, if Mr. Morris’s assertion be true, that while the miners are going on with one kind of work, they are going on with another; while, for instance, as he says, the *miners* are *boring*, they are *blasting*, the former certainly cannot be true, and the *blasting* entirely

puts the latter conjecture out of the question, for the droppings of water could never produce any effect of that kind. As I am only acquainted with the subject from report, I am under the necessity of leaving the elucidation of these extraordinary facts to some who have better opportunities of inquiring into them. I have only to express a hope that the subject will not be neglected, and that those who reside in any neighbourhood where they are heard will inquire into them carefully, and, if possible, give to the world a more accurate account of them than the present.

“As soon as it is dark on the evening before Michaelmas-day, the Welsh people kindle great fires near their houses, and generally, where they can have it, on a large stone upon an eminence. These they call *coelcerth*, or bonfires; and Rowlands, in his *Mona*, supposes this custom to have originated with the Druids, and to have been intended by them as an offering of thanksgiving for the fruits of the harvest. The Druids had also another at the vernal equinox, to implore a blessing from the Deity on the fruits of the earth. On Michaelmas-eve, several hundreds of these fires may sometimes be seen at once, round each of which are numbers of the labouring people dancing hand in hand, ‘in merry glee,’ shouting and singing, in the most riotous and frantic manner. In many places they retain a custom of each throwing stones or nuts into the flame, by which they pretend to foretell the good or ill luck that will attend them in the ensuing year.

“On the eve of St. John the baptist, they fix sprigs of the plant called St. John’s wort over their doors, and sometimes over their windows, in order to purify their houses,

houses, and by that means drive away all fiends and evil spirits, in the same manner as the Druids were accustomed to do with vervain.

“ They have a firm belief in witches; and, consequently, many old women, merely because they happen to be old and ugly, are forced to bear all the blame of the cows not yielding milk, or of the butter not forming in the churn. They are also believed to possess the power of inflicting any disorder they think proper on man or beast, and that they never neglect to do it, if they have been offended. There are now living two celebrated conjurors, or fortune-tellers, who are consulted by all the neighbours when their goods or cattle are missing; these are Sionet Gorn, of Denbigh, and Dick Smot, of Oswestry.

“ The young people have many pretended modes of foretelling their future sweethearts; but most of these being common also amongst the peasantry of our own country, it would be useless here to repeat them.

“ I have been informed, that a disorder something similar to St. Anthony's fire, called *Yr Eryr*, the eagle, is supposed by the labouring people to be always cured by the following kind of charm. A man or woman, whose father, grandfather, or great-grandfather, have eaten the flesh of that bird, is to spit upon the part affected, and rub it, and they say that it will certainly go away. A servant girl, belonging to a friend of mine, who resides in Wales, says she was cured of this complaint by an old man, whose grandfather had eaten of an eagle's flesh; he made use also of some words, to assist in the charm, which she did not comprehend.

“ There is an opinion very commonly received within the

diocese of St. David's, in Pembrokeshire, that a short time before the death of any person, a light is frequently seen proceeding from the house, and even sometimes from the bed, where the sick person lies, and pursues it's way to the church where the corpse is to be interred, precisely in the same track in which the funeral is afterwards to follow. This light is called *canwyll corph*, or the corpse candle.

“ I have been told of a strange custom that prevails in some parts of North Wales, which no doubt the clergy study to abolish as much as lays in their power. When any person supposes himself highly injured, it is not uncommon for him to repair to some church, dedicated to a celebrated saint, as Llan Elian, in Anglesea, and Clynog in Caernarvonshire, and there, as it is termed, to *offer* his enemy. He kneels down on his bare knees in the church, and, offering a piece of money to the saint, utters the most virulent imprecations, calling down curses and misfortunes upon the offender and his family for generations to come, all which they have a firm belief will come to pass. Sometimes, instead of a church, they repair to some of the sacred wells that are dedicated to the saints. Mr. Pennant mentions his being threatened by a fellow, who fancied he had been injured by him, ‘ with the vengeance of St. Elian, ‘ and a journey to his well, to curse ‘ him with effect.’

“ Some of these wells are in great repute for the cure of diseases, by means of the intercession of the saint. The saints are also applied to when any kind of goods are lost, and are made the instruments of recovering them, or of discovering the thief who has stolen them.

“ St George had formerly in the parish of Abergeley, in Caernarvonshire, his holy well, at which this British Mars had his offering of horses; for the rich were, at certain times, accustomed to offer one, to secure his blessing on all the rest. St. George was the tutelar saint of those animals; and all that were distempered were brought to this well, sprinkled with the water, and had this blessing bestowed: *Rhad Duw a Saint Siors arnat*, ‘the blessing of God and St. George be on thee.’

“ In the churches, when the name of the devil occurred, an universal spitting used formerly to seize the congregation, as if in contempt of that evil spirit; and whenever Judas was mentioned, they expressed their abhorrence of him by smiting their breasts.

“ If a *ffynnon vair*, or well of our lady, or any other saint was near, the water for baptism was always brought from thence; and after the ceremony was over, old women were very fond of washing their eyes in the water of the font.

“ Upon Christmas day, about three o’clock in the morning, most of the parishioners assembled in the church, and, after prayers and a sermon, continued there singing psalms and hymns with great devotion till it was day-light; and if, through age or infirmity, any were disabled from attending, they never failed having prayers at home, and carols on our Saviour’s nativity. The former part of the custom is still in some places preserved, but too often perverted into intemperance. This act of devotion is called *pulgen*, or the *crowing of the cock*. It has been a general belief among the superstitious, that instantly

‘ at his warning,
Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,
Th’ extravagant and erring spirit hies
To his confine.’

“ But during the holy season, the cock was supposed to exert his power throughout the night; from which undoubtedly originated the Welsh word *pulgen*, as applied to this custom. Accordingly Shakspeare finely describes this old opinion:

‘ Some say, that ever ’gainst that season
comes,
Wherein our Saviour’s birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night
long:

And then, they say, no spirit walks abroad:
The nights are wholesome: then no planets
strife:

No fairy takes: no witch hath power to
charm,

So hallow’d and so gracious is the time.’

“ The lower class of people of Caernarvonshire, Anglesea, and part of Merionethshire, have a mode of courtship which, till within these few years, was scarcely ever heard of in this kingdom. The lover generally comes, under the shadow of the night, and is taken without any kind of reserve into the bed of his fair one. Here, as it is generally understood, with part of his clothes still on, he breathes his tender passion, and ‘tells how true he loves.’ This custom seems to have originated in the scarcity of fuel, and in the disagreeableness of sitting together in cold weather, without fire. Much has been said of the innocence with which those meetings are conducted; it may be so in some cases, but it is certainly not an uncommon thing for a son and heir to be brought into the world within two or three months after the marriage ceremony has taken place. No notice seems however to be taken of it, provided the marriage is over before the living witness is brought to light.

light. As this custom is entirely confined to the labouring people, it is not so pregnant with danger as it might otherwise be supposed; for, both parties being poor, they are constrained to marry, in order to secure their reputation, and by that means a method of getting a livelihood.

“ Their weddings are generally attended with noise and riot, being dedicated by the guests to little else than drinking and singing. On the appointed day, as many of the neighbours and friends as can be collected together attend the couple to the church, and from thence, after the ceremony, home again. Here a collection is made amongst the guests, to defray the expences of the occasion, and frequently to aid in establishing the new married couple in the world. At these times they are often so extravagant, that many of them have literally to starve, perhaps for near a month afterwards, in order to make up the sum they thus foolishly expend; and it is from imprudencies of this kind, and the smallness of their earnings, that the people are kept so miserably poor. In South Wales, previous to their weddings, a herald with a crook, or wand, adorned with ribbands, sometimes makes the circuit of the neighbourhood, and makes his ‘bidding’ or invitation, in a prescribed form. But the knight-errant cavalcade on horseback—the carrying off the bride—the rescue—the wordy war, in rhyme, between the parties, &c. which formed a singular spectacle of mock contest at the celebration of nuptials, is now almost, if not altogether, laid aside, throughout every part of the principality.

“ The funerals are also attended by great crowds of people, all the relatives and neighbours of the

person deceased being invited.

The custom of the congregation making offerings of money on those occasions, is, I believe, peculiar to North Wales, and has no doubt been retained from the Roman-catholic religion, where the money was given for singing of mass for the soul of the deceased. It is now only considered as a mark of respect paid to the clergyman; for, if he is not liked, the offerings are made on the coffin, at the door of the house, where the person resided, and distributed amongst the poor relatives. But when they are made in the church, the morning or evening service for the day is first read; the clergyman reading two prayers from the funeral service, and then the general thanksgiving, and the rest of the service, at the altar table. When the prayers are concluded, the next of kin to the deceased comes forward and puts down sixpence, or a shilling, if they are poor; but where they are more opulent, half a crown, or a crown, and sometimes even so much as a guinea. This example is followed by the other relatives, and afterwards by the rest of the congregation that are able, who advance in turns, and offer. When the offering of silver is ended, there is a short pause, after which those who are not able to afford more come forward and put down each a penny, (a half-penny not being admitted). The collections thus made amount sometimes to ten or fifteen pounds; but where the relatives are indigent, to not more than three or four shillings. If the relatives are poor, but particularly where a man or woman is left with a number of children, the money is usually given to them by the clergyman. After the collection is entirely

finished, the remainder of the burial service is read, and the awful ceremony is closed. The offerings at Llanpublic, and Caernarvon, are said, upon an average, to amount to seventy-five or eighty pounds a year. I have been told that it is the intention of the clergy of North Wales to abolish this custom, if possible.

It is usual in Caernarvonshire, and some other parts of North Wales, for the nearest female relative of the deceased, be she widow, mother, sister, or daughter, to pay some poor person of the same sex and nearly of the same age with the deceased for procuring slips of yew, box, and other evergreens, to strew over and ornament the grave, for some weeks after the interment; and in some instances for weeding and adorning it, on the eves of Easter, Whitsuntide, Christmas, and some other particular days, for a year or two afterwards. The money is given to the person on a plate, at the door of the house, where the body is standing on a bier. This gift is called *diodlys*; for formerly, instead of it, the person used to receive from the hand of the female relative a cheese with a piece of money stuck in it, and some white bread, and afterwards a cup of drink; but this practice is discontinued; the gift, however, still retains it's old name. When this ceremony is over, the clergyman, or, in his absence, the parish clerk, says the Lord's prayer, after which they proceed with the corpse. Four of the nearest of kin take the bier upon their shoulders – a custom considered as the highest respect that filial piety can pay to the deceased. If the distance from the house to the church is considerable, they are relieved by some of the congregation, but they again take

it, in order to carry it in and out of the church. I have been told that it is usual in some parts to set down the bier at every cross way, between the house and the church, and again repeat the Lord's prayer, and to do the same when they enter the church-yard. They generally sing psalms on the way, by which the stillness of rustic life is often broke into in a manner finely productive of religious reflections.

“ In some places it was customary for the friends of the dead to kneel and say the Lord's prayer over the grave for several Sundays after the interment, and then to dress the grave with flowers.

“ Among the Welsh, it was reckoned fortunate for the deceased if it should rain while they were carrying him to church, that his bier might be wet with the dew of heaven.

“ I have observed, that in many parts of Wales, as well as England, the relations most ridiculously crowd all into that part of the church-yard which is south of the church; the north, or as they term it the *wrong side*, being accounted unhallowed ground, and fit only to be the dormitory of still-born infants and suicides.

“ Mr. Pratt has given us a most animated and enchanting description of the neatness of the Welsh church-yards, and of the care that is taken by the relations of the graves of their kindred; but I am sorry to say, that, if this gentleman has stated facts, they must be not, as he has asserted, in general, but completely local; I never saw, nor could ever during the whole of the three months I spent in Wales, hear of the graves being weeded every Saturday, ‘of their being every week planted with the ‘choicest flowers of the season,’

or

or that if a nettle or weed were seen on the Sunday morning, the living party, to whom the grave on which it was seen belonged, 'would be hooted, after divine service, by the whole congregation.' Mr. P. throughout the whole of his volumes seems to have mingled too much of the novelist with his observations. To this there would be less objection, if by some previous hint he could apprize us of the entire of the former: the characters which ought never to be confounded might thus be kept distinct. But when a writer, who seems to think himself entitled to credit (and in general perhaps not without reason) in relating his real adventures, condescends to em-

bellish his account with fiction, however I may admire his abilities, I cannot help reprobating his practice.

"The clergy of North Wales are in general very respectable men, and their churches pretty well attended. The livings are in general rectories, and the incumbents for the most part men that have been educated at one of the universities. These circumstances place them upon a much more respectable footing than those of the southern division of the principality, whose stipends, I have been told, are so slender as to render their situations almost worse than those of the labouring class of the community."

ACCOUNT of the JUMPERS, a SECT of WELSH METHODISTS.

[From the First Volume of the same Work.]

"WHILST I was at Caernarvon, I was induced from curiosity to attend some of the meetings of a curious kind or branch of Calvinistical methodists, who, from certain enthusiastic extravagancies which they exhibit, are denominated *jummers*. I will describe them from an account of one of their own countrymen, as my own observations did not lead me to be so minute as he has been. They persuade themselves that they are involuntarily acted upon by some divine impulse; and becoming intoxicated with this imagined inspiration, they utter their rapture and their triumph with such wildness and incoherence—with such gesticulation and vociferation, as set all reason and decorum at defiance. This presumption seized chiefly the young and

'sanguine, and, as it seems, like hysterical affections, partly spreading through the crowd by sympathy; its operations and effects varying according to the different degrees of constitutional temperament, mock all description. Among their preachers, who are also very various in character, (illiterate and conceited—or well meaning and sensible—or, too frequently I fear, crafty and hypocritical) some are more distinguished by their success in exciting these *stravaganzas*. One of these, after beginning perhaps in a lower voice, in more broken and detached sentences, rises by degrees to a greater vehemence of tone and gesture, which often swells into a bellowing, as grating to the ear as the attendant distortions are disgusting to the sight—

of

' of a rational man. In the early
 ' part he is accompanied only by
 ' sighs and occasional moans, with
 ' here and there a note of approba-
 ' tion, which after a while are suc-
 ' ceeded by whinings and exclama-
 ' tions; till, at length, one among
 ' the crowd, wrought up to a pitch
 ' of ecstasy, which it is supposed will
 ' permit no longer to be suppressed,
 ' starts and commences the jump-
 ' ing; using at intervals some ex-
 ' pressions of praise or of triumph.
 ' The word most generally adopted
 ' is "*gogoniant*."* (glory!) Between
 ' these exclamations, while labour-
 ' ing with the subject, is emitted
 ' from the throat a harsh undulating
 ' sound, which by the profane has
 ' been compared to a stone-cutter's
 ' saw. The conclusion, which I
 ' am almost ashamed to describe,
 ' has more the appearance of hea-
 ' then orgies, than of the rational
 ' fervour of Christian devotion.
 ' The phrensy spreads among the
 ' multitude; for in fact a kind of
 ' religious phrensy appears to seize
 ' them. To any observations made
 ' to them they seem insensible. Men
 ' and women indiscriminately cry
 ' and laugh, jump and sing, with
 ' the wildest extravagance. That
 ' their dress becomes deranged or
 ' the hair dishevelled is no longer
 ' an object of attention. And their

' raptures continue, till, spent with
 ' fatigue of mind and body, the wo-
 ' men are frequently carried out in
 ' a state of apparent insensibility.
 ' In these scenes indeed the youth-
 ' ful part of the congregation are
 ' principally concerned; the more
 ' elderly generally contenting them-
 ' selves with admiring, with devout
 ' gratitude, what they deem the ope-
 ' rations of the spirit.' Their exer-
 ' tions are so great at these times,
 ' that the hardest labour they could
 ' be put to would not so much waste
 ' their animal spirits, or weary their
 ' limbs, as two hours spent in this
 ' religious fury. Were their meet-
 ' ings seven times a week, instead of
 ' once or twice, I am confident that
 ' the strongest constitution could
 ' bear it but a very short time.

" Besides these they have their
 ' general meetings, which are held
 ' once or twice in a year, at Caer-
 ' narvon, Pwllheli, and other places
 ' in rotation. At these they some-
 ' times assemble so many as five or
 ' six thousand people. They hold
 ' their general meeting at Caernarvon
 ' in the open air, upon the green,
 ' near the castle; and not contented
 ' with their enthusiastic extrava-
 ' gancies upon the spot, many of the
 ' people, from the country, have been
 ' known to continue them for three
 ' or four miles of their road home."

" * These preachings are altogether in the Welsh language.

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

On the CHARACTER of AJAX.

[From the Second Volume of LETTERS from a FATHER to his SON, on various TOPICS relative to LITERATURE and the CONDUCT of LIFE, by J. AIKIN, M. D.]

“ALMOST ever since I was a reader of Homer, the character of *Ajax* in the *Iliad* has struck me, among the group of personages so admirably painted by the poet, as one of the most meritorious; and I have wondered that in common opinion it should have been held in such inferior estimation. The cause, I suppose, has been, that the general idea of Ajax has been drawn from various other sources, and particularly from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where all the eloquence of *Ulysses* is employed to fix upon him the stain of ferocious and brutal stupidity. The discussion of a character of fiction is of little importance in itself, and I confess I have been sufficiently disgusted with the air of importance given to some of these investigations; yet I think Homer's Ajax may afford a not uninteresting subject for a letter, especially as I consider him as the exemplar of a *moral class* among mankind, to which sufficient justice is not rendered. This is the very valuable class of persons, well qualified for the stations they occupy, and *always ready* to employ their best exertions

when called upon, from a steady unvarying principle of duty, which requires no animation from temporary feelings or particular circumstances;—a class of more consequence in the real business of life, than all the splendid enthusiasts who are the favourites of poetry and romance, and too much so even of history.

“Let us run through, in order, the principal events of the *Iliad* in which this hero bears a share.

“The bodily strength and martial port of Ajax, by virtue of which he is placed immediately after Achilles in the military muster, are not the proper objects of my consideration, which concerns soul rather than body; yet it may be allowed, that in those heroic times, as they are called, they were the qualities which essentially marked him out for the post of a warlike chieftain. But the first display of *character* also well justifies his reputation. When Agamemnon takes a survey of the confederate army previously to the battle in book IV, he finds different leaders in different states of preparation; but the two Ajaxes (for here their

their merits are blended) are distinguished as having already formed their troops in perfect order to march. The formidable appearance of their *cloud* of infantry is illustrated by one of the noblest similes in the poem; and Agamemnon, at the sight, breaks out into a fervent wish that all his commanders were inspired with the same spirit, in which event Troy could not fail soon to sink under the Grecian arms.

“When Hector, in the seventh book, challenges to single combat any of the Greek leaders, Ajax, as well as the rest, remains silent, apparently through modest reserve, till Nestor’s speech rouses them to a voluntary offer of meeting the defiance. The determination, however, is committed to chance, and the lot, to the great joy of the whole army, falls upon Ajax. He expresses a soldier’s confidence in the result, but in terms sufficiently modest; and he desires the Greeks to pray to Jupiter for his success; which circumstance may serve to obviate any charge of impiety that his little commerce with the gods afterwards may have brought upon him. That he is no favourite with any one of the deities, and neither asks nor receives their peculiar aid, will scarcely injure his character with those who are shocked at the injustice committed by Homer’s divinities from their partialities, which are generally represented as founded upon the most unworthy motives. Whatever was the poet’s intention in thus distinguishing Ajax from his other heroes, he is certainly a gainer by it in the true estimate of worth, since from native strength of mind he performs actions which, in others, are made the result of a supernatural impulse.

“In the duel with Hector, Ho-

mer has been swayed by Grecian partiality to give so decided a superiority to Ajax, as interferes with the leading principle of the poem, which is, the necessity of the return of Achilles, as the only proper antagonist of the Trojan hero. Ajax, however, not only signalizes himself as a warrior on the occasion; his language and conduct are praiseworthy. If he boasts, it is not personally, but of his countrymen. ‘Besides Achilles, (says he) there are many among us able to meet your challenge.’ And when the chance of battle is clearly in his favour, he makes no objection to the proposal of the heralds to suspend hostilities, provided Hector, as the challenger, chooses to ask it.

“When he goes as one of the deputies to Achilles, for the purpose of persuading that resentful hero to intermit his wrath against Agamemnon, and return to his duty, on finding Achilles inexorable to all the eloquence and offers of Ulysses, he breaks out in a strain of generous and patriotic impatience, and proposes to put an end to their supplications, and carry back their answer to the Grecians, unwelcome as it may be. His speech is somewhat blunt and inartificial, but suitable to one whose own attachment to the common cause makes him unable to excuse the dereliction of another.

“In the battle of book XI, so adverse to the Grecians, Ajax, after rescuing the wounded Ulysses, is attacked by the whole host of Trojans, with Hector at their head. Jupiter, likewise, strikes a præternatural terror into his breast; so that, throwing his broad shield behind him, he slowly and unwillingly retreats. But his retreat is like that of a lion from a crowd of foes; and the awe with which he still inspires

inspires the enemy is the strongest testimony of his valour. The noted comparison of the ass, introduced in this place, will not degrade the hero in the opinion of any judicious reader. I do not, indeed, think that the poet is justified by the usual apology made for him, that this animal was a more respectable object in Greece at that time than now among us; for, in fact, the circumstances dwelt upon in the description are his greediness for food, and his insensibility to blows, qualities in their own nature ignoble. But it is Homer's manner to be very little nice in his similes, either as to their subject, or their adaptation; and he is usually satisfied if they apply to the single point for which he adduces them. Ajax was driven from the field of battle by the Trojans with as much difficulty as an ass from a corn-field by a troop of boys,—this is the whole of the parallel. In like manner, the Greeks and Trojans contending for the body of Patroclus, are resembled to curriers stretching a hide: an apt comparison for the action of two parties tugging at an object on contrary sides, which was all that the poet wanted. But this is a digression.

“ In the succeeding combats about the wall and before the ships, Ajax is, as he is termed by the poet, the great bulwark of the Greeks, ever occupying the post of danger and importance, unwearied in his exertions, and solely intent upon performing every office of a warrior and chieftain in repelling the foe. All the other leaders are wounded, or have retired to their tents, and the whole care and toil of the day devolves upon him. He is unable to resist the torrent of attack breaking in from all quarters, yet he resolves rather to die than yield. As

the last effort, he takes his station on the very ships, and thence beats off the assailants. At length, quite spent with fatigue, and disarmed of his sole weapon, he withdraws a while from the storm; and instantly, as if no other obstacle remained, the first ship is set on fire by the Trojans. It is impossible for genuine valour, active and passive, to be exhibited in more striking colours; and I believe no hero can be found in the Iliad who sustains a trial equally severe.

“ When Patroclus is slain, and the great point of honour is on one side to seize, and on the other to rescue, his dead body, Ajax is again called upon, and again takes upon himself the burthen of the field. Though Hector and the Trojans rush on with the confidence of success, and Jove himself manifestly favours them, Ajax abides by the body of his friend. It is in this emergency, when overwhelmed with a mist or darkness which intercepts his view of the Grecian host, he makes the address to Jupiter which has been so much admired for its moral sublimity:

‘ Lord of earth and air,
Oh king! oh father! hear my humble
prayer:
Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven
restore:
Give me to see, and Ajax asks no more:
If Greece must perish, we thy will obey,
But let us perish in the face of day!’
POPE.

“ One of the similes employed on this occasion is singularly apt and expressive. The two Ajaxes keeping back the assailing crowd are resembled to a mound stretched across a plain, and repelling the waters of a vast inundation. This defensive effort is the last martial exploit of Ajax in the Iliad: every other hero being judiciously made

to give way to Achilles on his return to the war.

“Why Homer has chosen to represent Ajax as a loser in all the games in which he is engaged at the funeral of Patroclus is not easily explained; especially as they are of a kind in which his bodily strength and vigour would have fair scope for exertion. But having fixed his reputation by making him the resource of his countrymen on all serious occasions, it is of little consequence that others surpass him in sportive conflicts.

“Such is the Ajax of the Iliad;—a hero (as far as so rude an age admits of heroism) *in grain*; tried and proved by every difficulty and danger; not the meteor of a day, but, shining with equal lustre through the whole period of action; always in his place; resorted to on every emergency, and never in vain; not hurried along by idle bravado or enthusiastic ardour, but making utility the guide of his exertions; finally, never yielding but when mortal resistance was unavailable, and when a heaven-born champion, with celestial aid, was necessary to turn the tide of fortune. He may then stand at the head of *able* and *useful* men, whose value is superior to their fame;—a class of which there are members in every profession and rank of life, and to whose assistance the first-rate characters owe great part of their celebrity and success.

“Such was the Antipater of Philip of Macedon, of whom the latter, when reproached for his late rising, said, ‘I slept, because I knew Antipater was awake;’—who, while Alexander the Great was rambling, he scarcely knew whither, and acting the conqueror among effeminate Asiatics, held the reins of warlike Greece; quashed the revolt of the

generous Agis, and continually supplied his master with fresh bodies of disciplined foldiers. Such was the Labienus of Cæsar, the Agrippa of Augustus, the Sully of Henry IV. the Cecil of Elizabeth, the Ireton of Cromwell. Such appear to be the generality of those officers in the British navy, under whose conduct the empire of the ocean has been maintained for their country everywhere, against all foes, by dint of equal valour and unvarying skill. In science, in the arts, in the common business of life, such men might be pointed out. In general, they are those whom the leaders in important affairs would choose for their seconds, to supply their places on occasion, act according to their plans, and take the management of separate and dependent parts. Their essential qualifications are, a perfect fitness for their posts, and a constant readiness to bring all their powers into full exertion,—firmness, vigilance, order, and the habit of fixing the attention upon particular objects. ‘*Pares negotiis neque supra*’ has been thought but subaltern praise; but if we be allowed to translate these words, by ‘Masters of their business, and not ‘above it,’ the idea of the character here intended will be adequately expressed, and surely it implies no mean commendation. The enthusiasm of genius, and the creative faculty of invention, do not belong to it; but it reaches the mark of known excellence in what it undertakes. Without these Ajaxes, the greatest geniuses may be foiled, and the most brilliant enterprizes prove abortive. With them, the world will go on well in its ordinary train, and steady prosperity will compensate the want of striking improvement.”

On the COMPARATIVE VALUE of different STUDIES.

[From the same WORK.]

“**T**HOUGH it is probably advantageous to society that every object which can occupy the human mind should engage the attention of some individuals, and the freedom of study demands that the utmost latitude should be given to diversity of tastes, yet to each individual separately considered, it is by no means a matter of indifference how he directs his choice. He may, indeed, fill up his time with pursuits of almost any kind; he may become interested in any; but if it be the purpose of study to make acquisitions of knowledge which may enlarge the conceptions, remove errors and prejudices, suggest useful conclusions, and really elevate a man amid his species, it must be of fundamental importance how he selects the objects on which he is to employ the force of his intellectual powers. And not only is it of consequence that he should be able properly to direct his own pursuits, but it is desirable that he should be provided with a rule whereby to form some estimate (a liberal and impartial one) of the proportional value of other men’s attainments. For, since many of these make a claim to the public applause and respect, it is but right that the public should possess some principles on which to found their adjudication. Horace, with his usual good sense, has said,

‘Nec tua laudabis studia, nec aliena reprehendes;’

“Praise not your own, nor blame another’s taste;

which is certainly just, as far as it regards the equal right of choice ex-

isting in different persons; but this does not render the things themselves equal. The maxim, however, is a good one, as far as it warns us against making our own pursuits a standard by which those of others are to be estimated. To this partiality we are all liable; and the only way to correct it is to lay down such large and general principles of preference as will not readily bend to the exclusive service of particular likings.

“I must premise to the consideration I mean in the present letter to give this subject, that the *value* of studies concerning which I inquire, is to the student himself, not to the community. Were value to be estimated according to the common notions of utility, the arts by which the necessaries, nay, the luxuries, of life are procured, would obtain more votes in their favour than the sublimest sciences. A memoir in the Swedish “*Amœnitates Academicæ*,” entitled *Cui Bono*, relates, that a certain person who had enriched himself by the sale of salt-fish, on being shown the royal museum of natural history, arranged in scientific order, asked “What was the good of all this?”—a question, the writer says, fit for such a man to make. He seems, however, to have thought it of some importance; for the purpose of his paper is to show, that natural history, even according to the vulgar notions of utility, is good for something. It must, indeed, be confessed that many of his arguments are so trifling, that the salt-fish merchant would be justified in valuing, upon that ground, Beukelen, the inventor of

of the art of pickling herrings, beyond Linnæus or Buffon. Further, the utility of studies to any other than the students themselves depends upon the communication of the knowledge acquired. Writers on the most abstruse and confined topics may be serviceable to the few who engage in similar pursuits with their own; whereas mere readers and speculators, on the most popular subjects, are fruitless with respect to society. But the duty of communicating our ideas is a separate consideration, which I do not intend to engage in.

“ One of the most material circumstances on which the relative value of an object of study depends is, that it be something real, stable, of general import, and not indebted for its consequence to temporary and conventional modes of thinking. In this respect, nature has greatly the advantage over art. Whatever is learned concerning her is an eternal truth, which will preserve its relation to other things as long as the world endures. The motions of the heavenly bodies, the influence of the elements, the properties of minerals, vegetables, and animals, are *grand facts* which speak a common language to all mankind in all ages, and afford a perpetual fund of use and entertainment. The more wide and comprehensive a survey is taken of these objects, the better they answer the purpose of enlarging the mind, and establishing a basis for truths of universal application. Hence the advantage of studying them in a connected and systematic mode, and framing general propositions concerning them. But the foundation for these must be a very accurate investigation of particular facts, since the instant their guidance is quitted, and reliance is placed upon analo-

gical deductions, error commences. Observation and experiment must therefore go hand in hand with reasoning; nor was there ever a true philosopher who did not unite their processes. I can conceive of no employment of the human faculties nobler than thus taking the scale of creation, detecting all its mutual connexions and dependencies, investigating the laws by which it is governed as a whole, and the economy of its constituent parts, and alternately making use of the sagacity of the senses in minute research, and the powers of intellect in comparing and abstracting. The studies, then, which range under the heads of natural philosophy and natural history, and are comprehended under the general term of physics, appear to me to take the lead of all mental pursuits with respect to extent, variety, and dignity. Let it be understood, however, that I include among them the study of one of the noblest objects nature presents, and certainly the most interesting to a human creature—that of man himself. To ascertain what he essentially is, what are the faculties of the body and mind which characterise him as the head of the animal creation, and what are the variations induced in him by education, habit, climate, and mode of life, is strictly a branch of physics, and has by the best writers been treated as such.

“ It is, doubtless, impossible for a single mind to embrace all the objects here pointed out, so as to fathom the depths of human knowledge in each;—to be at the same time the mind of Newton, Locke, Boyle, and Haller: but according to the degree in which a man had imbibed the leading ideas which constituted the intellectual furniture of such minds, I should estimate the

the value of his attainments ; and I should prefer, though not in point of genius, yet with respect to acquisitions, one who combined a tolerably accurate acquaintance with all the branches of knowledge possessed by these, to a complete adept in any one of them. The last mentioned of the above persons, Haller, was scarcely, I believe, surpassed by any man in the variety, and at the same time the solidity, of his physical knowledge. Buffon may be named as one whose general views were as grand, and whose pursuits were planned upon as enlarged a scale, as those of any person whom studies of this class have rendered famous, though he wanted accuracy and solidity in many of the particulars of his speculations. As a criterion of this capaciousness and elevation of understanding, I would suppose a delegate sent from this earth to explore some other world and bring back the most complete and important information concerning it:—the person duly selected for such a mission would, in my idea, possess a title to the superiority in question.

“ Although nature, thus studied, appears to me the noblest of all subjects that can occupy the mind, I am far from affixing the same proportionate value to investigations of detached parts of the works of nature. In these, all the grandeur of large and connected views is frequently lost, and the whole attention is employed on petty details, which lead to nothing further. A very little mind may successfully apply itself to the arrangement of shells and butterflies by their forms and colours, and gain nothing by the process but the simple ideas of form and colour, as serving for marks of distinction. To such minds, an arrangement of ribbons by their shades and patterns would

be a perfectly similar employment. I do not deny that even these humble labourers in science are necessary to complete the great fabric of the system of nature, and give accuracy and uniformity to its nomenclature. Their industry and exactness deserve praise; but it is better for a student, capable of more extensive views, to make use of their labours, than to imitate them. What I have said, however, must be understood with limitation; for, as I have already observed, it is incumbent on the inquirer into nature to spare no pains in the accurate search after facts; but these should be facts not trifling or insulated, but essential to the formation of those general theorems in which systematical knowledge consists. It is certain, for instance, that while the Linnæan class of *cryptogamia* subsists, the vegetable economy must be very incompletely known. It cannot, however, be abolished without the minutest examination of the generative organs of mosses, ferns, algæ, lichens, &c. which may therefore reasonably employ the ablest and most philosophical naturalist. Bonnet, a philosopher in every sense of the word, occupied himself for years in microscopical observations and experiments on the smallest parts of nature, but it was with the purpose of establishing important conclusions concerning the essential characters of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and the limits between each. Modern chemistry is one of the most important branches of physics, and comprehends many truly sublime speculations relative to the globe we inhabit; but its theory is entirely built upon experiments, in which the nicest mechanical attentions are necessary to avoid fundamental errors.

“ A branch of study which ap-
I
pears

appears to me the next in dignity, is that which, selecting *man* from amidst the objects of creation, pursues a course of inquiry into his history, tracing the origin and progress of nations, their languages, arts, manners, systems of polity, and all the vicissitudes of their fortune; and which, taking these facts for its guide, investigates the principles of legislation, government, commerce, and all the relations proceeding from human society, with the means of improving and perfecting them. Here is ample scope for the exercise of the noblest faculties; and some of the greatest names in the literary catalogue rank under this division. To follow the labours of the historian, the jurist, the antiquary, the linguist, and the geographer, and from their united materials to form large surveys of the several ages and races of mankind, is an employment for a genuine philosopher; and nothing so much conduces to raise the mind above narrow prejudices as speculations of this kind, conducted upon a liberal plan. The acquirements of a Grotius and a Montesquieu, a Jones and a Gibbon, cannot be viewed without high admiration, nor the use they made of them without liberal applause. The demand for knowledge of this kind, as materials for conversation, is perhaps greater than that of the preceding class; and its application to the weighty affairs of the world, such as the making of laws and treaties, carrying on negotiations, and framing public institutions, renders it a more direct road to fortune and honour. These are therefore the favourite studies not only of the sage in human life, but of the ambitious man; and they are peculiarly proper for those who by birth and rank are destined to fill important offices in the state.

It is, however, to be observed, that without a portion of that physical knowledge of man which I have referred to the former head, the views taken of him in his artificial state are apt to mislead. Old as the world is, new cases in society are continually occurring, which cannot safely be decided by the analogy of precedent. Man, in all forms and situations, is essentially *the animal, man*. His natural character will occasionally break through all the shackles of positive institutions; and, indeed, under the dominion of those institutions, there is more similarity in human actions and their motives, than external diversities would lead an observer to suppose. Even in this branch of study, then, nature takes precedence of art.

“There are a set of studies which have engaged the attention of the speculative and learned perhaps beyond any others; and, I conceive, much beyond their merits. These are such as relate to the *opinions* of mankind. The subjects of these opinions have, indeed, in appearance, been the most sublime and important. Deity and its attributes, mind and matter, space, time, existence, the prior and the future condition of created beings, are all high and imposing topics, capable of exercising the utmost force and subtlety of the human faculties. But as reasonings concerning them must, in great part, be the mere internal operation of the mind upon its own ideas, without any test from external nature to prove their truth, it is no wonder that the efforts of the greatest geniuses have been so far from reducing them to certainty, that they have not even been able to make them clearly comprehended. Controversialists on these points complain to this day that they are misunderstood or misrepresented.”

misrepresented by their antagonists; and in common with Milton's fallen angels, they

— find no end, in wand'ring mazes lost.

Now, although an original genius, confident in his powers, ought not, perhaps, to refuse a subject because all former inquirers have failed in their attempts to elucidate it; yet, I think, a private student may with propriety consider, with respect to himself, certainty as unattainable, where great diversity of opinion remains after long and full discussion; and surely, without the prospect of attaining certainty, or a probability almost equal to it, there is little encouragement for the serious application of time and labour. It is true, a general acquaintance with opinion is part of the knowledge of man; which, to be complete, should comprehend what he has *thought*, as well as what he has *done*; but to consume laborious days and nights in endeavouring to fathom the meaning of writers who never had a precise meaning, but have merely dressed in a solemn and specious garb the reveries of an unchastised imagination, is sacrificing too much to vain curiosity, or misplaced admiration. I have already, in a letter upon *authority*, ventured to assert that no man ever deserved such a degree of credit from his fellow-men, as to have his opinions admitted on the footing of realities, and his *dicta* studied like divine oracles. Who are Plato, Aristotle, and a hundred other celebrated names that might be mentioned, that so much pains should be bestowed on reconciling their contradictions, clearing up their obscurities, penetrating their mysteries, and doing for them what, if they

were really the master-writers they are supposed, their works would not require? 'He who is not intelligible (says Jortin) is seldom intelligent;' an admirable maxim, due attention to which would cut short many a profound disquisition on the sense of authors!

"You have probably read our lamented friend Dr. Enfield's abridgment of 'Brucker's History of Philosophy.' These two quarto volumes contain a sketch of opinions proposed in works which of themselves would fill a copious library. But of these, how very few are intrinsically worth a more minute examination than this sketch presents! How manifest is it to an unprejudiced mind, that this great mass of opinion chiefly relates to subjects either utterly unfathomable by the human understanding, or the mere creation of verbal sophistry? Even what seems to belong to practical wisdom is generally so artificial and chimerical in its principles, that it may well be denominated, in Milton's words,

Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy.

Shall I refer you to the schools of modern theology for topics of discussion more certain and more important? Alas! what spectacle do they afford so striking as misemployed talents, and the wreck of intellect? Read the life of the great Grotius, the patriot, the lawyer, the historian, the poet, the statesman, and see how wretchedly he was bewildered in his youth by the unintelligible disputes between the Calvinists and Arminians, in his advanced years by the differences between protestantism and popery—the source to him of imprisonment, exile, and obloquy; and then judge of the encouragement such an employment of the

faculties affords. How easy would it be to multiply examples to this effect, were it necessary!

“Another division of studies may be formed (not, indeed, with strict accuracy of arrangement, but sufficient for the present purpose) upon a view of what *man has done*, considered as a creator in art and science. A multiplicity of objects here opens upon the mind, of which I shall content myself with selecting two or three for particular consideration.

“As the noblest distinction of a human being is the use of language, that art which teaches to use it in the best manner, or the *art of composition*, may take the lead under this division. By studying its principles, so as to be able to enter into all the beauties and delicacies of fine writing, a source of entertainment of the highest kind is provided, independently of the power acquired of imitating what we admire. I have already touched upon this subject in my letter on the advantages resulting from a taste for poetry; but it is capable of great extension by comprehending the art of criticism in all its branches. This comprizes an accurate research into the nature of language in general, and the genius of those particular languages in which the student is conversant; an acquaintance with the character of style in all its diversities, and the various figures of speech employed to adorn or invigorate it; a knowledge of the essential distinctions between the different species of composition; and a familiarity with all the principal works of different ages and countries, in order to trace imitations and form exact ideas of comparative merit. The number of capital productions

in verse and prose to which the ancient and a few of the modern languages give access, is so great, that the critical study of them will furnish employment for all the leisure any scholar can command; and so seductive is this branch of literature, that persons classically educated are often seen to make it almost the sole occupation of life. To its intrinsic value was formerly added so high a degree of reputation attending a proficiency in it, as placed it almost at the head of intellectual pursuits. This was derived from its real importance at the time of the restoration of ancient learning, when to give accurate editions of the classics, and elucidate them by commentaries, was one of the most useful tasks in which a scholar could engage. Since this business has been tolerably completed, and other studies have taken the lead in public estimation, the art of criticism has somewhat declined in dignity; though it still stands high among that class who are peculiarly termed *the learned*, and the adepts in it themselves appear little inclined to yield the precedence they formerly assumed. It must be allowed in their favour, that the acquisitions necessary to arrive at distinction as a critic are extremely various, and imply assiduous cultivation of the understanding. Many of them, too, are so elegant in their nature, that we may reasonably wonder they have not more generally tended to polish the manners and humanize the temper. That they have not greatly conduced to enlarge the mind is less surprising, since for the most part they consist in points of knowledge that are limited to their specific objects, and terminate in themselves. The niceties of Greek and

and Latin prosody, which it might cost some of the best years of life to acquire, are, to a modern, at least, mere insulated facts, derived from authority; and though the formation and mechanism of language is, in some sense, a branch of philosophy, yet it is of a kind which bears little upon other topics. In undertaking to explain the sense of an author, indeed, the critic or commentator must be master of all the knowledge referred to by that author; and this will often oblige him to take a wide range through the history, mythology, arts, manners, and customs, of antiquity. But what a mass of extravagance and absurdity must he encounter in this progress! and how must his memory be burdened with a multitude of trifling particulars! How fully these occupy the mind, to the exclusion of more valuable matter, is evident from the gross ignorance occasionally displayed by annotators when they touch upon topics which ought to be determined by an appeal to fact rather than to books. I confess I should feel hesitation in accepting the mental stock of a Saumaïse, a Scaliger, a Bentley, and a Burman, high as they rank in the records of erudition.

“The preceding observations, however, refer more to the critic by profession, than to the private student, who has no occasion to enter further into the examination of authors, than to obtain a just perception of their excellencies and defects. This end is perhaps better attained, by studying those principles of good taste in writing which are deducible from the philosophy of the human mind, than by a close attention to all the minute particulars of diction, which is apt to interfere with, rather than

to aid, those larger surveys on which an enlightened judgment of whole works must be formed. Criticism thus exercised is one of the most agreeable, and certainly not of the least dignified employments of the mental faculties; and few topics are better adapted either to closet amusement, or to liberal and cultured conversation.

“I shall say little respecting those agreeable studies which have for their object the cultivation of a taste for the fine arts. The propriety of engaging in these depends partly upon natural talent, but principally upon the opportunity of having recourse to specimens of art of the most perfect kind, by way of example and illustration. Without such a reference to practice, the study of the theory will be apt to terminate in pedantic self-conceit, exposing the fancied proficient to the ridicule of artists and real connoisseurs. The eye, and even the hand, should be exercised in order to fit a person for judging on these points. Neither the power nor the limits of art can be exactly known without trial; and delicacy of taste is only to be acquired by comparison of the performances of great masters.

“Mathematical studies must already be supposed to stand high in my estimate, since I have placed in the first class those large and sublime views of nature, some of which could not originally have been formed, nor can now be comprehended, without the principles of mathematics. But besides their undoubted value as means, they have by many been pursued ultimately, as affording the highest and purest exercise to the intellectual powers. Fully sensible of my own inadequacy to judge of their worth in this respect, and fearful of giving

way to partiality, I shall only speak of them from observing their effects upon others. As far as I have remarked, few of those who during the early part of their lives have gone deep into mathematics, acquire such a relish for them, as to be induced spontaneously to continue their application to them at an after-period. Whether it be that they find the requisite mental exertion too severe, or that they become wearied with studies which offer no further prospects, and furnish no materials for conversation—it seems to me to be the fact, that mathematical pursuits are usually deserted, as soon as the incidental motives which caused them to be entered upon, or the first ardour of curiosity, have ceased. Where this has not been the case, they are sometimes found to occupy the whole mind, to the exclusion of all other subjects, pleasant or useful; and surely the ideas of figure and number alone are insufficient to fill the compass of the human understanding. A story is told of a profound mathematician, who being with difficulty persuaded to read through Homer's *Iliad*, coldly observed at the conclusion, that he did not find that the author had *proved* any thing. It would, however, be very unjust to represent this insensibility as the universal result of mathematical studies. Many instances may be produced of their alliance in the same person with polite and philosophical literature. Of these, it will suffice to mention the late celebrated D'Alembert, a distinguished member at the same time of the Academy of Sciences, and the French Academy, and an admired writer on a variety of topics. A proficiency in abstract mathematics is certainly an undoubted proof of

great mental capacity; and I suppose the extent of the study is such, that no apprehensions need be entertained of exhausting its objects. Whether, with no further view, it be worth while to expend so much time and exertion upon it, I leave you to determine for yourself.

“ Without tracing further the circle of human knowledge, I shall bring my letter to a conclusion after a general observation. No kinds of study can differ more from each other than the same from itself, as pursued by a man of a strong, and by one of a weak understanding. The first will render a small object important; the second, an important one, little. The history of literature abounds with instances in proof of this assertion—I shall mention one. Elias Ashmole in the last century obtained considerable reputation here in the multifarious character of a *philosopher*. He was an astronomer, but this noble science in his hands turned to judicial astrology. He was a chymist, but under this title alchemy was the real object of his pursuit. He was a naturalist, but his taste rather led him to be a collector, than a scientific observer of nature. He was an antiquary, and in that capacity made large collections for the history of freemasonry in this country; afterwards he soared to the most noble order of the Garter, the history of which, with all its laws and institutions, was his *opus magnum*. In this man were united the valuable qualities of industry, exactness, and perseverance; but the foundation of good sense was wanting. How different from one ‘*qui nil molitur ineptè*,’ all whose pursuits are directed by a sound understanding! Such an one was the wise Franklin, who from the most trivial facts could

could deduce the most important conclusions— who had always something truly valuable in prospect—and whose touch converted every meaner material to gold.

“ It is not, then, merely the species of study, but the mind and spirit with which it is pursued, that should regulate our estimate of the intellectual powers of the student. Folly often conceals herself under the mask of seriousness,

and wisdom is sometimes light and playful. The latter knows the hazards nothing by occasionally descending from her dignity; whereas folly loses all by losing appearances. A great latitude of mental occupation may be admitted, provided good sense presides over all—that quality which truly is, as our ethical poet asserts,

Though no science, fairly worth the seven.

Farewell!”

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON the LYRIC PRODUCTIONS OF ROBERT BURNS.

[From Dr. CURRIE'S ACCOUNT of the LIFE and WRITINGS of that POET, prefixed to the first Volume of his Works.]

“ **H**IS compositions of this kind are chiefly songs, generally in the Scottish dialect, and always after the model of the Scottish songs.

“ Of the historic or heroic ballads of Scotland, it is unnecessary to speak. Burns has no where imitated them, a circumstance to be regretted, since in this species of composition, from its admitting the more terrible as well as the softer graces of poetry, he was eminently qualified to have excelled. The Scottish songs which served as a model to Burns are almost without exception pastoral, or rather rural. Such of them as are comic, frequently treat of a rustic courtship, or a country wedding; or they describe the differences of opinion which arise in married life. Burns has imitated this species, and surpassed

his models. The song beginning ‘ Husband, husband, cease your strife,’ may be cited in support of this observation*. His other comic songs are of equal merit. In the rural songs of Scotland, whether humorous or tender, the sentiments are given to particular characters, and very generally the incidents are referred to particular scenery. This last circumstance may be considered as the distinguishing feature of the Scottish songs, and on it a considerable part of their attraction depends. On all occasions the sentiments, of whatever nature, are delivered in the character of the person principally interested. If love be described, it is not as it is observed, but as it is felt; and the passion is delineated under a particular aspect. Neither is it the fiercer

* “ The dialogues between husbands and their wives, which form the subjects of the Scottish songs, are almost all ludicrous and satirical, and in these contests the lady is generally victorious. From the collections of Mr. Pinkerton we find that the comic muse of Scotland delighted in such representations from very early times, in her rude dramatic efforts, as well as in her rustic songs.”

impulses of desire that are expressed, as in the celebrated ode of Sappho, the model of so many modern songs; but those gentler emotions of tenderness and affection, which do not entirely absorb the lover, but permit him to associate his emotions with the charms of external nature, and breathe the accents of purity and innocence as well as of love. In these respects the love-songs of Scotland are honourably distinguished from the most admired classical compositions of the same kind; and by such associations a variety, as well as liveliness, is given to the representation of this passion, which are not to be found in the poetry of Greece or Rome, or perhaps of any other nation. Many of the love songs of Scotland describe scenes of rural courtship; many may be considered as invocations from lovers to their mistresses. On such occasions a degree of interest and reality is given to the sentiments, by the spot destined to these happy interviews being particularised. The lovers perhaps meet at the *Bush aboon Traquair*, or on the *Banks of Etrick*; the nymphs are invoked to wander among the wilds of *Roslin*, or the *woods of Invermay*. Nor is the spot merely pointed out; the scenery is often described as well as the characters, so as to present a complete picture to the fancy*. Thus the maxim of Horace, *ut pictura poesis*, is

* "One or two examples may illustrate this observation. A Scottish song, written about a hundred years ago, begins thus:

‘ On Etrick banks, on a summer’s night,
 ‘ At gloaming, when the sheep drove hame,
 ‘ I met my lassie, braw and tight,
 ‘ Come wading barefoot a’ her lane:
 ‘ My heart grew light, I ran, I sang
 ‘ My arms about her lily neck,
 ‘ And kiss’d and clasped there fu’ lang,
 ‘ My words they were nay mony feck†.’

"The lover, who is a Highlander, goes on to relate the language he employed with his Lowland maid to win her heart, and to persuade her to fly with him to the Highland hills, there to share his fortune. The sentiments are in themselves beautiful. But we feel them with double force, while we conceive that they were addressed by a lover to his mistress, whom he met all alone, on a summer’s evening, by the banks of a beautiful stream, which some of us have actually seen, and which all of us can paint to our imagination. Let us take another example. It is now a nymph that speaks. Hear how she expresses herself:

‘ How blythe each morn was I to see
 ‘ My swain come o’er the hill!
 ‘ He skipt the burn, and flew to me,
 ‘ I met him with gude will.’

"Here is another picture drawn by the pencil of nature. We see a shepherdess standing by the side of a brook, watching her lover as he descends the opposite hill. He bounds lightly along; he approaches nearer and nearer; he leaps the brook, and flies into her arms. In the recollection of these circumstances, the surrounding scenery becomes endeared to the fair mourner, and she bursts into the following exclamation,

‘ O the broom, the bonnie bonnie broom,
 ‘ The broom of the Cowden-Knowes!
 ‘ I wish I were with my dear swain,
 ‘ With his pipe and my ewes.’

"Thus the individual spot of this happy interview is pointed out, and the picture is completed,

† *Nay mony feck*, not very many.

faithfully

faithfully observed by these rustic bards, who are guided by the same impulse of nature and sensibility which influenced the father of epic poetry, on whose example the precept of the Roman poet was perhaps founded. By this means the imagination is employed to interest the feelings. When we do not conceive distinctly, we do not sympathize deeply in any human affection; and we conceive nothing in the abstract. Abstraction, so useful in morals, and so essential in science, must be abandoned when the heart is to be subdued by the powers of poetry or of eloquence. The bards of a ruder condition of society paint individual objects; and hence, among other causes, the easy access they obtain to the heart. Generalization is the vice of poets whose learning overpowers their genius; of poets of a refined and scientific age.

The dramatic style which pre-

vails so much in the Scottish songs, while it contributes greatly to the interest they excite, also shows that they have originated among a people in the earlier stages of society. Where this form of composition appears in songs of a modern date, it indicates that they have been written after the ancient model *.

“ The Scottish songs are of very unequal poetical merit; and this inequality often extends to the different parts of the same song. Those that are humorous, or characteristic of manners, have in general the merit of copying nature; those that are serious, are tender, and often sweetly interesting, but seldom exhibit high powers of imagination, which indeed do not easily find a place in this species of composition. The alliance of the words of the Scottish songs with the music has in some instances given to the former a popularity,

* “ That the dramatic form of writing characterizes the productions of an early, or, what amounts to the same thing, of a rude stage of society, may be illustrated by a reference to the most ancient compositions that we know of, the Hebrew Scriptures and the writings of Homer. The form of dialogue is adopted in the old Scottish ballads even in narration, whenever the situations described become interesting. This sometimes produces a very striking effect, of which an instance may be given from the ballad of *Edom o’ Gordon*, a composition apparently of the sixteenth century. The story of the ballad is shortly this—The castle of Rhodes, in the absence of its lord, is attacked by the robber Edom o’ Gordon. The lady stands on her defence, beats off the assailants, and wounds Gordon, who in his rage orders the castle to be set on fire. That his orders are carried into effect, we learn from the expostulation of the lady, who is represented as standing on the battlements, and remonstrating on this barbarity. She is interrupted.—

“ O then bespak hir little son,
Sate on his nourice’ knee;
Says, ‘ Mither dear, gi’ owre this house,
‘ For the reek it smithers me.’
‘ I wad gie a’ my gowd, my childe,
‘ Sae wad I a’ my fee,
‘ For ae blast o’ the westlin wind,
‘ To blaw the reek frae thee.’

“ The circumstantiality of the Scottish love-songs, and the dramatic form which prevails so generally in them, probably arises from their being the descendents and successors of the ancient ballads. In the beautiful modern song of *Mary of Castle-Cary*, the dramatic form has a very happy effect. The same may be said of *Donald and Flora*, and *Come under my plaidie*, by the same author, Mr. Macnair.

which

which otherwise they would not have obtained.

“ The association of the words and the music of these songs with the more beautiful parts of the scenery of Scotland contributes to the same effect. It has given them not merely popularity, but permanence; it has imparted to the works of man some portion of the durability of the works of nature. If, from our imperfect experience of the past, we may judge with any confidence respecting the future, songs of this description are of all others least likely to die. In the changes of language they may no doubt suffer change; but the associated strain of sentiment and of music will perhaps survive, while the clear stream sweeps down the vale of Yarrow, or the yellow broom waves on the Cowden-Knowes.

“ The first attempts of Burns in song-writing were not very successful. His habitual inattention to the exactness of rhymes, and to the harmony of numbers, arising probably from the model on which his versification was formed, were faults likely to appear to more disadvantage in this species of composition than in any other; and we may also remark, that the strength of his imagination, and the exuberance of his sensibility, were with difficulty restrained within the limits of gentleness, delicacy, and tenderness, which seemed to be assigned to the love-songs of the nation. Burns was better adapted by nature for following in such compositions the model of the Grecian, than of the Scottish muse. By study and practice he, however, surmounted all these obstacles. In his earlier songs there is some ruggedness; but this gradually dis-

appears in his successive efforts; and some of his latter compositions of this kind may be compared, in polished delicacy, with the finest songs in our language; while in the eloquence of sensibility they surpassed them all.

“ The songs of Burns, like the models he followed and excelled, are often dramatic, and for the greater part amatory; and the beauties of rural nature are every where associated with the passions and emotions of the mind. Disdaining to copy the works of others, he has not, like some poets of great name, admitted into his descriptions exotic imagery. The landscapes he has painted, and the objects with which they are embellished, are, in every single instance, such as are to be found in his own country. In a mountainous region, especially when it is comparatively rude and naked, the most beautiful scenery will always be found in the valleys, and on the banks of the wooded streams. Such scenery is peculiarly interesting at the close of a summer-day. As we advance northward, the number of the days of summer indeed diminishes; but from this cause, as well as from the mildness of the temperature, the attraction of the season increases, and the summer-night becomes still more beautiful. The greater obliquity of the sun's path on the ecliptic prolongs the grateful season of twilight to the midnight hours, and the shades of the evening seem to mingle with the morning's dawn. The rural poets of Scotland, as may be expected, associate in their songs the expressions of passion with the most beautiful of their scenery, in the fairest season of the year, and generally in those hours of the evening

evening when the beauties of nature are most interesting *.

“ To all these adventitious circumstances, on which so much of the effect of poetry depends, great attention is paid by Burns. There is scarcely a single song of his in which particular scenery is not described, or allusions made to natural objects, remarkable for beauty or interest; and though his descriptions are not so full as are sometimes met with in the older Scottish songs, they are in the highest degree appropriate and interesting. Instances in proof of this might be quoted from *the Lea Rig*, *Highland Mary*, *the Soldier's Return*, *Logan Water*; from that beautiful pastoral *Bonny Jean*, and a great number of others. Occasionally the force of his genius carries him beyond the usual boundaries of Scottish song, and the natural objects introduced have more of the character of sublimity. An instance of this kind is noticed by Mr. Syme, and many others might be adduced.

- ‘ Had I a cave on some wild distant shore,
- ‘ Where the winds howl to the wave's dashing roar:

* “ A lady, of whose genius the editor entertains high admiration, (Mrs. Barbauld) has fallen into an error in this respect. In her prefatory address to the works of Collins, speaking of the natural objects that may be employed to give interest to the descriptions of passion, she observes, ‘ they present an inexhaustible variety, from the Song of Solomon, breathing of cassia, myrrh, and cinnamon, to the Gentle Shepherd of Ramsay, whose damsels carry their milking-pails through the frosts and snows of their less genial but not less pastoral country.’ The damsels of Ramsay do not walk in the midst of frost and snow. Almost all the scenes of the Gentle Shepherd are laid in the open air, amidst beautiful natural objects, and at the most genial season of the year. Ramsay introduces all his acts with a prefatory description to assure us of this. The fault of the climate of Britain is not that it does not afford us the beauties of summer, but that the season of such beauties is comparatively short, and even uncertain. There are days and nights, even in the northern division of the island, which equal, or perhaps surpass, what are to be found in the latitude of Sicily or of Greece. Buchanan, when he wrote his exquisite ode to May, felt the charm as well as the transiency of these happy days.

Salve fugacis gloria seculi,
 Salve secunda digna dies nota,
 Salve vetustæ vitæ imago,
 Et specimen venientis ævi!

- ‘ There would I weep my woes,
- ‘ There seek my lost repose,
- ‘ ‘Till grief my eyes should close,
- ‘ Ne’er to wake more.’

“ In one song, the scene of which is laid in a winter-night, the ‘ wan moon’ is described as ‘ setting behind the white waves;’ in another the ‘ storms’ are apostrophized, and commanded to ‘ rest in the cave of their slumbers.’ On several occasions the genius of Burns loses sight entirely of his archetypes, and rises into a strain of uniform sublimity. Instances of this kind appear in *Liberty, a Vision*, and in his two war-songs, *Bruce to his Troops*, and the *Song of Death*. These last are of a description of which we have no other in our language. The martial songs of our nation are not military, but naval. If we were to seek a comparison of these songs of Burns with others of a similar nature, we must have recourse to the poetry of ancient Greece, or of modern Gaul.

“ Burns has made an important addition to the songs of Scotland. In his compositions the poetry equals and sometimes surpasses the music. He has enlarged the po-

etical scenery of his own country. Many of her rivers and mountains, formerly unknown to the muse, are now consecrated by his immortal verse. The Doon, the Lugar, the Ayr, the Nith, and the Cluden—will in future, like the Yar-row, the Tweed, and the Tay, be considered as classical streams, and their borders will be trod with new and superior emotions.

“The greater part of the songs of Burns were written after he removed into the county of Dumfries. Influenced perhaps by habits formed in early life, he usually composed while walking in the open air. When engaged in writing these songs, his favourite walks were on the banks of the Nith or of the Cluden, particularly near the ruins of Lincluden Abbey; and this beautiful scenery he has very happily described under various aspects, as it appears during the softness and serenity of evening, and during the stillness and solemnity of the moon-light night.

“There is no species of poetry, the productions of the drama not excepted, so much calculated to influence the morals, as well as the happiness of a people, as those popular verses which are associated with national airs, and which, being learnt in the years of infancy, make a deep impression on the heart, before the evolution of the powers of the understanding. The compositions of Burns of this kind now presented in a collected form to the world, make a most important addition to the popular songs of his nation. Like all his other writings, they exhibit independence of sentiment; they are peculiarly calculated to increase those ties which bind generous hearts to their native soil, and to the domestic circle of their infancy; and to che-

rish those sensibilities which, under due restriction, form the purest happiness of our nature. If in his unguarded moments he composed some songs on which this praise cannot be bestowed, let us hope that they will speedily be forgotten. In several instances, where Scottish airs were allied to words objectionable in point of delicacy, Burns has substituted others of a purer character. On such occasions, without changing the subject, he has changed the sentiments. A proof of this may be seen in the air, *John Anderson my Joe*, which is now united to words that breathe a strain of conjugal tenderness, that is as highly moral as it is exquisitely affecting.

“Few circumstances could afford a more striking proof of the strength of Burns’ genius than the general circulation of his poems in England, notwithstanding the dialect in which the greater part are written, and which might be supposed to render them here uncouth or obscure. In some instances he has used this dialect on subjects of a sublime nature; but in general he confines it to sentiments or description of a tender or humorous kind; and where he rises into elevation of thought, he assumes a purer English style. The singular faculty he possessed of mingling in the same poem humorous sentiments and descriptions, with imagery of a sublime and terrific nature, enabled him to use this variety of dialect on some occasions with striking effect. His poem of *Tam o’ Shanter* affords an instance of this. There he passes from a scene of the lowest humour, to situations of the most awful and terrible kind. He is a musician that runs from the lowest to the highest of his keys, and the use

use of the Scottish dialect enables him to add two additional notes to the bottom of his scale.

“ Great efforts have been made by the inhabitants of Scotland, of the superior ranks, to approximate in their speech to the pure English standard; and this has made it difficult to write in the Scottish dialect without exciting in them some feelings of disgust, which in England are scarcely felt. An Englishman, who understands the meaning of the Scottish words, is not offended, nay on certain subjects he is perhaps pleased with the rustic dialect, as he may be with the Doric Greek of Theocritus.

“ But a Scotchman inhabiting his own country, if a man of education, and more especially if a literary character, has banished such words from his writings, and has attempted to banish them from his speech; and being accustomed to hear them from the vulgar daily, does not easily admit of their use in poetry, which requires a style elevated and ornamental. A dislike of this kind is, however, accidental, not natural. It is of the species of disgust which we feel at seeing a female of high birth in the dress of a rustic; which, if she be really young and beautiful, a little habit will enable us to overcome. A lady who assumes such a dress puts her beauty indeed to a severer trial. She rejects—she indeed opposes the influence of fashion; she possibly abandons the grace of elegant and flowing drapery; but her native

charms remain, the more striking perhaps because the less adorned; and to these she trusts for fixing her empire on those affections over which fashion has no sway. If she succeeds, a new association arises. The dress of the beautiful rustic becomes itself beautiful, and establishes a new fashion for the young and the gay. And when in after ages the contemplative observer shall view her picture in the gallery that contains the portraits of the beauties of successive centuries, each in the dress of her respective day, her drapery will not deviate more than that of her rivals from the standard of his taste, and he will give the palm to her who excels in the lineaments of nature.

“ Burns wrote professedly for the peasantry of his country, and by them their native dialect is universally relished. To a numerous class of the natives of Scotland of another description it may also be considered as attractive in a different point of view. Estranged from their native soil, and spread over foreign lands, the idiom of their country unites with the sentiments and the descriptions on which it is employed, to recall to their minds the interesting scenes of infancy and youth—to awaken many pleasing, many tender recollections. Literary men, residing at Edinburgh or Aberdeen, cannot judge on this point for one hundred and fifty thousand of their expatriated countrymen*.

* “ These observations are excited by some remarks of respectable correspondents of the description alluded to. This calculation of the number of Scotchmen living out of Scotland is not altogether arbitrary, and it is probably below the truth. It is in some degree founded on the proportion between the number of the sexes in Scotland, as it appears from the invaluable Statistics of Sir John Sinclair.—For Scotchmen of this description more particularly, Burns seems to have written his song beginning *Their groves o' sweet myrtle*, a beautiful strain, which, it may be confidently predicted, will be sung with equal or superior interest on the banks of the Ganges or of the Mississippi, as on those of the Tay or the Tweed.”

“ To the use of the Scottish dialect in one species of poetry, the composition of songs, the taste of the public has been for some time reconciled. The dialect in question excels, as has already been observed, in the copiousness and exactness of its terms for natural objects; and in pastoral or rural songs it gives a Doric simplicity, which is very generally approved. Neither does the regret seem well founded which some persons of taste have expressed, that Burns used this dialect in so many other of his compositions. His declared purpose was to paint the manners of rustic life among his ‘humble compeers;’ and it is not easy to conceive, that this could have been done with equal humour and effect, if he had not adopted their idiom. There are some indeed who will think the subject too low for poetry. Persons of this sickly taste will find their delicacies consulted in many a polite and learned author; let them not seek for gratification in the rough and vigorous lines, in the unbridled humour, or in the overpowering sensibility of this bard of nature.

“ To determine the comparative merit of Burns would be no easy task. Many persons afterwards distinguished in literature have been born in as humble a situation of life; but it would be difficult to find any other, who, while earning his subsistence by daily labour, has written verses which have attracted and retained universal attention, and which are likely to give the author a permanent and distinguished place among the followers of the muses. If he is deficient in grace, he is distinguished for ease, as well as energy; and these are indications of the higher order of genius. The

father of epic poetry exhibits one of his heroes as excelling in strength, another in swiftness—to form his perfect warrior, these attributes are combined. Every species of intellectual superiority admits perhaps of a similar arrangement. One writer excels in force; another in ease—he is superior to them both, in whom these qualities are united. Of Homer himself it may be said, that, like his own Achilles, he surpasses his competitors in mobility as well as strength.

“ The force of Burns lay in the powers of his understanding and in the sensibility of his heart; and these will be found to infuse the living principle into all the works of genius which seem destined to immortality. His sensibility had an uncommon range. He was alive to every species of emotion. He is one of the few poets that can be mentioned, who have at once excelled in humour, in tenderness, and in sublimity; a praise unknown to the ancients, and which in modern times is only due to Ariosto, to Shakespear, and perhaps to Voltaire. To compare the writings of this Scottish peasant with the works of these giants in literature might appear presumptuous; yet it may be asserted, that he has displayed *the foot of Hercules*. How near he might have approached them by proper culture, with lengthened years, and under happier auspices, it is not for us to calculate. But while we run over the melancholy story of his life, it is impossible not to heave a sigh at the asperity of his fortune; and as we survey the records of his mind, it is easy to see, that out of such materials have been reared the fairest and the most durable of the monuments of genius.”

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

ACCOUNT of the PETROLEUM WELLS in the BURMHA DOMINIONS.

[Extracted from a JOURNAL in the Sixth Volume of the ASIATIC RESEARCHES.]

“WIND easterly, sharp and cold, thick fog on the river until after sun-rise, when it evaporated as usual, but soon after collected again, and continued so dense till half past eight A. M. that we could barely see the length of the boat.

“Thermometer at sun rise 52° , at noon 74° , in the evening 69° ; general course of the river north 20° west, main breadth from one to one mile and a half, current about two miles and a half per hour.

“East bank, high, rugged, barren downs, with precipitous cliffs towards the river; of free stone intermixed with strata of quartz, martial ore and red ochre; beach moderately shelving, covered with fragments of quartz, flint, petrifications and red ochre, and with rocky points projecting from it into the river.

“Western bank, a range of low sandy islands covered with a luxuriant growth of reeds. These at present narrow the stream to three quarters, and in some places to half a mile, but are overflowed in the rains; the main bank rather low and sandy, subject to be overflowed; its whole breadth about three miles to the foot of a range of low woody

hills, which, in point of vegetation, form an agreeable contrast to the eastern shore; these hills are bounded to the westward, at the distance of about twenty miles from the river, by an extensive range of high mountains, clothed with wood to their summits.

“At half past ten A. M. came to the lower town of *Rainanghong*, a temple in it of the antique *Hindoo* style of building.

“At noon came to the centre town of *Rainanghong* (literally the town through which flows a river of earth oil), situated on the east bank of the river, in latitude $20^{\circ} 26'$ north, and longitude $94^{\circ} 45' 54''$ east of *Greenwich*. Halted to examine the wells of *Petroleum*.

“The town has but a mean appearance, and several of its temples, of which there are great numbers, falling to ruins; the inhabitants however are well dressed, many of them with gold spiral ear ornaments, and are undoubtedly rich, from the great profit they derive from their oil wells, as will be seen below.

“At two P. M. I set off from my boat, accompanied by the *merothagbee* or zemindar of the district, and several of the merchant pro-

proprietors, to view the wells. Our road led to the E. N. E. through dry beds of loose sand in the water-courses, and over rugged arid downs and hillocks of the same soil as described above; the growth on them consisting of scattered plants of *euphorbium*, the *cassia* tree, which yields the *terra japonica*, commonly called *cutch* or *cut*, and used throughout *India* as a component part of a *beera* of *paun*, also a very durable timber for lining the oil wells, and lastly the hardy *biar* or wild plum common in *Hindustan*.

“The sky was cloudless, so that the sun shone on us with undiminished force; and being also unwell, I walked slowly; and as we were an hour walking to the wells, I therefore conclude they are about three miles distant from the river; those we saw are scattered irregularly about the downs, at no great distance from each other, some perhaps not more than thirty or forty yards. At this particular place we were informed there are one hundred and eighty wells; four or five miles to the N. E. three hundred and forty more.

“In making a well, the hill is cut down so as to form a square table of fourteen or twenty feet for the crown of the well, and from this table a road is formed by scraping away an inclined plane for the drawers to descend, in raising the excavated earth from the well, and subsequently the oil. The shaft is sunk of a square form, and lined, as the miner proceeds, with squares of *cassia*-wood staves; these staves are about six feet long, six inches broad, and two thick; are rudely jointed and pinned at right angles to each other, forming a square frame, about four and a half feet in the clear for the upper-

most ones, but more contracted below. When the miner has pierced six or more feet of the shaft, a series of these square frames are piled on each other, and regularly added to at top; the whole gradually sinking, as he deepens the shaft, and securing him against the falling-in of the sides.

“The soil, or strata to be pierced, is nearly such as I have described the cliffs to be on the margin of the river; that is, first, a light sandy loam intermixed with fragments of quartz, flint, &c.; second, a friable sand-stone, easily wrought, with thin horizontal strata of a concrete of martial ore, talc and indurated argill (the talc has this singularity, it is denticulated, its lamina being perpendicular to the horizontal lamina of the argill on which it is seated) at from ten or fifteen feet from the surface, and from each other, as there are several of these veins in the great body of free stone. Thirdly, at seventy cubits, more or less, from the surface, and immediately below the free stone, a pale blue argillaceous earth (schistus) impregnated with the petroleum, and smelling strongly of it. This they say is very difficult to work, and grows harder as they get deeper, ending in schist or slate, such as found covering veins of coal in *Europe*, &c. Below this schist, at the depth of about 130 cubits, is coal. I procured some, intermixed with sulphur and pyrites, which had been taken from a well deepened a few days before my arrival, but deemed amongst them a rarity, the oil in general flowing at a smaller depth. They were piercing a new well when I was there, had got to the depth of eighty cubits, and expected oil at ten or twenty cubits more.

“The

“The machinery used in drawing up the rubbish, and afterwards the oil from the well, is an axle crossing the centre of the well, resting on two rude-forked stanchions, with a revolving barrel on its centre, like the nave of a wheel, in which is a score for receiving the draw rope; the bucket is of wicker-work, covered with dammer; and the labour of the drawers, in general three men, is facilitated by the descent of the inclined plane, as water is drawn from deep wells in the interior of *Hindustan*.

“To receive the oil, one man is stationed at the brink of the well, who empties the bucket into a channel made on the surface of the earth leading to a sunk jar, from whence it is laded into smaller ones, and immediately carried down to the river, either by coolies or on hackeries.

“When a well grows dry, they deepen it. They say none are abandoned for barrenness. Even the death of a miner, from mephitic air, does not deter others from persisting in deepening them when dry. Two days before my arrival, a man was suffocated in one of the wells, yet they afterwards renewed their attempts, without further accident. I recommended their trying the air with a candle, &c. but seemingly with little effect.

“The oil is drawn pure from the wells, in the liquid state as used, without variation, but in the cold season it congeals in the open air, and always loses something of its fluidity; the temperature of the wells preserving it in a liquid state fit to be drawn. A man who was lowered into a well of 110 cubits, in my presence, and immediately drawn up, perspired copiously at every pore; unfortunately I had no other means of trying the

1800.

temperature. The oil is of a dingy green and odorous; it is used for lamps, and boiled with a little dammer (a resin of the country), for paying the timbers of houses, and the bottoms of boats, &c. which it preserves from decay and vermin; its medicinal properties known to the natives is as a lotion in cutaneous eruptions, and as an embrocation in bruises and rheumatic affections.

“The miners positively assured me no water ever percolates through the earth into the wells, as has been supposed; the rains in this part of the country are seldom heavy, and during this season a roof of thatch is thrown over the wells, the water that falls soon runs off to the river, and what penetrates into the earth is effectually prevented from descending to any great depth by the increasing hardness of the oleaginous argill and schist; this will readily be admitted when it is known that the coal mines at *Whitby* are worked below the harbour, and the roof of the galleries not more than fifty feet from the bed of the sea; the deficiency of rain in this tract may be owing to the high range of mountains to the westward, which range parallel to the river, and arrest the clouds in their passage, as is the case on the eastern side of the peninsula of *India*.

“Solicitous to obtain accurate information on a subject so interesting as this natural source of wealth, I had all the principal proprietors assembled on board my boat, and collected from them the following particulars: the foregoing I learned at the wells from the miners and others.

“I endeavoured to guard against exaggeration, as well as to obviate the caution and reserve which mer-

cantile men in all countries think it necessary to observe, when minutely questioned on subjects affecting their interests, and I have reason to hope my information is not very distant from the truth.

“The property of these wells is in the owners of the soil, natives of the country, and descends to the heirs general as a kind of entailed hereditament, with which it is said government never interferes, and which no distress will induce them to alienate. One family perhaps will possess four or five wells; I heard of none who had more; the generality have less; they are sunk by, and wrought for, the proprietors; the cost of sinking a new well is 2000 tecals flowered silver of the country, or 2500 sicca rupees; and the annual average net profit 1000 tecals or 1250 sicca rupees.

“The contract price with the miners for sinking a well is as follows: for the first forty cubits they have forty tecals, for the next forty cubits three hundred tecals, and beyond these eighty cubits to the oil they have from thirty to fifty tecals per cubit, according to the depth (the *Burmha* cubit is nineteen inches *English*); taking the mean rate of forty tecals per cubit, and one hundred cubits as the general depth at which they come to oil, the remaining twenty cubits will cost 800 tecals, or the whole of the miner's wages for sinking the shaft 1140 tecals; a well of a 100 cubits will require 950 cassia slaves, which, at five tecals per hundred, will cost 47½ tecals. Portage and workmanship, in sitting them, may amount to 100 tecals more; the levelling the hill for the crown of the well, and making the draw road, &c. according to the common rate of labour in the country, will cost about 200 tecals; ropes, &c.

and provisions for the workmen, which are supplied by the proprietor when making a new well; expences of propitiatory sacrifices, and perhaps a signiorage fine to government for permission to sink a new well, consume the remaining 512½ tecals; in deepening an old well they make the best bargain in their power with the miners, who rate their demand per cubit according to its depth and danger from the heats or mephitic air.

“The amount, produce, and wages of the labourers who draw the oil, as stated to me, I suspect was exaggerated or erroneous from misinterpretation on both sides.

“The average produce of each well, per diem, they said, was 500 viss, or 182½ lbs. avoirdupois, and that the labourers earned upwards of eight tecals each per month; but I apprehend this was not meant as the average produce or wages for every day or month throughout the year, as must appear from a further examination of the subject: where facts are dubious, we must endeavour to obtain truth from internal evidence. Each well is worked by four men, and their wages is regulated by the average produce of six days labour, of which they have one sixth, or its value at the rate of one and a quarter tecals per hundred viss, the price of the oil at the wells; the proprietor has an option of paying their sixth in oil, but I understand he pays the value in money; and if so, I think this is as fair a mode of regulating the wages of labour as any where practised; for in proportion as the labourer works he benefits, and gains only as he benefits his employer. He can only do injury by over-working himself, which is not likely to happen to an *Indian*; no provisions are allowed

lowed the oil drawers, but the proprietor supplies the ropes, &c.; and lastly the king's duty is a tenth of the produce.

“ Now supposing a well to yield 500 vifs per diem throughout the year, deducting one sixth for the labourers, and one tenth for the king, there will remain for the proprietor, rejecting fractions, 136, 8-6 vifs, which, at $1\frac{1}{4}$ tecals, the value at the wells, is equal to 1710 tecals per annum. From this sum there is to be deducted only a trifle for draw ropes, &c. for I could not learn that there was any further duties or expence to be charged on the produce; but the merchants say they gain only a neat 1000 tecals per annum for each well; and, as we advance, we shall have reason to think they have given the maximum rather than the minimum of their profits; hence, therefore, we may infer, that the gross amount produce per annum is not 182,500 vifs.

“ Further, the four labourers' share, or one-sixth, deducting the king's tythe, will be 2250 vifs per month of thirty days, or in money at the above price twenty-eight tecals fifty avas, or seven tecals twelve avas each man per month; but the wages of a common labourer in this part of the country, as the same persons informed me, is only five tecals per month when hired from day to day; they also admitted that the labour of the oil drawers was not harder than that of common labourers, and the employment no ways obnoxious to health. To me the smell of the oil was fragrant and grateful; and on being more indirectly questioned (for on this part of the subject, perhaps owing to the minuteness of my inquiries, I observed most reserve), they allowed that their

gain was not much greater than the common labourers of the country; nor is it reasonable to expect it should, for as there is no mystery in drawing of oil, no particular hardships endured, or risk of health, no compulsion or prevention pretended, and as it is the interest of the proprietors to get their work done at the cheapest rate, of course the numbers that would flock to so regular and profitable an employment would soon lower the rate of hire nearly at least to the common wages of the country; besides I observed no appearance of affluence amongst the labourers, they were meanly lodged and clad, and fed coarsely, not on rice, which in the upper provinces is an article of luxury, but on dry grains and indigenous roots of the nature of *cassada*, collected in the wastes by their women and children: further, it is not reasonable to suppose that these labourers worked constantly, nature always requires a respite, and will be obeyed, however much the desire of gain may stimulate, and this cause must more particularly operate in warm climates to produce what we often improperly call indolence. Even the rigid Cato emphatically says, that the man who has not time to be idle is a slave. A due consideration of this physical and moral necessity ought perhaps to vindicate religious legislators from the reproaches too liberally bestowed on them for sanctioning relaxation: be that as it may, I think it is sufficiently apparent that the article of wages is also exaggerated, and that 500 vifs must only be considered as the amount produce of working days, and not an average for every day in the year. The labour of the miners, as I have observed above, is altogether distinct from the oil drawers,

and their pay proportioned to the hardships and risks they endure.

“Assuming therefore as data the acknowledged profit of 1000 tecals per annum for each well, which we can hardly suppose exaggerated, as it would expose the proprietors to an additional tax, and the common wages of precarious employment in the country, that is one month with another, including holy-days the year round, four and a quarter tecals per month as the pay of the oil drawers, which includes the two extremes of the question, it will make the average produce of each well per diem 300 vifs or 109,500 vifs per annum, equal to 399,675 lbs. avoirdupois, or tons 178,955 lbs. or in liquid measure 793 hogsheds of sixty-three gallons each; and as there are 520 wells registered by government, the gross amount produce of the whole per annum will be 56,940,000 vifs or 92,781 tons 1560 lbs. or 412,360 hogsheds, worth at the wells, at one and a quarter tecals per hundred vifs, 711,750 tecals or 889,737 sicca rupees.

“From the wells, the oil is carried in small jars, by cooleys, or on carts, to the river; where it is delivered to the merchant exporter at two tecals per hundred vifs, the value being enhanced three-eighths by the expence and risk of portage; therefore the gross value or profit to the country of the whole, deducting five per cent for wastage, may be stated at 1,081,860 tecals, or 1,362,325 sicca rupees per annum, yielding a direct revenue to the king of 136,232 sicca rupees

per annum, and perhaps thrice as much more before it reaches the consumer; besides the benefit the whole country must derive from the productive industry called into action by the constant employment of so large a capital on so gruff an article. There were between seventy and eighty boats, average burthen sixty tons each, loading oil at the several wharfs, and others constantly coming and going while I was there. A number of boats and men also find constant employment in providing the pots, &c. for the oil, and the extent of this single branch of internal commerce (for almost the whole is consumed in the country) will serve to give some insight into the internal commerce and resources of the country.

“At the wells the price of the oil is seven annas seven pies per 112 lbs. avoirdupois; at the port of *Ranghong* it is sold at the average rate of three sicca rupees three annas and six pies per cwt. or per hogsheds of sixty-three gallons, weighing 504 lbs. fourteen rupees seven annas nine pies, exclusive of the cask, or per *Bengal* buzar maund two rupees five annas eight pies, whereas the mustard seed and other vegetable oils sell at *Ranghong* at eleven rupees per buzar maund.

“To conclude, this oil is a genuine petroleum, possessing all the properties of coal tar, being in fact the self same thing; the only difference is, that nature elaborates in the bowels of the earth that for the *Burmhas* for which *European* nations are obliged to the ingenuity of lord Dundonald.”

On the POISON of SERPENTS, by W. BOAG, Esq.

[From the same Work.]

“ § 1. **I** Propose, in this paper, to make some inquiry into the nature of the poison of the serpent, and to ascertain, as far as I am able, the most successful method of removing the disease it produces.

“ Whether the principles I shall endeavour to establish will be admitted as satisfactory, or sanctioned by future and more extensive experience, I cannot pretend to determine; but the discussion cannot be altogether destitute of utility in this climate, where serpents are much more numerous, and much more dangerous than in *Europe*.

“ I shall begin by observing, that by far the greatest number of serpents are not venomous. In the 13th edition of the *Systema Naturæ*, published by professor Gmelin, we find a list of two hundred and nineteen different kinds of snakes; and Linnæus informs us, that about one in ten only are poisonous; we also know it to be true, that many snakes which possess a poisonous quality are not mortal to man, though they may be destructive to smaller animals.

“ It would be a desirable thing to be able to ascertain, from the appearance of a snake, whether it be venomous or not; but these animals so nearly resemble one another, that it is impossible, without great experience, to distinguish them. The skin on the belly and tail of serpents is composed of scales, which vary, in number and arrangement, in different serpents. Upon this circumstance Linnæus has founded his division of the serpent tribe into six distinct genera. But this division, however useful it

may be to the naturalist, is of little use to the physician, who is desirous of distinguishing the harmless from the venomous serpent: the colour, which is most commonly attended to, is a very fallacious mark, for it commonly changes with age: a serpent with a large head is generally suspected to be venomous; but the mark which is chiefly to be depended on is the large canine teeth, or fangs, fixed in the upper jaw, which are commonly two in number, but sometimes more. These teeth are covered with a membranous sheath, and are crooked, moveable, and hollow, to give passage to the venom, which they receive from a small reservoir, that runs along the palate of the mouth, and passes through the body of each fang. This reservoir contains but a very small quantity of venom, which is forced out of it when the animal attempts to bite, by a strong muscle fixed to the upper jaw, and that covers it nearly through the whole of its length. This is the means of defence given to serpents: it has been well observed by Linnæus, that if nature has thrown them naked on the ground, destitute of limbs, and exposed to every injury, she has in return supplied them with a deadly poison, the most terrible of all weapons, and which has made them, from the earliest ages, to be regarded as objects of horror, or of religious veneration, by the human race.

“ § 2. The symptoms which arise from the bite of a serpent are commonly pain, swelling, and redness in the part bitten; great faintness, with sickness at stomach, and some-

times vomiting, succeed; the breathing becomes short and laborious, the pulse low, quick, and interrupted; the wound, which was at first red, becomes livid, black, and gangrenous; the skin of the wounded limb, and sometimes of the whole body, takes a yellow hue; cold sweats and convulsions come on, and the patient sinks, sometimes in a few hours, but commonly at the end of two, three, or four days.

“ This is the usual progress when the disease terminates fatally, but happily the patient will most commonly recover—a reflection which should moderate the fears of those who happen to be bitten by snakes, and which at any rate should, as much as possible, be resisted, as the depressing passion of fear will, in all cases, assist the operation of the poison.

“ We read in authors that the bite of some snakes produces symptoms peculiar to themselves*. The asp is said to produce an universal torpor and lethargy without pain: for this reason we are told, Cleopatra, the celebrated queen of *Egypt*, preferred a death inflicted by the bite of this animal to any other. This is a fact concerning which historians may differ; but it appears certain, from some cases related by captain Gowdie, in Dr. Russel's late splendid publication, and by other writers, that the bite of serpents will in this manner sometimes produce death. Lucan, in his *Pharsalia*, mentions a variety of serpents that infested the *Roman* army in its march over the *Lybian* desert, and he distinguishes them by the various symptoms they produced. But the dreadful catalogue

given by Lucan should rather be considered as poetical embellishments than historical facts; and whatever truth may be in this variety of symptoms, it is infinitely of more importance to know, that the nature of the venom is the same in all of them, and consequently to be removed by the same means: this opinion appears to be just and natural, though it may not admit of any direct proof. It has uniformly been observed, that even the same serpent possesses very different degrees of power in his bite, according to the season of the year, and other circumstances: this is beautifully touched upon by Virgil, when speaking of a serpent that was, in his time, common in *Italy*.

‘ Postquam exhausta palus, terræque ardore
dehiscunt,
Exiit in siccum, et flammantia lumina
torquens
Sæviti agris, asperque fœti, atque exterritus
æstu.
Ne mihi tum molles sub dio carpere
somnos,
Nec dorso nemoris libeat jacuisse per
herbas:
Cum positis novus exuviis, nitidusque
juventa
Volvitur, aut catulos tectis, aut ova re-
linquens
Arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore
trifurcis.’

VIRG. GEORG. lib. 3.

“ § 3. We are now to inquire in what manner the venom produces such fatal effects upon the human body. This it will be admitted is a very interesting question, and has given rise to a great variety of opinions, but, after all, no subject seems to be less understood. Ancient writers have offered a variety of crude conjectures, which have

“ Heritipandel, Malabarensium coluber, ictu corrumpit carnes totius corporis humani, ut putrescant, decidant, et post mille tormenta, moriatur vulneratus. Parata tamen huic malo medela est in Antididymæ decocto aquoso, copiosius hausto.—*Amœnitat. Académ. vol. i. p. iii.*”

deservedly

deservedly been forgotten; they, however, made one important observation, 'that the poison produced its effects in consequence of a wound, and through the medium of the blood.' Upon this view of the disease, the whole of their practice was founded; it was the object of all their applications, as expressed by Celsus, 'quo plus vitati jam sanguinis extrahatur.' This opinion, however, did not continue to be maintained; later physicians, supported by the respectable authority of Dr. Mead, observing how quickly death sometimes follows the bites of serpents, concluded that the venom could act through the medium of the nerves only. This is one of those vague conjectures which, at one time or another, has served to obstruct the progress of every science, and which owes its reputation to a sort of readiness in explaining every thing, because it can explain nothing in an intelligible manner. The celebrated *Italian* naturalist, Fontana, has freed us from this difficulty, by demonstrating, from a great variety of experiments on different animals, that the venom of the viper is perfectly innocent when applied to the nerves only; that it produces in them no sensible change, and that they are incapable of conveying the poison to the animal. On the other hand, he has shown in a very distinct manner, that it acts immediately upon the blood; that through the medium of this fluid it destroys the irritability of the muscular fibres, and produces death. Neither is it difficult, upon this view of the subject, to understand how the poison

may sometimes produce very sudden death; for if this active matter happen to be thrown immediately into a large vein running along the surface of the body, it will more readily be carried to the vital parts, and may render the use of the most powerful remedies ineffectual.

"The ground being so far cleared, the question now occurs, what is the peculiar quality in the venom, which enables it to produce such direful effects? Till we can answer this question in a satisfactory manner, it is evident that the practice in this disease must be guided by chance, and we can entertain no rational hope of correcting the poison. It is not many years since this subject seemed to be covered with an impenetrable veil; and Fontana, among all his reasonings upon the poison of the viper, does not once attempt to remove it. It is therefore an agreeable reflection, that the rapid progress which chemistry has made of late years enables us to enter upon this part of the subject with some degree of confidence; and if it should be thought I have failed in determining this question with sufficient precision, the view here taken of the subject may not be altogether destitute of use. It is an opinion at least as old as Pliny *, that the blood is a living fluid; but it was reserved for the late celebrated physiologist, Mr. John Hunter, to place this opinion among the number of those truths that can no longer be disputed. How the life of this fluid begins, and in what the living principle itself consists, are matters concerning which we shall probably remain for ever ignorant; but it

* In treating on the blood, he observes—'Magna et in eo vitalitatis portio. Emissus spiritum secum trahit, tamen tactum non sentit.'

"PLIN. *Secund. Nat. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 38.*"

has been established beyond all controversy, that the life of the blood immediately depends upon the action of the atmospheric air, to which it is exposed in its passage through the lungs. The human heart, and in general the heart of all animals with warm blood, has two cavities or ventricles; and the blood, before it is returned to the right ventricle of the heart, has performed two circles, a lesser between the heart and the lungs, and a larger between the heart and the rest of the body. While the blood passes through the lungs, it undergoes a very remarkable change in its colour, and other properties: a certain portion of the atmospheric air is attracted and absorbed, while the remainder carries off by expiration that matter in the blood which is either useless or noxious to the body. The atmosphere we live in, it is now well known, is a compound fluid, one-fourth part of which is called pure or oxygen air, and the remainder, and larger portion, noxious or azotic air; but it is the former part only which is attracted by the blood as it passes through the lungs, and contributes to the support of animal life, from whence also *the red colour of the blood, and the heat of animals is derived.* Independently of the direct proofs of these facts afforded by chemical experiments, they admit of further illustration from serpents themselves. The heart of serpents, and all other cold blooded animals, has but one cavity, and the blood performs but one circuit round the body, so that a small portion only passes through the lungs; hence little of their blood is exposed to the action of the atmosphere, it is therefore but little loaded with oxygen, it is not

of so high a colour, and the heat of their bodies is less.

“ These fundamental truths have already given a new appearance to the theory and practice of medicine, and they now lead me to conjecture that the poison of serpents acts upon the blood by attracting the oxygen which it receives from the atmosphere in its passage through the lungs, and upon which its vitality depends.

“ In support of this opinion, I would adduce the following arguments:

“ 1. Man and other warm blooded animals, exposed to an atmosphere deprived of oxygen, quickly expire. The poison of a serpent, when introduced into the blood, also causes death; but carried into circulation by a wound, and in very small quantity, its operation is comparatively slow and gradual.

“ 2. The appearances on dissection, in both cases, are very similar. The blood becomes of a darker hue, and coagulates about the heart and larger vessels; the irritability of the fibres are nearly to the same degree destroyed, and the body has a strong tendency, in both instances, to putrescency.

“ 3. Doctor Mead mixed the venom of the viper and healthy blood together out of the body, and he did not perceive that it produced any change in its appearance: this arose from his mixing a small quantity of the venom with a large quantity of the blood; but if two or three drops of venom be mixed with forty, or fifty drops of blood, it immediately loses its vermillion colour, becomes black, and incapable of coagulation.

“ 4. It is a very remarkable circumstance, that the poison of the serpent has most power over those animals

animals whose blood is the warmest, and the action of whose heart is the most lively : while on the contrary, it is not a poison to the serpent itself, nor in general to cold blooded animals. The reason appears to be this : cold blooded animals do not require a large quantity of oxygen to preserve them in health ; this is evident from the conformation of their heart, and respiratory organs, as already mentioned. It does not however follow, that no quantity of the venom would destroy them, for it is also evident from their possessing respiratory organs of any kind, that a certain quantity of oxygen is absolutely necessary, and hence we know that some of them, such as frogs, may be killed by the venom, though it always produces its effects more slowly upon them than upon animals with warm blood.

“ Having thus endeavoured to ascertain the method in which the poison operates, it may now be asked, what substance can it be that so strongly attracts the oxygen of the blood ? The venom is inodorous and insipid : contrary to the opinion of Dr. Mead, it is neither sharp nor fiery, for it has scarcely any perceptible taste ; it has the appearance and sensible properties of an animal mucus, but this mucus is evidently a vehicle to some very active matter : on this subject it would not be difficult to conjecture, but as in the present state of our knowledge no conjecture we could offer could be established upon any satisfactory grounds, we shall leave this part of the subject for future investigation.

“ § 4. We now proceed to enquire into the most successful method of curing the disease which

the poison produces ; and this part of the subject will, we hope, afford an additional proof, that the view here taken of the operation of the poison is most probably a just one.

“ It would be an endless and unprofitable task to enumerate all the remedies which have been imposed upon the credulity of mankind, as specifics against the poison of serpents ; they have been obtained from all the kingdoms of nature ; and there is no country, however rude and barbarous, where the inhabitants have not boasted of some specific peculiar to themselves. The ancient physicians highly extolled various preparations of the viper itself as a remedy in this disease : it would have been a fortunate circumstance if the same animal that produced the poison should also have afforded an antidote to destroy it. Human saliva, as we are informed by Seneca, and the elder Pliny, was believed to be a powerful remedy for the bite of a viper. The *Psylli* and *Marfi*, in ancient times, pretended to possess some charm in their persons destructive to the poison of serpents ; and we are told by Mr. Bruce, that a set of men still exist in Egypt, who will suffer themselves to be bitten, and with impunity, by the most venomous serpents in that country, whose bite would be to others certain and speedy death. A great variety of vegetables have been celebrated in different countries for the bite of the serpent, and none more highly than the root of the *opbirrhiza mungos*, Linn. concerning which Kæmpfer relates very surprising effects. It is chiefly used for the bite of the *cobra de capello*, (*coluber naja*, Linn.) by the natives of this country ; and it would appear that they place great confidence

confidence in it*. In America, also, a variety of snake-roots have been discovered, and other vegetable remedies, which seem in general to unite the two qualities of warmth and bitterness; and it is very probable that, by rousing the vital functions, they may be of some use in assisting nature to resist the deadening operation of the poison.

“ The volatile alkali is the remedy most commonly employed by physicians, both in this country and in Europe; but the belief which formerly prevailed, that it possessed some specific power which corrected the poison, seems to be now very generally relinquished †; and it is now acknowledged to have no other action than that ascribed to it by Mr. Williams, of stimulating the heart and vascular system to a more vigorous exertion.

“ The calces, or, as they are more properly called, the oxyds of some metals, as arsenic, mercury, and silver, have been made use of, the efficacy of which, as remedies in this disease, merit a more attentive consideration.

“ Arsenic has long been employed by the natives of this country, since it forms the principal ingredient in what is called the *Tanjore* pill. The little experience collected

by Europeans does not enable us to form any very exact judgment respecting it. The remedy itself produces very violent effects; and, if used with any freedom, might occasion death. It is therefore difficult to distinguish the effects of the remedy from the symptoms of the disease: it should probably be employed in desperate cases only, and where no other powerful remedy can be procured. For though it may be very well adapted to counteract the poison, yet I think it neither so safe, nor so efficacious, as other remedies which are now to be mentioned.

“ The preparations of mercury, so far as I can judge from the limited opportunities I have of collecting information from books, seem also to have been but little used in this disease; although mercury is a remedy from which I think much benefit might be expected. I find in the *Systema Naturæ* the following observation on the *coluber rhedi*, Linn. ‘*Morsu celerrime lethalis, nisi mercurii solutione gummosa, et gentianæ decocto succurritur ægro.*’—If mercury should ever come into use in this disease, it should certainly be employed in a more effectual manner than is commonly practised; and if we are right in asserting that the nature of the poison is

“ * A particular description of this plant will be found in the second volume of the *Amoenitat. Academica*. In the 4th volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, sir William Jones describes a plant under the name of *chandraca*, which, from the quality ascribed to it by the Bengal peasants, of curing animals bitten by snakes, he conjectures may be the same. There seems to be much obscurity among authors in their accounts of this plant, which sufficiently justifies the conjecture of sir William Jones. It is named by different writers, *rametul*, *nagharwalli*, *ekarverya*, *cajular*. I took some pains to inquire, among the natives, for this root. A specimen was brought me, by a snake doctor, which corresponded to the description given of it by Kæmpfer. He named it *nagharwalli*: he said when a person was bit by the *cobra de capello*, the piece of it was rubbed upon the eye-lids, lips, and tongue, that it produced sickness and vomiting, but had no effect upon those who were not bitten. I chewed some of it; it was bitter and aromatic.”

“ † *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II.”

the same in all serpents, the observation of Linnæus respecting the *coluber rhedi* will, with some limitation, apply to them all.

“ We are indebted to Fontana for any knowledge we possess on the use of the lunar caustic, which is a preparation of silver in the nitric acid; and considering the length of time that has elapsed since his publication, and the advantages resulting from its use, it is wonderful it has not excited more general attention.

“ I shall comprize the result of Fontana’s experiments on this substance in a few words. He first mixed the venom with the lunar caustic, applied this mixture to a wound, and found that the venom was rendered entirely innocent while the corroding power of the caustic was diminished. He next wounded a variety of animals with venomous teeth, scarified the wounds, and washed them with a solution of lunar caustic in water: by this means the life of the greatest number of the animals was saved, though they were such as he knew to be most easily killed by the poison, and the death of others was retarded. He also tried a weak solution of the same remedy internally with remarkable success; and upon the whole he congratulates himself in seeing his labours at length rewarded by the discovery of a true specific remedy for the bite of the serpent.

“ Fontana was led to the use of this remedy by no previous theory; for neither before nor after his discovery does he attempt to account for its effects; and the infinite variety of his experiments, as well as

the fidelity and accuracy with which he relates them, entitle him to our confidence and praise.

“ I am now to explain in what manner the successful use of these substances supports the principles we have been endeavouring to establish; and here again I am under the necessity of assuming some facts which are established and indisputable.

“ 1. Oxygen enters into the composition of all acids, and is the principle, as its name imports, upon which their acidity depends.

“ 2. Metals are united with oxygen under various circumstances, but chiefly in two ways: the first is by burning them in an open fire, or, to speak more correctly, by the contact of heat and air, when they are converted into metallic oxyds: the second, by the decomposition of acids, when they form compound salts.

“ 3. Oxygen is attracted by different metals with different degrees of force. Those which attract it with the least force are the perfect metals, as platina, gold, silver: hence they cannot be converted into an oxyd by exposure to heat and air, except in very high temperature. After them comes mercury, and, after it, the imperfect and semi-metals: these last, of which arsenic is one, for the most part attract oxygen strongly, and are generally found united with it under various forms in the bowels of the earth*.

“ Oxygen, we have already observed, is a principle which enters into the composition of the blood, and performs a very important part in the animal œcono-

* I am very sensible that the terms perfect, imperfect, and semi-metals are improper; for all metals are equally perfect of their kind; but I have complied with the common terms, that I might the more readily be understood.”

my. It must also be evident that the blood may be more or less loaded with this principle, and that disease may be produced, either by too great or by too small a quantity being present in the circulating mass. We have already said that the disease produced by the bite of a serpent arises from the subtraction of oxygen from the blood; the indication of cure must therefore be, to supply this oxygen, which we suppose to be withdrawn. The most obvious method of accomplishing this will be to employ such substances as are known to contain oxygen in the greatest abundance, and to part with it with the greatest facility. This is precisely the character of the lunar caustic, which is made by dissolving silver in the nitric acid, and afterwards evaporating and crystallising the solution. The composition of the nitric acid is also accurately ascertained; it differs from the common nitrous acid of the shops, by containing a greater quantity of oxygen, and in a singularly loose form; so that if our reasoning upon the poison of the serpent be in any degree correct, no medicine would appear to be better calculated than this to obviate its effects.

“ The application of the foregoing principles will explain the probable efficacy of the different metallic preparations we have just spoken of, which will be connected with the order of their attraction for oxygen, and the quantity they contain; it will also lead us further to improve and perfect the practice: for whenever a person is bitten by a serpent, and danger is apprehended, every means should be employed, which human inge-

nunity has discovered, of speedily oxygenating the system.

“ Whether the same method might not be applicable to the diseases arising from some other animal poisons is a subject which remains for experience to determine. There is great reason to believe that the venereal poison is removed by this method *, and it is not improbable that the same practice might be successful in the *rabies canina*. This disease, however, very seldom makes its appearance in this part of India, although it is mentioned, by the natives, as not a very uncommon disease at Poonah. I lately attended in this place, with Mr. Scott, a man who had been bit by a dog, and who was supposed to have some symptoms of this disease: we suspected at first, and were soon convinced, that the whole was imaginary, for the man, without any assistance, quickly recovered: and this is the only instance I have had an opportunity of seeing in India.

“ I shall conclude this paper, by giving a connected view of what appears to be the most adviseable method of treating the bite of a serpent which is apprehended to be venomous. This obviously divides itself into the external treatment of the wound, and the internal use of medicines, to counteract the action of the poison in the blood.

“ The *Psylli*, as already mentioned, possessed a high reputation for curing the bites of serpents; but their whole method, when stripped of mystery and fable, consisted in sucking the wound. This practice is recommended in strong terms by Celsus, who observes, that it is not

* I refer here to a paper published by Mr. Scott, on the nitric acid.”

only harmless to the person who sucks the wound, but will save the life of the person wounded: 'ergo quiscuis id vulnus exfluxerit, et ipse tutus erit, et tutum hominem præstabit.' Though I would not be so sanguine in the success of this practice, yet, as giving one chance to escape, it ought not to be omitted. A ligature should, as soon as possible, be tied above the part bitten, so as to impede but not entirely to stop the circulation of the blood, for the bite of a serpent is for the most part superficial, and the poison is carried into circulation by the smaller vessels on the surface. The wound should next be scarified, and washed with a solution of the lunar caustic in water: I would prefer, for this purpose, a weak solution, because it may be used more freely, and frequently repeated. The same medicine should also be given internally, and repeated, at intervals, as circumstances might point out. The foregoing reasoning upon this medicine induced me, some months ago, to make trial of it internally, in a different disease; this, therefore, is not the place to state the result of these trials; but it is proper to mention that I know, from repeated experience, it may be taken, two or three times in the day, in the quantity of half a grain dissolved in two ounces of pure water*, and its use persisted in, for several days, with great safety. The principal effects it produces are a heat in the stomach and breast, and, after a time, a tenderness in the gums, and a disposition to bleed, but without that swelling

and pain attending the use of the oxyds of mercury.

To these means might be added (especially if the symptoms that may have come on are not materially relieved) a warm bath acidulated with the nitric acid. In this bath, which should be made sufficiently strong to produce a very sensible irritation on the skin, the wounded limb, and a great part of the body, might be placed for half an hour, and repeated as circumstances might direct. We are informed by Fontana, that he found a bath of very warm water exceedingly useful; he says that it lessened the pain, abated the inflammation, and the part bitten did not become so livid and changed. I apprehend that the moderate addition of the nitric acid to this bath would be a great improvement: it has been made use of successfully in this place, by Mr. Scott, in some cases of *lues venerea*, and I have used it in some bad sores, in this country, with great effect.

" There are a variety of other methods of oxygenating the blood, but all of them may not be so well adapted to remove the disease, nor of such easy application and attainment. I should hope, if the foregoing plan be diligently pursued, it would, in almost every instance, be sufficient to effect a cure. The blood may be oxygenated through the medium of the lungs, either by exposing the patient to an atmosphere loaded with nitric vapours, in the manner recommended by Dr. Charmichael Smyth in contagious diseases†, or a more highly oxygenated atmosphere

* The water should be distilled, or at least it should be rain water, otherwise the lunar caustic will be in part decomposed, which will be evident by a white cloud forming in the solution."

† It may be proper to remark, that at the time Dr. C. Smyth made the experiments above

sphere might be breathed by means of a pneumatic apparatus, adapted for the purpose, as recommended by Dr. Beddoes.

“ But as this paper has already extended to a greater length than I at first intended, I content myself with barely mentioning these methods, and must refer to the authors themselves for a particular account of the practice here alluded to.

“ I hope I have said enough, to shew that the principles I have attempted to establish are at least supported by probability, that the method here proposed has already been sanctioned by a more certain experience than any other, and that it affords the most likely means of counteracting the deadly poison of the serpent tribe.

“ It is, however, to experience alone we must trust for the ultimate decision upon this subject; and to whatever conclusion this may lead us, I shall most willingly follow; professing myself much more anxious for the discovery of truth, than for the support of any of the opinions stated in this paper. I shall think myself sufficiently happy if this essay should in any way tend to elucidate a subject as important as it is obscure.”

“ *Supplement to the foregoing Paper.*

“ HAVING at length succeeded in procuring a snake with the venomous teeth and poison bag entire, but which are commonly extracted in those serpents which the natives carry about with them, I resolved to make some experiments with it.

The snake I had procured was a large *cobra de capello* (*coluber naja*,

Linn.) and which is generally represented to be the most venomous of all serpents.

“ EXPERIMENT I. I was, in the first place, desirous of ascertaining the power of the venom: for this purpose, the snake was made to bite a young dog in the hind leg, and for which no medicine, either internal or external, was made use of. The dog, upon being bit, howled violently for a few minutes; the wounded limb soon became paralytic; in ten minutes the dog lay senseless and convulsed; in thirteen minutes he was dead.

“ II. A dog of a smaller size, and younger, was now bitten in the hind leg, when he was instantly plunged into a warm nitric bath, previously prepared for the purpose: as soon as possible after he was in the bath, the wound was slightly scarified, and a weak solution of lunar caustic in water was poured down his throat: but the symptoms made the same progress as in the first experiment, and the dog died in the same time.

“ Upon opening these two dogs, about half an hour after death, the blood in the heart, and in the larger vessels, was of a dark colour, in a fluid state, and did not coagulate on exposure to the atmosphere.

“ III. After the interval of one day, the same snake was again brought, and made to bite a young puppy in the hind leg; but above the part to be bitten I had previously tied a ligature: immediately after he was bitten the wound was scarified, and washed with a solution of lunar caustic. The dog did not appear to feel any other injury than what might arise from

above alluded to, he was not sufficiently acquainted with the materials he was using to draw the proper conclusions from them: this, however, cannot affect the utility of the practice he recommends.”

the ligature round his leg; half an hour after he was bitten, the ligature and dressing, which consisted of lint dipped in the solution of lunar caustic, were removed. The dog soon began to sink, gradually lost the use of his limbs, breathed quick, was convulsed, and died in half an hour more. On opening this dog, the blood coagulated readily on being emptied from the vessels.

“IV. Another dog was now bitten in the hind leg, and immediately after a ligature was applied, as in the preceding experiment: the wound was scarified and washed as before, and for two hours the dog continued lively and well, when the ligature was removed.

“V. Another puppy having been bit in the same place, the wound was simply scarified, and washed with a solution of the lunar caustic, and for two hours the animal continued free from disease. In these two last experiments the dogs were very young, and fed by their mother's milk: at the expiration of the time mentioned, they were carried to her, but she avoided them, and they both died in the course of the day.

“VI. Observing, in the last experiments, that the venom was probably weakened by use, I waited for two days, and resolved to try its effects a second time where no medicine was made use of. A dog was accordingly bitten by the same snake in the hind leg in the usual manner, and in twenty minutes he was dead. It is however worthy of notice, that though the mortal progress of the poison was as certain as before, it did not now appear to produce any pain, the animal did not howl upon being bit, but gradually sunk and died. The blood of this dog continued also in a

fluid state, and was of a dark colour.

“VII. A second dog being now bit, the wound was scarified and washed with a solution of lunar caustic, and the same medicine given in small quantities internally, and repeated at intervals. The dog appeared to be but little affected for about half an hour, when he vomited violently for several times, gradually sunk, and died at the expiration of an hour. The blood in this dog coagulated after death.

“VIII. A third dog being bit in the same manner, the wound was washed with a volatile alkaline spirit, and the same medicine given internally, diluted with water, and repeated at intervals. This dog was in a short time convulsed; vomited several times, and then seemed to revive; but he soon relapsed, and in three hours he was dead. This dog was not opened.

“IX. After the interval of two days the same snake was brought; and as the volatile alkali appeared to have been of some use in the last experiment, it was determined to try it first: and this experiment, as well as several of those already related, was conducted by my friend Dr. Moir with attention and accuracy. A dog was accordingly bitten in the usual place, and the volatile alkali given as in the preceding experiment: the dog was dead in eighteen minutes.

“X. To a dog bitten in the same place, immediately after the former, that we might have the means of ascertaining the effects of the remedy, nothing was given: he died in eighteen minutes.

“XI. Observing in the seventh volume of the Medical Facts published by Dr. Simmons, that Cayenne pepper was a powerful remedy for a vegetable poison obtained from the

the roots of the *jatropha manihot*, or bitter *cassada*, I determined to make trial of it. To a dog bitten in the usual manner, five grain pills of the pepper were given, and the wounded limb was washed with an infusion of it in warm water. These pills had been repeated four times in the space of an hour, when the dog died.

“ XII. A young puppy was now bitten in the ear, and exactly half a minute after the ear was cut off. The wound made by the knife bled freely. The dog continued lively for some time, but in half an hour he began to droop, and in half an hour more died. It is observed by Fontana, and he sufficiently well accounts for it, that, on biting the ears of animals, a drop of venom collects on the ear, at the hole made by the tooth: this was very remarkable in the experiment now related: a quantity of venom, like a large drop of yellow serum, collected on the ear, and trickled to the ground.

“ It may be proper in general to observe, that in all these experiments the part bitten did not swell nor inflame, a livid mark could be distinguished where the tooth entered, but could be traced only for a very little way. When the wounds were scarified, they bled little or none at all; but before death they commonly bled freely, and the scarifications were exceedingly discoloured.

“ In all the dogs which were opened, the blood was found to be in a fluid state. Upon examining, after death, those animals which died by the poison of the viper, the abbé Fontana commonly observes, that he found the blood coagulated about the heart and

larger vessels. My experience has not confirmed this observation, which I attribute to the great difference in point of strength possessed by the venom of the snake made use of in the preceding experiments. In those cases where the poison acted rapidly, the blood, when emptied from the vessels, shewed no disposition to coagulate, and seemed to be of a darker colour than natural: but in those cases where the animals died more slowly, the blood readily coagulated on exposure to the atmosphere. It is not foreign to the present subject to observe, that while the poison of serpents in mingling with the blood has a strong tendency to prevent its coagulation, it on the contrary more readily coagulates in those animals who have breathed pure oxygen air *.

“ These experiments will perhaps serve little other purpose than to prove the quick and destructive operation of the poison of this kind of serpent, and of the inefficacy of the most celebrated remedies which have been hitherto discovered. It is certain, however, that upon larger animals the progress would have been neither so rapid nor destructive; and upon the human body it is also probable that remedies might have been employed with greater success: for the delicacy of the human skin is very great, and the absorption of any remedy that might be applied to it extensive and speedy. Dogs, we are told, do not perspire; and it is probable that there exists much correspondence between the powers of absorption and perspiration.

“ The little success attending the use of the lunar caustic in these

* “ Beddoes on Facitious Airs.”

experiments, affords a sufficiently convincing proof, that the snakes made use of by the abbé Fontana, and the one made use of by me, possess very different degrees of strength in their venom: there are one or two experiments where this remedy appeared to be used with some effect; but I imputed it to the weakened power of the venom by use; and I am fully convinced that the poison of this kind of serpent, when it is in full vigour, is so certainly and rapidly destructive, at least to small animals, that neither the lunar caustic, nor probably any other remedy, would arrest its progress. It appears that even the delay of half a minute in cutting off the ear that was bitten was fatal to the animal; and it is scarcely possible that, to a person bitten by a snake, any kind of remedy could be applied in a shorter time. No experiment could be better calculated than this, last to show the power of the venom of this kind of serpent; for Fontana observes,

that it is very difficult to kill either dogs or rabbits when bitten in the ears; and out of all the experiments he makes upon the ears of these animals, and where no attempt was made to relieve them, none of them died.

“ I am therefore still of opinion, that the method of cure mentioned in the foregoing paper is the most rational, and the most likely to succeed in preventing death, as well as the other bad consequences which sometimes follow the bite of a serpent that is not mortal. In the use of the nitric acid bath I should have much confidence: and this confidence arises from a greater experience of its powerful influence upon the human body in different diseases: this experience will soon be communicated to the public by my friend Mr. Scott, whose labours in the application of a most powerful and useful agent in medicine, and especially useful as applied to the inhabitants of warm climates, merit the greatest praise.”

On the USE of OIL in the PLAGUE.

[From MEMOIRS relative to EGYPT, &c. by the learned and scientific MEN who accompanied the FRENCH EXPEDITION.]

“ A SERIES of observations and reasonings led George Baldwin, the British consul at Alexandria, to believe that friction of the bodies of persons exposed to the plague, with lukewarm oil of olives, would be not only a preservative against, but an efficacious mean of removing, that malady. In order to bring his opinion to the test of experiment, he imparted it to Father Louis of Pavia, who had superintended the hospital of
1800.

Smyrna for seven and twenty years, requesting him to make a trial of this remedy: and that priest observed that, of all the means against the plague, employed under his inspection, this was the most useful.

“ From the trials made of this remedy, there resulted a series of directions on the manner of administering it, and of the regimen to be observed during the time.

“ It is not sufficient barely to anoint the whole body with oil:
L it

it must also be strongly rubbed with it; and hence the word friction has been preferred to unction.

“The friction ought to be made with a clean sponge, and a motion so quick, that it may be over in three minutes. It should be made only once, on the day when the disease makes its appearance.

“If the perspiration be not abundant, the frictions must be repeated till the patient swims, so to speak, in his sweat; and neither his shirt nor his bed should be changed, till the perspiration cease. This operation should be performed in a close chamber, furnished with a chafing-dish full of live coals, on which sugar or juniper-berries ought, from time to time, to be strewed.

“It is impossible to determine the time which should intervene between the frictions, because a second friction cannot be made till the perspiration has entirely ceased; a circumstance which depends on the constitution of the patient. Before each repetition of the friction with oil, the sweat must be wiped from the patient's body with a warm cloth. These frictions may be continued several days successively, till a favourable change is observed, and then they may be more slight. It is difficult to determine precisely the quantity of oil necessary for each friction; but a pound should certainly be sufficient; the freshest and purest oil is to be preferred, and it should be rather lukewarm than hot. The breast and the privities should be slightly rubbed; and the parts which are not under friction should be carefully covered, to avoid cold. If there are tumors and buboes, they should be gently anointed, till they are sufficiently ready for the application of emollient cataplasms, to induce suppuration.

“The person who performs the frictions should before-hand anoint his body with oil; it is useless for him to rub himself; nor does it signify whether he anoint himself with more or less quickness. It will also be prudent for him to observe the ordinary precautions as to oil-skin or cere-cloth clothes, wooden-shoes, &c. to avoid the breath of the patient, and, above all, to preserve a great deal of courage and coolness.

“We cannot too much recommend, that the frictions be not delayed after the disease makes its appearance. The perspirations are very much promoted by giving the patient an infusion of the flowers of the alder-tree, without any sugar.

“As to regimen, the patient may be supported, for the first four or five days, with a soup of vermicelli, well boiled in water alone, without salt. Afterwards a small spoonful of cherries preserved in sugar may be additionally given him six or seven times a day; for it is to be feared that honey would be too laxative.

“When there are hopes of a cure, that is, when, after five or six days, the patient finds himself better, he may be allowed in the morning a cup of good Mocha coffee, and a sugared biscuit, and the number of biscuits may be increased, as he recovers his strength.

“For fifteen or twenty days, the patient should dine and sup on rice or vermicelli, boiled in water alone, a little bread, dried raisins and preserved cherries, in greater plenty than before; and the quantity of bread, which ought to be of the best quality, may be increased. In summer, his soup may be made of little gourds (*courges*), and in winter of pot-herbs, with no other seasoning than a little oil of sweet almonds.

monds. In the course of the day, according to the state of the convalescent, oranges, very ripe or baked pears, or even biscuits, may be given him, in such quantity, that digestion may be easily carried on, and his appetite never wholly satisfied. At the end of thirty or even five-and-thirty days, his morning and evening repasts may consist of soup made of chicken, or a neck of mutton; but he should not be allowed to use solid meat, before the expiration of forty days, in order to avoid indigestion, which is dangerous, and frequently accompanied with the return of buboes.

"After the fortieth day, he may eat roasted or boiled veal, and may take a moderate quantity of wine; but should carefully avoid everything which is of difficult digestion.

"The following are some proofs of the efficacy of oil:—

"In one year, in which the plague carried off a million of people in Upper and Lower Egypt, there was not a single instance of an oil-porter being attacked with that malady*: the same observation was made at Tunis; and these facts first suggested the idea of employing oil, both as a preservative and as a remedy.

In 1793, two-and-twenty Venetian sailors lived on a low camp, for the space of five-and-twenty days, with three persons who died of the plague; but unction with oil saved all the rest of the party.

"In the same year, three Armenian families, one of them consisting of thirteen individuals, another of seven, and the third of nine, saved

themselves by the same means. They attended their infected parents, lay on the same beds, and might be said to hold them incessantly in their arms; yet they escaped the contagion.

"In 1794, a poor woman was shut up in a chamber with thirteen persons infected with the plague, of whom she had the care, and by means of unction she preserved herself from the contagion.

"Two persons belonging to a family of Ragusa caught the infection in the last mentioned year. They plunged themselves, so to speak, into oil, and were exempted from all harm.

"In short, this practice is at present approved, and generally followed, at Smyrna.

"In the course of these observations we find several admonitions; particularly on the necessity of immediately administering the frictions to the infected. A delay of five or six days would render them wholly ineffectual.

"A diarrhoea is regarded as a mortal symptom: the frictions however ought not to be discontinued on that account; for four patients, who had arrived at that dangerous crisis, were nevertheless cured.

"The hospital at Smyrna received in five years two hundred and fifty infected patients; and it may be safely affirmed that every one of them, who were allowed proper time, and submitted to the above treatment, obtained a cure.

"An immense number have been preserved from contagion by unction, assisted by temperance.

"The little work, of which the

* The Translator has been informed that, when the plague raged in London, the low-chandlers generally, or universally, escaped infection. The tobaccoists are said to have been equally fortunate."

present is an abstract, is concluded by the favourable attestations of the consuls of England, and the empire, at Smyrna; and a number of testimonies of persons in public employments, and of respectable individuals, who have endeavoured to extend this method of treat-

ment into every country interested in it.

“We have omitted nothing essential; and disregarding all theory, we only present facts, already supported by numerous testimonies, and which we submit anew to the test of experiment.”

ANTIQUITIES.

REMARKS ON SOME ANTIQUITIES IN THE ISLAND OF CEYLON, by Captain COLIN M'KENZIE. To which are added DESCRIPTIONS of two TEMPLES OF BUDDHA, by MR. HARRINGTON.

[From the sixth Volume of the ASIATIC RESEARCHES.]

“ *TEMPLE OF BOODHOO AT VILLIGĀAM.*

“ **M**ARCH 30,—We came to Villigāam or Billigāam, a place of some consideration, near a bay of the coasts; houses are scattered about, among the trees and cocoa woods, which obstruct all view, and give the idea of a thick planted grove or garden rather than of a village. Being desirous of seeing a Cingalese temple here of some repute, I was conducted by a winding road of about half a mile to a small eminence enclosed at top by a low stone wall, surmounted by a kind of balustrade, in the midst of thick surrounding groves. At the gate, to which we ascended by some steps, the priests received and conducted me to the door of the temple: they were bare-headed, and their hair cut close; they had none of the distinguishing marks worn by the Hindus on the forehead; their garment consisted of a cloth of a dusky snuff colour, which folded round the body and descended to the feet; their dark complexions and inanimate features exhibited no symptom of superior intelligence, of deep pene-

tration, or of keen genius; nor did any of that mild cast of countenance, or chastened resigned features, which sometimes distinguish the recluse or devotee of every nation, appear here; neither severe nor shy, their looks rather indicated a kind of apathy or indifference. The building had no decorations without; a close gallery ran round the body of it, to which only one door opened, that rendered it so close, for want of fresh air, with the strong fumes of the oil of several lamps burning, and the aromatic odour of yellow flowers, profusely scattered on a raised terrace before the idol, that it almost overcame me on entering the interior apartment. On our being introduced, a curtain which enclosed the shrine was drawn back, and the figure of Boodhoo, of a gigantic size, reclining at full length on his side, was at once displayed. His head lay on a pillow, supported by one hand, the other extended on his body; the habit was very simple, of a saffron colour, covering him from the neck to the heels; and the only decoration was a kind of plain belt across the body. This statue was about

eighteen feet long, and well proportioned; but whether made of wood or of composition I could not learn. The countenance was mild and full, and the top of the head painted to represent the hair in several small curls of a black colour. This was the grand idol of the place; but on approaching it, placed thus at full length on a raised terrace on which several lamps and a profusion of flowers were placed, no external signs of adoration or respect were shown by the priests. In a corner of the room was a smaller figure represented sitting cross-legged on a coiled snake, the expanded head of which shaded him: From the same habit and the same rotund turn of feature, it was easy to see that Boodhoo was also here represented. A female figure, the natural size, decently, and not ungracefully, arrayed in the same garb; was represented standing in another corner, and holding a lamp in the extended hand. In a third corner stood a male figure said to represent Vishnu: and in the fourth Rama Swamy, of a dark blue colour, and distinguished by his peculiar attributes of several hands and the correspondent Hindu ornaments of bracelets, rings, and chains. How a figure so totally different in its dress and ornaments came to be placed here, I was not, for want of an interpreter, able to learn. We may however conclude, that the votaries of Boodhoo do not exclude the worship of the other Avatars. The gallery which ran round the inner apartment was entirely covered with paintings, in compartments rudely finished, each apparently containing the history of some event of the life of Boodhoo: these, they told me, were also narrated in a

great book always kept by the mouddelier of the place: one of these paintings seemed to represent the birth of the divine child; others represented his youthful adventures; some of which seemed akin to the sportive Kishen's amusements on the plains of Muttra. In one, a youth held earnest converse with a nymph, among deep shades and woods, while a monkey, hid by the branches of a tree, seemed to listen with mischievous intent: in another, the God appeared as a youth slyly stealing and distributing handfuls of coin from a chest, towards which an aged man approached with cautious steps, holding a huge key in his hand: on others processions appeared: feasts seemed prepared; food was distributed to the poor of various nations (as appeared by their various habits); and the different habits and manners of men in active life were portrayed. A large white elephant made a conspicuous figure in most of these assemblies. The style or *costume* of these paintings was entirely different from that of the Hindus on the peninsula, and plainly belonged to a different people, though they undoubtedly showed those of the Cingalese and the followers of Boodhoo. On observing in these representations, chairs, tables, metal lamps, and raised seats, such as are used by the present race inhabiting the coast of the European part of Ceylon, which I had at first supposed they had borrowed from their present masters, I reflected that these indicated a connexion with the nations to the eastward which still use them, and that custom so widely different from that of the Hindus, who always seat themselves on carpets, or cloths spread on the ground, might have been imported from China, Siam,

Siam, or Pegu, with their other customs and religion.

“ Without the temple, but within the enclosure, was a solid building, with a cupola-figured roof: it had no opening whatever; within it they told us Boodhoo was interred, or rather the sacred elephant.

“ On my expressing a wish to be possessed of a book containing the history and drawings of the deeds of Boodhoo, the priests informed me, through a very indifferent interpreter, that it could not be copied off within a fortnight, but they promised to have a drawing of the principal figure ready on my return from Matura.

“ They were as good as their promise; for on my return on the evening of the 31st March, they had ready for me the outlines of the principal figure of Boodhoo, with some account of it, in the Cingalese character.

“ Near a mile from Matura we were shown another temple of Boodhoo, in the deep recesses of woods and shrubs, the whole country being covered with them, and the habitations dispersed among these enclosed by gardens and little plantations. This temple, or rather house, was decorated in front with flowering trees and shrubs; among which was a clump of bamboos, remarkable for being of a bright yellow colour, with small stripes of green branching from below the joints. The priests, with much complaisance, permitted us to cut one as a specimen, and presented us with flowers, among which was the yellow mcogry. Within was an image of Boodhoo, and several other figures illuminated by lamps and inclosed by curtains, as at the other temples. In like manner the terrace or raised altar was covered with flowers, and the walls with

paintings. The dress of the priests was the same as already described, an orange or tawny-coloured cloth enveloped the body, the colour decaying turned to a kind of snuff colour.

“ We were conducted by a narrow stair-case to an upper-room, wherein was placed a painting of one of the figures below, (a female,) but we could not get a distinct account of it from want of an interpreter.

“ The head priests of these temples, we understand, were called *terrinanie*. The inferior orders *ganinnanra*.

“ *Ruins of a Hindu Temple (or Dewullum) on Dewunder-head, or Divi-noor, (called in the Charts Dunder-head, the Southerly Point of Ceylon.)*

“ About three miles from Matura, the road passing along the sea-beach of the bay formed by the promontory to the east, we ascended a gentle declivity clothed with woods of various kinds of trees, but chiefly the cocoa, and in about a mile's walk came to a Cingalese temple of a circular shape, of about 160 feet in circumference and twelve high, forming a terrace, from the centre of which rose a bell-shaped spire, crowned with a smaller cone, on a square pedestal, the height of the whole supposed to be thirty feet; a parapet ran round this terrace, to which a door and stair-case led up; and here, exposed to the open air, as we approached soon after sun-rise, we observed some Cingalese men and women walking round, bending and inclined towards the spire, apparently praying; they retired before we ascended the steps. A small thatched hut disfigured a corner of the terrace, which seemed designed to lodge one of the priests,

who received us as usual with complaisance. No figures, inscriptions, nor any thing else remarkable, appeared, excepting a single granite pillar four feet high placed on end, perhaps intended to receive a lamp at night. This structure we were told was solid; it had no doors, windows, or any opening: they said one of the teeth of the sacred elephant was buried in it. It was, on a large scale, what the spire within the inclosure at Billigaam was in miniature, and seems to be the peculiar shape of a shrine or appendage of a temple of Boodhoo.

“ After a short view we were conducted from thence to the sea-beach of Dewunder-head, scarcely 1400 yards distant, by a gradual descent along a walk or avenue in the woods; in walking over this ground, several remains of ancient buildings resembling the Carnatic temples struck us forcibly, and induced as narrow an inspection as could be made in a couple of hours.

“ Close to the beach we find the first avenue or building, probably designed for the use of the devotees, immediately before or after ablution in the sea, which is not above forty yards off; the descent over the bank is not difficult, though the coast below is lined with masses of granite washed by the waves. It consists of a colonade of sixteen pillars of granite about nine feet high, the four centre ones of which only are cut to regular form with bases and capitals: it exactly fronts the line of the avenue to the temple on the height: on its north side are two pillars also sculptured, forming an exact square with the two central ones of the colonade, in the centre of which is a square opening of about two and a half feet, on the sides faced with stone,

but nearly filled up with earth; this seems to have been the situation of the interior recess where the object of worship was placed, of which and of the roof no vestige remains.

“ Proceeding thence by an easy ascent, we cross the ruins of a wall, probably the inclosure of the grand temple, marked by several pillars and upright stones; but no sculptures are to be seen till we reach the Cingalese temple, nearly fronting which stands the inner portal of a Hindu temple, consisting of two upright stones supporting a cross one, all carved on one face, with ornaments similar to those of the interior parts of the pagodas on the coast; the centre of the cross stone occupied by a fierce fantastic head, the sides by a running border of foliage, and the basement supported by figures exactly in the same style and taste.

“ To the left of the Cingalese building are more ruins, evidently the remains of other temples: the steps leading up to the raised floors of these are decorated with the heads of elephants, carved out of stones placed on either side; an ornament frequently to be observed in Hindu temples, as the entrances of Egyptian building were ornamented with those of the sphynx.

“ Near these we meet a deep well, across the mouth of which was placed a flat granite stone, with a perforation of six inches square through its centre, between the figure of the prints of two feet raised on the stone: the figure occupying the rest of the stone is scooped out to the depth of two feet. It is probable this well was inclosed within some of the buildings now no longer existing; its use does not appear; the cross stone

stone was too heavy to be easily moved, and occupies too much room to admit of water being drawn from it for any common use; the figures carved on it indicate some connexion with the *lingam* and *phallus*; and may furnish a key to the object of worship here.

“ On narrowly examining these remains, little doubt remained in my mind that this was the site of an ancient Hindu temple, on the ruins of which the Cingalese building was raised at a much later period. The revolutions of religion, in which the first was overturned and almost every vestige of its worship destroyed, to make room for the other, would probably be explained by the Cingalese history, an abstract of which is published in Valentyn’s book, under the article Ceylon.

“ The name of the place Divin-oor Dewalla, favours the opinion; and when we recollect the partiality of the Hindus to build their religious structures in places near the sea, to water, to the spring heads of rivers on the tops of remarkable hills, and mountains and situations favourable to retirement from the world, and to purer ablutions, according to their ideas; in places to which the extraordinary length and toil of the journey attached a superior degree of merit; as instanced in the pilgrimages to Jagarnat and Ramisur; to the wilds of Purwutum; to Tripetty; to the sources of the Godavery at Trimbuck Nasser, and of the Kistna at Balisur; we need not be surprised to find a fane of Mahadeo reared on the utmost bounds of Lankadeep, and their habitable world; and shall be ready to suppose that the ablutions at the furthest point of Ramisur became the greatest extent of their

pilgrimages only, when revolutions, of which we have yet no distinct accounts, and the introduction of a foreign religion and nation into Ceylon, rendered the pilgrimage to Devin-oor no longer practicable.

“ We may then suppose, that, previous to the introduction of the Cingalese language from the eastward, that of the Hindus in one of its dialects prevailed. Some of the Dutch now tell us, (as Baldeus did long ago) that the inhabitants of Ceylon from Chilaw north, and round to Batacaloa on the east, speak the Malabar (or Tamul); while the Cingalese to the southward, and the Candians, speak the language said to be derived from Siam. In examining many of the names of places throughout the island, we find many apparently derived from the Hindu languages; and, judging by analogy, may infer that this was prior to the other, from giving names descriptive of certain qualities peculiar to these places—a rule as applicable in India, where the names of all the remarkable rivers, towns, and hills, are thus derived from a language descriptive of their qualities or history, as to the north and west of Europe, where the Celtic language is traced in the same manner; and particularly in our native islands of Britain, where the original inhabitants may be traced, from many of the names, after various revolutions, and successive settlements of Romans, Saxons, Danes, Normans, and Germans.

“ The head man of the village, a Cingalese, who could give no account of the origin of the ruins, proposed to conduct us to another, to which we went by a path winding among the woods about three quarters of a mile distant, gradually ascending

ascending to the face of a rising ground, where we found a small pagoda or *dewul*, built of hewn stone, flat roofed, square, with one door, and having no spire pillars or arches; it had no sculpture except some mouldings about the pediment, cornices, and door; nor did any altar, image, or decoration, appear to show the object of worship; though from its exact likeness to the plain style of some of the small pagodas built of hewn stone in the Carnatic, there can be little doubt of its origin.

“The villager could give no other account of it than ‘that it was built by one Galgami, who dealt with evil spirits, by whose aid he reared these structures.’ Thus we find the origin of all works, beyond the reach of recent time and vulgar knowledge, in every country attributed to some supernatural agency, from the rude and laborious structure of Stonehenge to those of Elora (Elloor), and the more diminutive one of Galgami.

“Though the figure of the *lingam*, cow, and every object of Hindu veneration, seems purposely removed, enough remains, in the simplicity of the style of the architecture and its few decorations, to ascertain its claim to antiquity; and this shows the use of classing the objects of this kind we frequently meet dispersed over India. In the more modern religious structures of India (I allude more particularly to those of the Carnatic Upper and Lower, the architecture of which is very different from that used in the north-west parts of the Dekan), we find a novel style more complicated and certainly more contrary to good taste. These buildings and their *coverums* or spires are crowded with an im-

mense number of small pillars, pilasters, cornices; and the numerous and ill distributed compartments filled with monstrous disproportioned figures of the deities, or rather their attributes, which disfigure them, and make a strange impression at first sight on Europeans accustomed to form their ideas of the beauties of architecture by classical rules drawn from the Grecians.

“The more modern Hindu buildings are further distinguished by being generally built of brick, excepting some of the greatest, as Canjeveram, Madura, Seringa, Ramisur, which, from their style, are supposed not to be of the more ancient. The more ancient temples are not covered with the monstrous figures above alluded to; they are generally plain; or at most exhibit a few groupes representing some remarkable parts of the history of the god worshipped; such as the adventures of Krishna, his escape when an infant, his sporting amusements among the Gopia, or the churning of the ocean by the Dewatas and Assoors; which seem rather designed to convey some moral, than as immediate objects of worship: from whence we may suspect that, as in latter times, the ancient simplicity of their religion was debased and corrupted, the custom of covering their walls with these monstrous figures with many arms and heads was by degrees introduced; and this furnishes data for forming rules by which perhaps the antiquity of these buildings could be ascertained, by a comparison of the different styles; when written evidence (as found in the copper-plates at Conjeveram, translated in the third volume of the Asiatic Researches, and may perhaps be found if the plates at

Purwuttum were translated) is wanting.

“ These might assist, with the extensive knowledge obtained of late of Hindu literature, in illustrating the more ancient part of the history of this nation, and ascertaining the justice of their claim to a knowledge of the arts and sciences through a remote antiquity; at least their gradual advances in the arts might be traced from the first rude attempts; and new light thrown on the history of mankind in its early stages.

“ *TEMPLE at CALANEE.*

“ February 7, 1797, — Visited a temple of Buddha at Calanee, about six miles north-east from Columbo. The images are of stone, nearly the same as that at Boodh Gya, viz. a man in a sitting posture, the right leg supporting the left, and the right hand supporting the left hand. The right arm and breast uncovered; the left side and the waist covered with a folding vest, the end of which hangs down before. The complexion fair, but no conclusion can be drawn from this, or from the features, as two images in the two temples at this place differ considerably in these respects; one is a fair round face, the other darker and more oval. Both agree in long pendent ear-rings, and crisped hair: but instead of a knot of the latter, as apparently represented on the image at Boodh Gya, the heads of all the figures of Boodh at Calanee are crowned with a sort of *tiara*, somewhat resembling a hand; or rather five fingers joined to each other, (called *Seeraspooter*). In one of the temples three images of the above description were inclosed in a glass case, which the *gonni*, or officiating priest, readily opened to satisfy my curiosity, and

allowed me to approach as near as I wished, without even desiring me to take off my shoes as usually required in other parts of India. Before the case, which stood on the north side of the temple, and extended the whole length of it, was a wooden table, on which oblations are made at noon. These usually consist of flowers, fruits, or money; no animals being here sacrificed. The lotos, from surrounding representations of devotees, appears to be the favourite flower of the god, and I also observed that *keyra* and *gool-acheen*, two of the most fragrant flowers in India. Images of Boodh, and other figures, among which Honeeman, Brama, and Vishnu were pointed out to me, are painted on the walls and roof of this temple, but chiefly Boodh, in different postures, sitting or sleeping, and his devotees bearing each a *nagisur* flower; with sixteen representations of *daghopes* (hereafter mentioned) which are said to represent the sixteen temples or rather monuments of this description on the island of Ceylon. The idol temple I am now describing is called a *veehar* (or college), and consists of one small apartment, of an oblong square, composed of common brick and mortar materials, with a tiled roof. It is said to have been built time out of mind; but from its structure cannot be ancient. I saw nothing peculiar in its exterior; and have nothing further to remark on its interior, but that it contained a lamp said to be kept always burning, and a curtain occasionally drawn across the middle of the apartment to keep the sanctum from the eyes of the profane. On each side of the door-way, enclosed in recesses cut into the wall, are two large figures, the janitors of the

the god; and others are sculptured round, bearing a club, and covered with a high *tiara*. In the passage which leads from the first temple (above described) to a second of the same construction, are two other large figures cut in alto relief, representing two attendants on the local deity. The second temple contains a single figure of Boodh, resembling the figures in the other temple, with the differences already noticed, and somewhat larger, being, I suppose, six feet high in the sitting posture, whereas the first could not be above five feet; or perhaps four and five feet may be nearer the exact height of the two. A large elephant's tooth, given by the king of Candia, is fixed in the ground near this image; and a small elephant of brass, with a driver of the same metal, forms the ornament of a lampstand; the light of which was extinguished; nor was any other light burning in this temple.

“ Both the above *veehars* stand on an eminence surrounded by cocoa-nut and other trees, and by a low wall, which likewise encloses a third building to the north of the others, called *daghope*, with the addition *wahunsee*. This building is a solid mass of earth and brick-work, of a considerable height, perhaps sixty feet, and shaped somewhat like a dome with a cupola above. This monumental temple is said to contain twenty images of Boodh buried below it. The inside is a mound of earth; the outside a covering of no great thickness of brick, which has been damaged

and partly destroyed by the rain. At the foot of the eminence is the house of the priests, five in number, who have been appointed to officiate at the ceremonies performed at this place daily at noon, and annually at the principal festival in Byfaak; when great numbers of pilgrims are said to assemble here. The priests are called *gonni*; and if learned men, *taranañhi*. Rakhita Booddha, and Ghose Booddha, who attended me, were neither of them Brahmins; nor, as far as I can understand, are there any Brahmins on the island*. They were both as civil and attentive to me as men could be; and, after presenting me with cocoa-nut and plantains, would not allow me to pay for them, or to give them a present, although they had permitted me, without objection, to make a pecuniary offering to their god.

“ *TEMPLE at OOGULBODDA.*

“ March 10th,—Visited Oogulbodda Veehar, two coss east of Caliture. The temple is a tile-roof building, an oblong square, with a veranda, supported by square brick pillars, and covered with leaves of the cocoa-nut tree. Situated on an eminence, and surrounded by trees. Near it, on the east side, is a triple-roofed building, called *beinamadoo*, in form like a pigeon-house, and covered with *cajans*, in which the precepts of Buddha are read to his votaries at festivals, and other times of assemblage. No *daghope* †. The former *veechar* at this place was destroyed

“ * There probably are, however, at Candia, where there are Hindu temples: the present king, who came from Tinnevely in the Carnatic, being of the Hindu religion; whilst the bulk of his subjects are worshippers of Boodh.

“ † The solid monumental building before mentioned, in captain Mackenzie's paper. Its deficiency at the temple of Buddha here described is singular; as it appears a general appendage to a *veechar*. Whether it has any connexion with the pyramids of Egypt we yet want evidence to determine.

by the Portuguese, and the present erected by Digumber Siddart Buddha, the old priest who now superintends it, about forty years ago. This *veehar*, besides two large figures of *janitors* at the entrance, and various paintings on the wall within the veranda, historical and mythological, contains a colossal image of Buddha, eighteen cubits in length, composed of earth and cement, in a sleeping posture; or rather reclining on his lotos throne; his head resting on a pillow, and supported by the right arm, whilst the left is extended on the thigh of the same side. He has the same *tiara*, ear-rings, and curled hair, as all the other images I have seen; and, with no unpleasing aspect, is painted of an azure-brown complexion; whilst other images in the same temple are of a dusky yellow colour. His mantle, which nearly covers him (the right breast only excepted) is yellow, the general colour of the *sewara*; though on one of the images in this temple it is a dark orange, approaching to red. Before this figure is the principal altar; and, besides flowers of several kinds, there were upon it above a dozen small brass figures of the god, (one of which the priest gave me, at my particular desire, after having presented my offering; though not without an evident struggle with his feelings, which were overcome by the persuasions of the other priests present) a brass inkstand, with some images on it; and a covered *carandu*; (or miniature *daghope*;) at least said to be such; though, from whisperings, and the explanation given me, that it was of brass, and therefore not proper to be exposed, lest it should lessen the veneration of the votaries, I suspect it was not exactly what it was pretended to be.

“ The above-described colossal image, lying in a north and south position, occupies the whole of the west side of the temple. At the north end is another image of Buddha, in a sitting posture, nearly the same as at Calanee, but surrounded with more ornaments; having on each side two tigers or leopards, with two alligators: and over the head a fabulous animal, called *kimis*, with three large teeth in front, and two on each side of the mouth. These ornamental figures, I was informed, have no connexion with the character or history of Buddha; and should have been placed on the outside of the temple, had there been room. Two figures on each side of this image, with crows in their hands, were stated to be Vishnu, in attendance upon Buddha: but I have some doubt of the accuracy of this information, as at the south end of the temple, where there is a third image of Buddha in a standing posture, there is likewise an image, evidently of Vishnu, of black hue, and crowned with a high *tiara*, which bears no emblem of attendance or service; though the priests, whilst they acknowledged him to be a *Devyo*, declared him to be inferior to Buddha, and placed in his temple as one of his attendant worshippers. There are several other images of Buddha in this temple, which, having no peculiar characteristic, do not call for distinct notice. It may be of use to observe, however, that on my pointing out the uniformity of the head-dress, in respect to the crisped hair, and asking whether it was meant to represent the hair of an Abyssinian, the priests, of whom four were present, answered in the negative, with apparent abhorrence; and the priest who had before

fore attended me, repeating his previous information of Buddha's being the son of Sudodhana rajah, and born in Muggud deish (Bahar), added, in explanation of the hair being short and crisped, that Buddha had on a certain occasion cut his hair with a golden sword, and its appearance in consequence was meant to be represented on his images. I recollect nothing further of consequence observed by me (not an hour since) in this temple,

except that several lamps were burning, which are said to be perpetually kept lighted; (though of this I have some reason to doubt,) and that the ceiling was covered with ill-executed paintings of the lotos; whilst, on the walls, besides a flower resembling the *nagisur*, (if not the same,) the *keyorâ*, of the species which contains the greatest quantity of fragrant dust, appeared the chief votary of the vegetable tribe."

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

PROJECT FOR EXTENDING the BREED OF FINE-WOOLED SPANISH SHEEP, now in the Possession of his MAJESTY, into all Parts of GREAT-BRITAIN, where the GROWTH of FINE CLOTHING WOOL is found to be profitable.

[Drawn up and circulated by the Right Hon. Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. P. R. S. &c.]

“AFTER experiments had been tried for several years, by the king’s command, with Spanish sheep of the true *Merino* breed, imported from various parts of Spain, all of which concurred in proving that the valuable wool of those animals did not degenerate in any degree in this climate, and that the cross of a *Merino* ram uniformly increased the quantity and meliorated the quality of the wool of every kind of short-wooled sheep on which it was tried, and more particularly so in the case of the South Down, Hereford, and Devonshire breeds, his majesty was pleased to command, that some *Merino* sheep should be procured from a flock, the character of which, for a fine pile of wool, was well established.

“Application was accordingly made to lord Auckland, who had lately returned from an embassy to Spain; and in consequence of his lordship’s letters, the marchioness del Campo di Alange was induced to present to his majesty five rams and thirty-five ewes, from her own flock, known by the name of *Ne-*

gretti, the reputation of which, for purity of blood and fineness of wool, is as high as any in Spain; for this present, his majesty was pleased to send to the marchioness, in return, eight fine English coach horses.

“These sheep, which were imported in the year 1792, have formed the basis of a flock now kept in the park of his royal highness the duke of York at Oatlands, the breed of which has been preserved with the utmost care and attention.

“The wool of this flock, as well as that of the sheep procured before from Spain, was acknowledged by the manufacturers who saw it to be to all appearance of the very first quality, yet none of them chose to offer a price for it at all equal to what they themselves gave for good Spanish wool, lest, as they said, it should not prove in manufacture so valuable as its appearance promised; it became necessary, therefore, that it should be manufactured at the king’s expence, in order that absolute proof might be given of its actual fitness for the fabric of superfine

superfine broad cloth; and this was done year after year in various manners, the cloth always proving excellent; yet the persons to whom the wool was offered for sale still continued to undervalue it, being prepossessed with an opinion, that though it might not at first degenerate, it certainly sooner or later would alter its quality, much for the worse.

"In 1796 it was resolved to sell the wool at the price that

should be offered for it, in order that the manufacturers themselves might make trial of its quality, although a price equal to its real value should not be obtained; accordingly, the clip of that year was sold for 2s. a pound, and the clip of the year 1797 for 2s. 6d.

"The value of the wool being now in some degree known, the clip of 1798 was washed in the Spanish manner, and it sold as follows:

The number of fleeces of ewes and wethers was 89;

Which produced in wool, washed on the sheep's backs - 295lb.

Loss in scowering - - - - - 92

Amount of scowered wool - - - - - 203

Which produced, Raffles, 167lb. at 5s. per lb.

Finos, 23, at 3s. 6d.

Terceros, 13, at 2s. 6d.

} 47l. 8s.

The clip of 1799 was managed in the same manner, and produced as follows:

The number of fleeces of ewes and wethers was 101;

Which produced in wool, washed on the sheep's backs - 346lb.

Loss in scowering - - - - - 92

Amount of scowered wool - - - - - 254

Which produced, Raffles, 207lb. at 5s. 6d. per lb.

Finos, 28, at 3s. 6d.

Terceros, 19, at 2s.

} 63l. 14s. 6d.

The rams' wool of the two years sorted together produced as follows:

Quantity of wool, washed on the sheep's backs - - - 314lb.

Loss in scowering - - - - - 99

Amount of scowered wool - - - - - 215

Which produced, Raffles, 181 lb at 4s. 6d. per lb.

Finos, 22, at 3s. 6d.

Terceros, 12, at 2s.

} 45l. 15s. 6d.

"It is necessary to account for these extraordinary prices, by stating that, in the year 1799, when both sails were effected, Spanish wool was dearer than it ever before was known to be; but it is also proper to add, that 5s. 6d. was then the price of the best Spanish piles, and that none was sold higher, except, as is said, a very small quantity for 5s. 9d.

to give away to different persons, who undertook to try experiments, by crossing other breeds of sheep with the Spanish, more than one hundred rams and some ewes: in order, however, to make the benefit of this valuable improvement, in the staple commodity of Great Britain, accessible to all persons who may choose to take the advantage of it, his majesty is this year pleased to permit

"The king has been pleased

mit some rams and ewes to be sold, and also to command that reasonable prices shall be put upon them, according to the comparative value of each individual; in obedience to which it has been suggested, that five guineas may be considered as the medium price of a ram, and two guineas that of a ewe; a sum which it is believed the purchaser will in all cases be able to receive back with large profit, by the improvement his flock will derive from the valuable addition it will obtain.

“ Though the mutton of the Spanish sheep was always excellent, their carcases were extremely different in shape, from that mould which the fashion of the present day teaches us to prefer;—great improvement has however been already made in this article, by a careful and attentive selection of such rams and ewes as appeared most likely to produce a comely progeny: and no doubt can be entertained, that in due time, with judicious management, carcases covered with superfine Spanish wool may be brought into any shape, whatever it may be, to which the interest of the butcher, or the caprice of the breeder, may choose to affix a particular value.

“ Sir Joseph Banks, who has the honour of being intrusted with the management of this business, will answer all letters on the subject of it, addressed to him in Soho-square. The rams will be delivered at Windsor, the ewes at Weybridge in Surry, near Oatlands.

“ As those who have the care of his majesty's Spanish flock may naturally be supposed partial to the project of introducing superfine wool into these kingdoms, it has been thought proper to an-

nex the following notice, in order to show the opinion held of a similar undertaking, in a neighbouring country, where individuals, however they have mistaken their political interest, are rather remarkable for pursuing and thoroughly weighing their own personal advantage, in all their private undertakings, and for sagacity in seizing all opportunities of improving, by public establishment, the resources of their nation.

French Advertisement.

“ On the 24th of May last, an advertisement appeared in the *Moniteur*, giving notice of a sale of two hundred and twenty ewes and rams of the finest woolled Spanish breed, part of the flock kept on the national farm of Rambouillet; also two thousand pounds of superfine wool, being the present year's clip of this national flock, and one thousand three hundred pounds of wool, the produce of the mixed breeds of sheep kept at the menagerie at Versailles.

“ This advertisement, which is official, is accompanied by a notice from Lucien Buonaparte, minister of the interior, as follows:

“ ‘ The Spanish breed of sheep that produce the finest wool, introduced into France thirty years ago, has not manifested the smallest symptom of degeneration: samples of the wool of this valuable flock, which was brought from Spain in the year 1786, are still preserved and bear testimony that it has not in the least declined from its original excellence, although the district where these sheep have been kept is not of the best quality for sheep farming; the draughts from this flock, that have been annually sold by auction, have always

‘exceeded in value the expectation of the purchasers in every country to which they have been carried, that is not too damp for sheep.

“ ‘The weight of their fleeces is from six * to twelve pounds each, and those of the rams are sometimes heavier.

“ ‘Sheep of the ordinary coarse woolled breeds, when crossed by a Spanish ram, produce fleeces double in weight, and far more valuable, than those of their dams: and if this cross is carefully continued, by supplying rams of the pure Spanish blood, the wool of the third or the fourth generation is scarce distinguishable from the original Spanish wool.

“ ‘These mixed breeds are more easily maintained, and can be fattened at as small an expence, as the ordinary breeds of the country.

“ ‘No speculation whatever offers advantages so certain, and so considerable to those who embark in it, as that of the improvement of

‘wool, by the introduction of rams and ewes of the true Spanish race, among the flocks of France, whether the sheep are purchased at Rambouillet, or elsewhere; in this business, however, it is of the greatest importance to secure the Spanish breed unmixed, and the utmost precaution on that head should be used, as the avarice of proprietors may tempt them to substitute the crossed breeds instead of the pure one, to the great disappointment of the purchaser.

“ ‘The amelioration of wool at Rambouillet has made so great a progress, that in a circle from twenty-four to thirty-six miles in diameter, the manufacturers purchase thirty-five thousand pounds of wool, improved by two, three, or four crosses. Those who wish to accelerate the amelioration of their flocks by introducing into them ewes of this improved sort, may find abundance to be purchased in that neighbourhood at reasonable rates.’ ”

FURTHER COMMUNICATIONS relative to the CAUSES and CURE of BLIGHT ON FRUIT-TREES, by THOMAS SKIP DYOT BUCKNALL, Esq.]

[From the Eighteenth Volume of TRANSACTIONS of the SOCIETY for the ENCOURAGEMENT of ARTS, MANUFACTURES, and COMMERCE, instituted at LONDON.]

“ **T**HIS being intimately connected with my favourite object, the improvement of fruit-trees, I shall submit to your observations a further collection of facts, which I think will tend conside-

rably to lessen, if not in part eradicate, this growing evil.

“ Blight originates from many causes; several of which I have pointed out before, each requiring a different description and mode of

“ * This must mean fleeces unwashed, or in the yoke, as it is technically termed.”
treatment,

treatment, according as it arises from the air, soil, water, heat, extraneous vegetation, accidents, or insects. I shall therefore treat of blight under these different heads.

“A free circulation of air is essentially important to secure the health of the tree; indeed there can be no good vegetation without it.

“Absorption and emission of air are well known to take place throughout the vegetable system for its support; and where circulation is impeded by a multitude of branches, or by trees standing too close together, blight is the inevitable consequence. This, therefore, may be prevented, by clearing away the clustering branches long before they may have so far encumbered the trees as to give them a disposition to blight, as I have remarked in the first paper on pruning.

“‘Consider whether a branch will be in the way three years hence; if it will, the sooner it is taken off the better.’—Eleventh volume, p. 18.

“Mr. William Lake has observed to me that fruit-trees should be left with one aspiring top, which tends, where pruning is neglected, to keep the branches more equally asunder. Remember, no leading branch is ever to be shortened, except to improve the figure of the tree, in which case it is to be cut close to the separation.

“When the branches or trees are so close together as to prevent a free and active circulation of air and sun, the encumbered parts soon decline in growth, and the due flow of the sap is obstructed, the wood grows torpid, rots, dies, and falls off. When this happens, the grass beneath ceases to grow; a cold, damp, offensive smell arises;

few blossoms are formed on those parts of the tree, and those never duly impregnated; consequently, the branches become unproductive, and are justly said to blight.

“Now, to place this evil in its true light, I wish I might be allowed to use the word pulsation; for, in a healthy tree, when the sap flows, there is a regular irritation or motion, which impels it forward: the organization of this function, being very delicate, is easily destroyed: and there is no other way of removing the evil than by cutting off the torpid branches, and clearing away whatever may obstruct the sun and air; and, in general, if the habit of the tree be healthy, these parts will recover.—

‘Remove the cause, and the effect ceases.’—This I noted in the 14th volume of the Transactions, and in the Orchardist.

“The soil is another most material object of attention in the management of fruit-trees, on which I shall only observe, that if the soil is replete with mineral particles, they may occasion blight by obstructing those vessels in the roots which convey nourishment to the plant. In such soils you may frequently, on minute examination, observe a yellow or orange-coloured calx of iron separated from the earth, and precipitated on the roots, which prevents the absorption of proper food. Soils containing metals which dissolve in water should be avoided; but if a plantation has been actually made in such soils, the best method of preventing the blight arising from this cause is to cut away the tap-roots which have struck into the under-soil, and encourage the increase of those which run horizontally. But the most important and beneficial precaution

is to lay a good coat of manure upon the surface, as soon as the under-roots are taken off.

“Water is most frequently the cause of blight, particularly from land-springs, which should be carefully drained off, otherwise it were better never to plant at all. The best method is to let the drain run directly under the respective rows of trees; but be sure they be not small. The most completely planned orchard I ever saw has been totally ruined for want of this precaution, and a sufficient quantity of manure; and a tree, now one of the finest More-park apricots in this country, was planted seventeen years ago, by way of experiment, on the crown of a large stone-arched cellar. These facts are well worthy of attention. Whenever the land is kept cold from under water, fruit-trees can make no progress, and generally canker; also, where water remains stagnant for any length of time about the roots of trees, the tender fibres are chilled, and thereby destroyed. I am here only speaking of noxious waters; for pure water judiciously, frequently, and sparingly applied, is one of the best agents for keeping fruit-trees in permanent health: first take all the proper precautions, then water, and the tree will probably not blight. This must, of course, be understood of good situations.

“Heat, much oftener than cold, proves destructive to vegetation, by causing blight. I speak of the quick transition from heat to cold, for that does the mischief. Thus what is called honey-dew originates from heat checked by succeeding cold, which occasions the sap and saccharine juices to coagulate on the surface of the leaves, and greatly injures the tree, by im-

peding its growth. But I have more fully considered the alternate succession from heat to cold in my last paper. (See our last volume.)

“Honey-dew is very detrimental to trees, by stopping the pores of the leaves. Old and decayed trees are much subject to this evil, from the sap running more to a saccharine juice.

“Mr. Knight, and the author of the Worcester Report, ascribe honey-dew to insects. Should it be insects, the fat of hogs, or rusty bacon, rubbed on the body of the tree, would disgust them, and prevent the mischief, and would also keep hares and rabbits from biting the bark.

“Blight is also caused by extraneous vegetation, I mean moss or other vegetable productions, that are suffered to grow on the bark of fruit-trees: these prey upon the juices and nourishment of the plant; and, by preventing a proper circulation of the sap, produce blight. This evil, if taken in time, is so easily removed by the brush and soap-suds, that I shall not enter further on the subject here, than to remark, that washing makes the stem and branches most delicately smooth and soft, if the practice be taken up from the first plantation of the tree.

“Accidents, carelessness, and the suffering vermin to continue eating and fretting the tender bark, are very great causes of blight, often debilitating a large branch in a short time, and bringing on sure destruction to the tree. This is most effectually prevented by cutting and cleaning out the wounds, and using the medication as directed in the 11th volume, where there is a note on vermin. To avoid any of the causes above enumerated, examine the trees often, and

and remove all the *impediments to health*, as soon as they are perceived. Do not regard the time of the year, but stop every evil in the bud; and be assured that the knife does not injure the tree even in summer, and when it is full of leaves, for the growth is then so free that the wound only heals the better. Summer, indeed, is the best time for scoring trees, when the bark is too close for the tree to grow.

“I shall now notice the last, but by no means the least, of the causes of blight, which I have mentioned before, in the 17th volume of your Transactions, p. 274. (See our last volume.) I mean insects, which are certainly the grand cause. I have there given it as my opinion, ‘that insects do not come over in the winds from the continent, but are bred at home, from the eggs deposited about the tree in summer and autumn.’

“I am well convinced, that a minute observer will find this to be the fact; and, in confirmation of my opinion, I beg leave to lay before you three niduses or repositories for the eggs of insects: one of which contains 578 cells, another 650, and a third 880; each nidus being formed upon, and adhering to, a very small twig; the account of which is well authenticated, and leads to a consideration of the power of insects to do much mischief to infantine vegetation. I beg those gentlemen who have patronized attempts to raise silk in this country, and have observed the production and nourishment of the silk-worm, to consider the probable quantity of leaves and blossoms that are eaten by insects; reflect upon the quantity of vegetable matter required for the nourishment of

2108 insects, the number produced in these three niduses; and observe the small space they occupy, and how easily they escape notice.

“For destroying insects, I cannot too strongly or too often recommend the frequent and careful examination of fruit-trees, and the gathering every nidus that may be found. The task is not so difficult to execute as it may at first appear, and should be undertaken early in the spring, before the buds expand; you may then destroy in a short time many receptacles of 500 to 700 insects, which cannot, at a more advanced age, be killed by fumigation, or collected by the hand, without infinite trouble. The niduses should be collected in a bag or box, and burnt; for if merely thrown upon the ground, the insects will still be produced.

“The niduses are of various kinds; some adhere to the bark of trees, and contain an infinite number of small cells, in which the ova are deposited, as in the specimens I lay before you. Others are formed in small bags, or downy matter, of a substance resembling a spider’s web; others in leaves, curled up with great care. It is in all these stages of their production that they should be discovered and destroyed; otherwise the same warm day that brings forward vegetation hatches the insects, supplies them with food and shelter, and renders the evil difficult to be cured, though at a more early stage it might easily have been prevented.

“As a proof that this operation is neither difficult nor tedious, it has actually been practised during three successive years, on four acres of a newly-planted orchard, of which proof has been adduced be-

fore the Society. I would say to the public, 'Go thou and do likewise;' but the greater part of the trouble may be saved by proper cleaning in the preceding autumn.

"Were it possible to contrive a regularly progressive flow of heat and cold, according to the will of the director, and regulated by the thermometer, blight might actually be prevented. To prove this, I mentioned the *Hampton-Court vine* in my paper inserted in the Transactions of the Society last year. This plant is kept perfectly healthy and productive, merely through being regularly washed, pruned, cleaned, and protected from the external elements.

"Let thus the attentive orchardist see, foresee, and remove every evil in his power, and nature will do the rest.

"These various modes of preventing blight, according to circumstances, are confirmed by my own observations, during more than ten years of assiduous care and attention, and have approximated as nearly to the object as the nature of the case admitted. It is my wish the Society should be in possession of a regular series of principles on this important subject.

"It is not easy to imagine how much benefit would result from what I call plantations of slips, shaws, and shelter, to protect the blossoms in spring, and the fruit in autumn. To explain this, let four acres and a half be marked out for an orchard; then plant a slip of land, one pole wide, with sweet chestnut Huntingdon willow, or any other free-growing wood, in six rows, extending along the three cold sides. If the ground be twenty-seven poles square, this slip would occupy half an acre, and, if kept

clean, the wood would more than pay its expence; whereas to build a wall to this extent would require a thousand pounds, and not be so efficacious. In the Green Park, Westminster, is a plantation of horse-chestnuts, about eight years old, feathering down to the ground. Such trees would afford ample protection to a plantation so defended.

"Let the shaws be properly raised, as before directed, to secure shelter and warmth to the plantation. Make the trees perfectly clean in autumn, and cover the ground, as far as the roots may be supposed to extend, with proper manure. Examine the buds as they swell; and, if strong easterly drying winds prevail in the spring of the year, then eject, with a garden machine, two or three pails of water every morning, over the whole tops of the trees.

"It may be said, that it is impossible to do this on an extensive plantation; but let me advise the experiment to be made on a few trees, and you will find the time to be well employed; and if there is a great return from the produce, you will be encouraged to persevere. One great objection may be the want of manure, as that, you may suppose, cannot be spared from the farm-yard dung. I can however suggest a method whereby you may constantly procure, for four acres of land, as much manure as is necessary for a term of twenty-one years, without expending six-pence. This will be explained under an account of an experimental orchard, or fruit-garden.

"I am not ashamed to own, that I feel a pride in being able, so far, to have accomplished the improvement of standard-fruit-trees, to some satisfaction. The principles

principles I have endeavoured to establish may be depended upon; but the practical part still remains very defective, and will depend on the energy and exertions of the country at large. I would particularly request gentlemen to consider the power of the new vari-

eties. At a distance from towns, few persons are without one or more apple-trees; therefore let me beg that each may do something; for public happiness is but the result of that portion of general good which arises from the exertions of individuals."

ACCOUNT of the CULTURE of the BEET-PLANT, and the APPLICATION of its ROOT for making SUGAR, &c. in a LETTER from MR. JOHN TAYLOR, of LEIPSIG, to the SECRETARY of the SOCIETY.

[From the same WORK.]

"Dear Sir,

"IN compliance with your desire, I have taken some pains to examine into the merits of the various processes for preparing sugar from the beet-root, and to gain information upon the culture of the plant. You well know that Director Achard, of Berlin, first introduced this subject into general notice, and recommended that the sugar should be procured by boiling the beet-roots, when taken out of the earth; that they be sliced when cold; that afterwards the saccharine juice be pressed out; that it be filtered, evaporated, and, after evaporation, the sugar be procured by crystallisation and pressure. That account having been printed in England, I shall not notice it further, but proceed to such other observations as have arisen from subsequent experiments.

"The kinds of beets which have been used for the preparation of sugar from their roots, are varieties of that species called the beta vulgaris, or beta caule erecto of Linnæus, and of his pentandria dyginia class and order: they consist of the beta rubra vulgaris, beta

rubra major, beta rubra radici rapæ, beta lutea major, beta pallide virens major, beta alba vel pallescens quæ cicla officinarum, and beta communis viridis. Of these the principal are the beta rubra vulgaris, runkel rube of the Germans, or red beet of the English, and the beta cicla, den weissen mangold, of the Germans, or the white English beet; and varieties of these whose roots have coloured rings.

"*Method of Culture of the BETA VULGARIS of Linnæus; RUNKEL RUBE, of the Germans; LA BETTE, of the French; or COMMON BEET, of the English.*

"THE soil should be a good black earth, not too moist; the land should be prepared as for cabbages, namely, dunged in autumn with short rotten dung, and ploughed; turned again in spring, and then ploughed a third time much deeper than before. The land on which (kohlr) white cabbage has been planted the preceding year answers well for the culture of the beet, such land having been generally kept clean from weeds, and well dunged. The seeds are

usually placed from twelve to eighteen inches distant from each other, and one inch deep in the earth. The finger is used for the purpose, or an instrument resembling a bean-fetter, with this difference, that the teeth are an inch long, and the above-mentioned distance from each other. In each hole one seed is laid, and immediately covered with earth. As the field where the beet-root is sown is easily over-run with weeds, and the beet-plants do not spring so soon as many of the weeds, therefore the ground must be weeded in four or five weeks time, and some weeks afterwards hoed: and since from one seed three or four plants frequently grow, or by negligence several seeds are sometimes thrown into one hole, therefore the extra plants must be drawn out to be placed where there are vacancies, and the weeds must be frequently destroyed. There is this advantage in sowing the seed in the method above mentioned, that the plants remain, and are not checked in their growth by change of situation. It is necessary, however, to pick out good and ripe seed, to prevent vacant places in the field.

“Some prefer transplanting the roots to sowing the seed on the ground where the plants are intended to remain; and, in such case, make use of a stick to form the hole, the length of the stick determining the distance at which the plants should be placed from each other. After the plants have been some weeks in the ground, the earth should be loosened with a hoe, and the weeds destroyed.

“The red beet is the kind which has been usually grown in the neighbourhood of Haberstadt; and the leaves of this, and the others, are eaten, when prepared, as spi-

nach for the table; but are principally employed as herbage for cattle, who are fed therewith in the stalls.

“The roots are pleasant food when boiled, sliced, and eaten cold, either alone or in fallads.

“As the method which professor Gottling has invented, to separate the sugar from beet-roots, appears to me the most easy to be put in general practice, at little expence, and best calculated for Great Britain, I shall notice it more particularly.

“He recommends the beet-roots to be taken out of the ground about the middle of September, or from that time to the middle of October, in order to have good weather to dry them: they should be washed from their adhering earth as speedily as possible, and their small fibres should at the same time be cut off; as likewise such part of the root as, in growing, had risen above the surface of the earth.

“The roots are to be afterwards wiped with a cloth, and laid upon a dry floor; their heads are to be cut off and given to the cattle: the roots should be then sliced lengthways down the middle, each half again cut into thin slices, and loosely hung on strong thread upon nails, in an airy chamber or place secure from the rain. The slices should not be placed too near together, lest they spoil, nor too many be put upon one string, lest it should break; it is adviseable to turn the strings upside down, once or twice, to effectuate a speedy drying. In the course of ten or twelve days they become so dry that the strings may be removed nearer together, in order to allow fresh beet-roots to be hung up, if there should be scarcity of room.

“In the course of fourteen days,
or

or three weeks, they will be sufficiently dry for their sugar to be extracted. In case there may not be sufficient room to dry them in the house, they may be dried in a barn, or any place secure from the rain. Instead of placing the sliced roots upon strings, stages may be made in out-buildings, or any place secure from the rain. The sliced beet-roots may be laid on netted frames within them, as in glue manufactories; but as children may be employed to string them, you may dry on strings a greater quantity of beet-roots in a small compass.

“If the drying season is far advanced, or a frost expected, the beet-roots should not then be exposed to the outward air, but dried in the kitchen or warm rooms on strings, or netted frames, resembling the flakes used in Yorkshire for drying oat-cakes; as the roots become dry, they may be placed closer together. The slicing of the beet-roots properly forms the evening's occupation: no more should be sliced at once than can be strung or placed on frames to dry, as it is not adviseable to let the roots remain in slices long in a heap. The roots may be dried in stove-rooms by artificial heat; but great care is then required to keep them free from smoke, or being burnt, otherwise the sugar will be dark-coloured, and of an unpleasant taste. It is better, therefore, not to dry the roots in stoves, unless in cases of necessity, such as where the frosts may prevent the roots from being dried in the open air.

“The roots should be dried throughout, and not partially. If they appear grey on the outside, they should yet be inwardly white or red; and if chewed between the

teeth, have an extremely sweet taste, free from must or acidity.

“In large concerns, it would be best to slice the roots with machines contrived for the purpose: such as are used in England for slicing turnips would do the business.

“Where opportunity will not permit the beet-roots to be sliced soon after being taken out of the earth, they should be placed in cellars, and covered with straw, or put into holes in dry sandy earth, and preserved till wanted, as potatoes are done in England.

“In what degree the freezing or longer preservation of the beet-roots may affect the saccharine qualities is not yet sufficiently ascertained. Some trials made at Waltersdorf did not seem to occasion any material alteration.

“When the beet-roots are dry, they are ready for their sugar to be extracted: you must then provide three wood-tubs, wide, but not deep: oak, ash, or willow, will answer; but fir, or resinous wood, is not proper for the purpose: earthen mugs may serve for family use. If you employ wood vessels, there should be cocks or spiggots near the bottom of the tubs, and the tubs placed in a cool situation between eight and ten degrees of Reaumur's thermometer, or fifty-two degrees of Fahrenheit's, upon a stillage, near to each other; and so high from the ground, that smaller vessels may stand below them, to receive the liquor when drawn off.

“There should be good clear water near at hand, so as to be pumped into the higher vessels.

“The beet-roots, having been dried, as above directed, must be sifted, to free them from the dust and loose fibres; then having half filled

filled one of the higher tubs with clean roots, pour clear cold water thereon, to about one third in height above the roots: let them thus remain for three hours, stirring them at different times with a wooden paddle.

“After the expiration of three hours, put into the second tub as many clean dried roots as had been placed in the first; draw the sweet liquor from the first tub into the vessel underneath, and pour it upon the roots in the second: then put into the first tub more fresh water, sufficient barely to cover the roots, and suffer the tubs to remain three hours more, stirring the roots repeatedly, as before.

“The liquor which had been poured from the first to the second tub will be now much absorbed by the roots in the second tub. After standing again for three hours, the sweet liquor from the second tub must be drawn off, which, if the roots were of the red and white ringly sort, will be of an agreeable red colour: it must now be run through a sieve, or filtered through a flannel, and should be fit for boiling down for sugar.

“After this, draw the liquor from the first tub, pour it on the second, and pour on the first tub more fresh water, and let it stand three hours longer.

“Then put into the third tub the usual quantity of dry roots, and pour thereon the liquor from the second tub; remove the liquor from the first tub to the second; and the roots in the first tub being now deprived of their saccharine matter may be used for feeding hogs or cattle.

“After three hours more, the liquor should be drawn from the third tub, by filtering as before,

and may then be boiled down for sugar.

“Then draw off the second vessel, and pour the liquor into the third; add fresh water to the second vessel, and let it remain three hours more, stirring the roots from time to time.

“During this time, cleanse out the first tub, and add fresh roots, as before. In three hours time, draw the liquor from the third tub, and pour it upon the fresh roots in the first: then draw the liquor from the second tub, and pour it on the third: the roots of the second tub will be now exhausted, and may be given to the cattle.

“After three hours, draw off the liquor from the first tub, filter it, and it will be ready to boil down. On the contents of the first, pour the liquor of the third, and put fresh water in the third tub; let it remain therein three hours, stirring it as usual: during which time clean out the second tub, and give the roots to the cattle.

“In the second tub fresh roots are again to be placed: proceed by extracting the saccharine matter, as before, and continue the operation, till all the ready dried roots have been thus freed from their sugar.

“By this management the liquor becomes more charged with saccharine matter than you find the juice is when pressed out of the roots, and a considerable quantity of fuel is spared. The roots from which the liquor has been extracted will have swelled much in the operation, and have lost their sweetness; their farinaceous residuum will, however, afford good food for cattle.

“It is not adviseable to have the vessels made too large for extracting the sugar, lest there should be

be too much liquor to boil down at the last. For the same reason, I think it better not to pour water the third time upon the last parcel of dried roots, but rather use them immediately for food for cattle, as they will not pay well for boiling down.

“ Whenever there is a sufficient quantity of dried roots ready, the process of extracting the saccharine liquor should be continued day and night, as it is not proper to let the liquor remain longer than three, or at most four hours, before you boil it, lest a dissolution of the mucilaginous particles of the roots should take place.

“ If it is not convenient to boil down all the saccharine liquor at once to a state of crystallisation, yet it should be daily boiled down to the consistence of a syrup, to prevent its fermentation.

“ In boiling the liquor, take off the scum which arises.

On the BOILING, CRYSTALLISATION, &c. of the BEET SUGARS.

“ First boil the extracted saccharine liquors down to the consistence of syrup; then put it into a copper, of which one third at least is empty, and let it boil away, by a moderate fire, until a vial which holds one ounce of water will contain eleven drachms of the syrup, or until the syrup pours somewhat broad from the ladle.

“ As the froth or scum arises, it must be carefully taken off. When the syrup is arrived at the point above mentioned, by gentle boiling, the fire must be removed from underneath the copper, and the syrup gradually run through a clean woollen cloth placed over a wooden or stone vessel.

“ The syrup must not cool too much before thus filtered, other-

wise it becomes ropy; when the filtered syrup is somewhat cool, it should be laded into shallow wooden or stone vessels, to crystallise: shallow earthen vessels, such as are used to produce cream, are proper for the purpose. Vessels made of tin will answer.

“ These vessels, filled with syrup, must be placed in a room heated from fifteen to eighteen degrees of Reaumur's thermometer, or sixty-eight of Fahrenheit's; and care must be taken to keep them clear from flies and dust.

“ If the syrup has been of a proper consistence, crystals will soon begin to form at the bottom of the vessels; and in the space of eighteen or twenty-one days the crystallisation will be completed. The mass must then be put into a strong linen sack, well secured, and placed under a press to squeeze out the liquid from the sugar which remains in the bag; the liquid matter may be set to crystallise a second or third time, and will yield sugar of a coarser quality. A cheese press or long lever will serve for the purpose of pressure.

“ The sugar first obtained may be rendered purer by well mixing therewith a small quantity of clear spring water, and placing it again under the press; the coloured syrup will then run out, and leave the sugar in the bag in a much purer state than before: by repeating the operation, it is so far improved, that, when dried and rubbed, it becomes a fine white powder sugar.

“ The separated syrups should be again carefully boiled, and more sugar will be obtained from them by crystallisation.

“ If the sugar procured by the first pressure be dissolved in as much clear water as will form a syrup, and placed again in a warm room

to crystallise, it will yield a much purer and harder sugar; the syrup may then be separated without pressure from the sugar, merely by inclining the vessel, and allowing the syrup to run off from the crystals.

“All the syrups prepared as above directed are fit for family use, and are much superior in taste to those prepared from the pressure of the raw or boiled roots.

“The remaining thick syrups may be used as treacle or molasses, and will serve to distil for rum or spirits.

“The process above mentioned is so simple and easy, as to be within the reach of every farmer to accomplish; on which account I have entered more minutely into a detail of it. I shall now annex some other observations, principally drawn from the experiments of professor Lampadius, of Freyberg, near Dresden, by which it appears that beet-roots contain water, fibrous matter, sugar, mucilage, glair, starch, colouring matter, scented matter, and a bitter substance. The water is in the proportion of from one half to two thirds of the weight of the roots; the fibrous matter of the roots differs, and is considerably more in poor than rich land; the saccharine particles vary from two to five per cent.; the mucilage is from three to five per cent.; and the glair, or matter resembling white of egg, is about one per cent.; the starch is in very small quantity, being only about two or three ounces in a hundred weight; the colouring matter undergoes several changes by exposure to the air, as yellowish, brown, and red, and may be precipitated by acetite of lead; the scented matter is volatile; it rises in distillation of the root with water, combines closely

with spirits of wine, and this matter occasions a peculiar contraction in the organs of taste. By boiling the beet-roots the smell and taste are very much lessened. The bitter substance is soluble in water, and remains behind in the first syrup after the crystallisation of the sugar.

The following are some experiments of professor Lampadius.—One hundred and ten pounds of beet-roots, the *Beta cicla* of Linnaeus, or white English beet, washed, peeled, cleaned, and then grated, gave a mass which weighed eighty-seven pounds; out of which were pressed forty-one pounds and a half of juice, which was boiled with twenty ounces and a half of charcoal powder: this, when filtered and evaporated down until crystallised, produced full five pounds of a brownish yellow-grained sugar, also five ounces of brown syrup.

“The above brown sugar, after being dissolved in six pounds of lime-water, mixed with one pound of blood, then boiled, filtered, and afterwards evaporated, yielded four pounds five ounces and a half of purified brown sugar, and six ounces and a half of syrup.

“The four pounds five ounces and a half of sugar thus prepared were again dissolved in six pounds of lime water, mixed with one pound of milk, then boiled for a quarter of an hour: during the boiling, a small quantity of white wine vinegar, and a little more milk, were added; the saccharine matter was filtered, and treated as before; the product was four pounds of well-grained white powder sugar.

The residuum after pressure, the brown syrups of the two first processes, and the remains of the filtrations,

trations, weighed, when collected, forty pounds: they were mixed with one quart of yeast and eighty quarts of water, heated to 40 degrees of Reaumur's thermometer, or 112 of Fahrenheit's, and, after fermenting forty-eight hours, were distilled. They furnished, at the first distillation, fifteen quarts of weak spirit, which, on a second distillation, gave eight quarts of a better; from which, when rectified, were produced three quarts and a half of spirits resembling rum.

"From the result of this series of experiments it appeared, that after paying the farmer for the roots, and discharging all incidental expences whatever, a profit was yielded of nearly cent. per cent. on valuing the four pounds of white powder sugar at one shilling per pound, and the three quarts and a half of rum at one shilling per quart.

"It is not to be inferred from these experiments, that the profit from this process will always equal the above; for subsequent experiments have proved that the crops of beet-roots cannot always be depended upon, nor do they always yield the same quantity of sugar; the produce of different years having varied, from two pounds of sugar per hundred weight of roots, to five pounds, according to circumstances which have intervened.

"However, I hope you will find the culture of the beet-plant an ob-

ject of consequence, on considering that its leaves afford nourishment for men and cattle; that its roots may be used as food, or to furnish sugar, one of the greatest luxuries of life; that, after the sugar is extracted, the roots are even then serviceable for cattle; and that the refuse-syrups will produce a wholesome spirit. In dry summers its herbage will be of great service to cattle, and does not give a bad taste to the milk; and in hard winters the roots are wholesome food. The *beta cicla* is the *mangel wurzel*, or root of scarcity, of Dr. Lettsom, who has said much upon its use as food. Its advantages are now called forth to notice in other points of view, and deserve attention. In particular circumstances it may become a very useful article; time will determine its real merits.

"The remarks I have here given you are very short, in comparison with the observations I have collected, which extend through every department of the business. If you want any further information, I will furnish it; but the above accounts appear to me sufficient to engage your present attention,

"I remain,

"Dear Sir,

"Your affectionate Son,

"JOHN TAYLOR.

"Leipsig,

May 20, 1800.

"To Mr. CHARLES TAYLOR."

USEFUL INFORMATION ON KITCHEN GARDENING, by Mr. RICHARD WESTON, of LEICESTER.

[From the Thirteenth Volume of the REPERTORY of ARTS and MANUFACTURES.]

“**B**ELIEVING the following alphabetical list of all the useful plants now cultivated in the most esteemed kitchen-gardens in England, explaining at one view the number of crops of each sort requisite to produce a constant succession of vegetables throughout the year, for the use of the table, with the proper time of sowing and planting, may be acceptable to those of your readers who are not proficient in the art of gardening; your inserting it in the Repertory of Arts, &c. will oblige, yours, &c.

RICHARD WESTON.

Names of the Plants.	No. of Crops.	Time of sowing and planting.
Alifander, - - -	2	Sow, March, August.
Angelica, - - -	2	.... March, August.
Artichokes, - - -	1	Plant, March or April.
Asparagus, feed, - - -	1	Sow, March or April.
..... roots, - - -	1	Plant, March or April.
..... forced, - - -	5	.... Oct. Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb.
..... in autumn, - - -	1	Cut down the stalks, July.
Balm, - - -	1	Plant, March or April.
Basil, - - -	1	Sow or plant, March or April.
Beans, first crop, - - -	1	Plant, Oct. under a south wall.
.... - - -	-	Transplanted February or March.
.... early sorts, - - -	4	Plant, Jan. Feb. March, July.
.... late sorts, - - -	4	.... Feb. March, April, July.
Beets, white, - - -	1	} Sow, Feb. or March.
.... red, - - -	1	
.... marbled-rooted, - - -	1	
.... for feed, - - -	1	
Boorcole or Hale, - - -	3	Sow, March, April, June.
..... anjou for cattle, - - -	2	.... May, June.
Borage, - - -	1	.... Feb. or March.
..... young for fallad, - - -	3	.... April, May, June.
Broccoli, - - -	4	.... March, April, May, June.
..... to preserve in winter. - - -	-	Lay down, November.
Burnet, - - -	1	Sow, March or April.
Cabbages, early, - - -	1	.... August.
..... late, - - -	4	.... Feb. March, May, June.
..... red, - - -	3	.... Feb. March, June.
..... Savoy, - - -	3	.... March, May, June.
..... for feed, - - -	1	Plant, Oct. or Nov.
Cabbage-turnip, - - -	2	Sow, May, June.
..... for feed, - - -	1	Plant, Oct. or Nov.
Camomile, - - -	1	.... March or April.

Capficums

Names of the Plants.	No. of Crops.	Time of sowing and planting.
Capficums for Cayenne pepper,	1	Sow on hot-bed, March, or April.
Carrots, on hot-bed,	1	.... January.
..... to draw young,	3	.... January, April, July.
..... principal crop,	1	.... Feb. or March.
..... for seed,	1	Plant, Oct. or Nov.
Cauliflowers,	4	Sow, Aug. Feb. March, May.
..... to preserve in winter,	-	Plant, in frames, Nov.
Celery,	5	Sow, Feb. March, April, May, June.
..... to preserve from frost,	-	Plant in frames, Dec.
..... for seed,	1	.... March or April.
Chardons,	1	Sow, March or April.
Chervil,	2	.... March, August.
Chives,	2	Plant, March or April, Sept.
Clary,	1	Sow, March or April.
Colefeed,	1	.... June or July.
Coleworts,	2	.... Feb. June or July.
Corn fallad,	2	.... March, August.
Cress, on hot-beds,	-	.... Oct. to March.
.... open ground,	-	.... March to Sept.
.... for seed,	1	.... March or April.
Cucumbers, on hot-beds,	3	.... Jan. Feb. March.
.... under hand-glassies,	1	.... April.
.... open ground,	1	.... May or June.
Dill,	1	.... March or April.
Endive,	4	.... April, May, June, July.
..... for seed,	1	Plant, March or April.
Escallions,	1	.... Jan. or Feb.
Eschalots,	2	.... small Sept. large Feb.
.....	-	Take up June or July.
Fennel,	2	Sow, Feb. Sept.
..... to have young,	-	Cut down when going to feed.
Finochio,	4	Sow, April, May, June, July.
Garlic,	2	Plant small Sept. large Feb.
.....	-	Take up June, July.
Horfe-radish,	1	Plant, Feb. or March.
Hyssop,	1	Sow, March or April.
Jerusalem Artichokes,	1	Plant, Feb. or March.
Kidney-beans on hot-beds,	3	Sow, Sept. Dec. Feb. or March.
..... dwarfs,	5	.... March, April, May, June, July.
..... runners,	2	.... April, May.
Lavender,	1	Plant, May, June.
Leeks, broad-leaved,	1	Sow, Feb. or March.
.....	-	Plant out June and July.
..... sweet, or bulbous-rooted,	1	Sow, Feb. or March.
.....	-	Take up June or July.
.....	1	Plant the bulbs, Feb.
Lettuces,	7	Sow, Feb. to August.
..... on hot-beds,	1	.... Jan.
Marjoram,	21	.... March or April.

Marygolds,

Names of the Plants.	No. of Crops.	Time of sowing and planting.
Marygolds,	1	.... Feb. to April.
Melons on hot-beds,	3	.... Feb. March, April.
..... for autumn,	1	.... May.
Mint, on hot-beds,	2	Plant, Oct. Jan.
.....	1	.... March or April.
Mushrooms, on hot-beds,	2	.... March, Sept.
Mustard, on hot-beds,		Sow, March to Sept.
..... open ground,		.... March to Sept.
..... for feed,	1	.... March or April.
Nasturtium, for pickling the seeds,	1	.... March or April.
Onions, on hot-beds,	1	.... Jan. or Feb.
.....		Plant out March or April.
..... to draw young,	4	Sow, Jan. April, May, July.
..... principal crop,	1	.... Feb. or March.
..... Welsh,	2	.... July, August.
Parsley,	3	.... Feb. March, July.
..... large-rooted,	2	.... Feb. April.
.....		Take up roots, Nov.
Parfneps,	1	Sow, Feb. or March.
Peas, on hot-beds,	3	.... Sow, Oct. Dec. Jan.
.... hotspurs,	5	.... Oct. Jan. Feb. July, Aug.
.... large sorts,	5	.... Feb. March, April, May, June.
.... blue field-pea,	1	.... May or June.
Potatoes, on hot-beds,	2	Plant, Dec. Jan.
..... early under walls,	1	.... Jan. or Feb.
..... late,	3	.... March, April, May.
Purflane, on hot-beds,	1	Sow Jan. or Feb.
..... open ground,	3	.... March, April, May.
Radishes,	9	.... Jan. to Aug. and Nov.
..... on hot-beds,	2	.... Dec. Feb.
..... under a frame,	1	.... Aug. or Sept.
..... for fallad,		See Cress.
..... for feed,	1	Plant, May.
Rampion,	1	Sow, March or April.
Rape,	1	.... June or July.
.... for fallad,		.... March to Sept.
Rhubarb,	1	.... March or April.
.....		Plant out May or June.
Rocambole,	2	.... Feb. Sept.
.....		Take up June or July.
Rosemary,	1	Plant, May or June.
Rue,	1	.... May or June.
Sage,	1	.... March or April.
Salsafy,	1	Sow, March or April.
Savory,	1	.... March or April.
Savoy cabbage,	3	.... March, May, June.
.... for feed,	1	Plant, Oct. or Nov.
Scorzonera,	1	Sow, March or April.
Scotch Kale, or Boorcole,	3	.... March, April, June.

Names of the Plants.	No. of Crops.	Time of sowing and planting.
Sea Kale,	1	Sow, March or April.
..... to blanch,	-	Cover with long litter, Jan.
Skirrets,	1	Sow, March or April.
Sorrel,	2	.... March, August.
Spinach,	6	.... Feb. to July.
..... winter,	2	.... July, Aug. or Sept.
Tansey,	1	Plant, March or Sept.
Turnips,	6	Sow, Jan. or Feb.
..... on hot-beds,	1	.... Jan. or Feb.
..... for feed,	1	Plant, Feb.
..... Swedish,	3	Sow, March, April, June.
..... principal crop,	1	.... May.
Turnip-cabbage,	2	.... May, June.
..... for feed,	1	Plant, Oct. or Nov.
Turnip-radishes,	3	Sow, March, May, July.
Water-cress,	2	Plant, March, Sept.

“The time fixed for sowing or planting is calculated for the meridian of London. But to those persons who live one or two hundred miles north of it, it will make a variation of ten or fourteen days.

“In spring they must delay that time, and in autumn they must sow or plant so much earlier.

“If the number of crops by

some be thought too many, any may be omitted cultivating: but it was necessary to insert them all, to show to what a degree of perfection the art of gardening in England is arrived; so great indeed, that, from the production, when on the table, the difference of the seasons can scarcely be discovered.”

P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. POET LAUREAT.

I.

INCESSANT down the stream of Time,
 And days, and years, and ages roll,
 Speeding through Error's iron clime
 To dark Oblivion's goal;
 Lost in the gulf of night profound,
 No eye to mark their shadowy bound,
 Unless the deed of high renown,
 The warlike chief's illustrious crown,
 Shed o'er the darkling void a dubious fame,
 And gild the passing hour with some immortal name.

II.

Yet, evanescent as the fleeting cloud,
 Driv'n by the wild winds o'er the varying skies,
 Are all the glories of the great and proud,
 On Rumour's idle breath that faintly rise.
 A thousand garbs their forms assume,
 Woven in vain Conjecture's loom;
 Their dyes a thousand hues display,
 Sporting in Fancy's fairy ray;
 Changing with each uncertain blast,
 Till, melting from the eyes at last,
 The shadowy vapours fly before the wind,
 Sink into viewless air, "nor leave a rack behind."

III.

But if the raptur'd train, whom Heaven inspires
 Of glory to record each deathless meed,
 Tune to heroic worth their golden lyres,
 And give to memory each godlike deed,
 Then shall th' eternal guerdon wait,
 The actions of the wise and great;
 While, as from black Oblivion's sway,
 They bear the mighty name away,
 And waft it, borne on pinion high,
 With joyful carol to the sky,
 Sage History, with eye severe,
 Tracing aloft their bold career,
 Clears the rich tale from Fiction's specious grace,
 And builds her sacred lore on Truth's eternal base.

LINES describing the temporary REVIVAL of the ART of SCULPTURE under the REIGN of ADRIAN; with a visionary SCENE, supposed to be suggested on the RUINS of his celebrated VILLA.

[From an ESSAY ON SCULPTURE, &c. by WM. HAYLEY, ESQ.]

LO, with new joy, peculiarly their own,
 The Arts surrounding the Cæsarean throne!
 See their prime patron that firm throne ascend,
 Talent's enlighten'd judge, and Sculpture's friend!
 His spirit, active as the boundless air,
 Pervades each province of imperial Care;
 While fated Conquest keeps his banner furl'd,
 And peace and beauty re-adorn the world.
 Accomplish'd Adrian! doom'd to double fame,
 Uniting brightest praise and darkest blame!
 To noble heights the monarch's merit ran,
 But injur'd Nature execrates the man.
 Had he, with various bright endowments blest,
 The higher sway of that sweet power confess'd,
 How might fair Sculpture, in her triumphs chaste,
 Unblushing, glory in her sovereign's taste!
 Wielding himself her implements of skill,
 He joy'd the cities of the earth to fill
 With all the splendor that endears the day
 Of cherish'd talents and pacific sway;
 Aiming, by lib'ral patronage, to crown
 Athens, Art's fav'rite seat, with new renown!
 In her consummated Olympian fane
 He taught sublime magnificence to reign.
 Where, in rich scenes, beneath unclouded skies,
 He bids his own Italian villa rise,
 Th' imperial structures with such charms increase,
 They form a fair epitome of Greece.
 There all her temples, theatres, and towers,
 Fabrics for studious and for active hours,
 All that made Attica the eye's delight,
 In sweet reflection re-inchant the sight.
 O Desolation! thou hast ne'er defac'd
 More graceful precincts of imperial Taste!
 But, with a ravage by no charms controll'd
 O'er the proud spot thy ruthless flood has roll'd:
 Still from thy vortex, by the tide of Time,
 Its buried treasures rise, to deck some distant clime.
 As o'er this fairest scene of scenes august
 Whose pride has moulder'd into shapeless dust,
 My fancy mus'd, a vision of the night
 Brought it in recent splendor to my sight.
 Its shrines, its statues, its Lyceum caught
 My wond'ring eye, and fix'd my roving thought:

Beneath the shadow of a laurel bough,
 With all the cares of empire on his brow,
 I saw the master of the villa rove
 In shades that seem'd the academic grove:
 Sudden a form, array'd in softest light,
 Benignly simple, temperately bright,
 Yet more than mortal, in the quiet vale,
 Appear'd the pensive emperor to hail.
 Sculpture's insignia, and her graceful mien,
 Announc'd of finer arts the modest queen.
 Troubled, yet mild in gesture and in tone,
 She made the troubles of her spirit known:
 "O thou," she said, "that in thy sovereign plan
 Art often more, and often less than man!
 Whom, as my just, though strange emotions rise,
 I love, admire, and pity, and despise!
 While to vain heights thy blind ambition towers,
 Thou hast ennobled and debas'd my powers
 As far as fame and infamy can stretch,
 To deck the world, and deify a wretch!
 I come th' Almighty Spirit to obey,
 For Arts are heralds of his purer day—
 I come, with visions of portentous aim,
 To mortify thy frantic rage of fame!
 As a prophetic parent, taught to trace
 The future troubles of a fated race,
 'Tis mine to show how ruin shall be hurl'd
 On the vain grandeur of thy Roman world.
 Mark how my visionary scenes reveal
 The destin'd havoc that our works must feel!"
 She spoke, and suddenly before her grew
 The semblance of a city large and new,
 Where pomp imperial seem'd employ'd to place
 Sculpture's prime labours on a lasting base.
 There Samian Juno and Olympian Jove,
 The rarest treasures of each holy grove,
 The pride of ransack'd Asia, Greece, and Rome,
 There, in new scenes, new dignity assume.
 The startled master of the Roman throne
 Exclaim'd, in envy's quick indignant tone,
 "What mean these pageants that my eyes explore?
 They seem to sparkle on Byzantium's shore!"
 The lovely raiser of the vision cried,
 "Thou see'st a second Rome in Roman pride!
 But turn, and see what miseries await
 The pomp that wakes thy envy! Mark its fate!"
 He turn'd: but O, what language can disclose
 The changing scene's accumulated woes?
 Barbaric outrage, rapine, sword, and fire,
 Convert it to a vast funereal pyre.

Supreme in height, colossal Phœbus burns,
 The Phydian brads to fluid lava turns;
 And lo, yet dearer to poetic eyes,
 The living bronze of high-wrought Homer dies!
 The sculptur'd pride of every clime and age,
 The guardian god, the hero, and the sage,
 All in promiscuous devastation fall;
 And Time, self-styl'd the conqueror of all—
 Time, the proud offspring of Lyfippus' hand,
 Adorn'd with emblems of his wide command—
 Time perishes himself! Aggriev'd, aghast,
 The heart-struck Adrian exclaim'd at last,
 "Show me no more of distant lands the doom—
 "I ask the fate of my embellish'd Rome!"
 "Look, and behold it!" the enchantress said:
 Byzantium disappear'd, and in its stead
 Rome's recent boast, with all its splendor crown'd,
 The speaking monarch's monumental mound,
 In graceful pomp arose, and on its height,
 That glitter'd to our view with oriental light,
 His image seem'd to guide a blazing car,
 And shone triumphant like the morning star.
 Sudden, at sounds of discord and dismay,
 The imperial form in darkness melts away;
 The mausoleum, of stupendous state,
 Turns to a fort; and at its guarded gate
 Barbaric foes, in Roman plunder fierce,
 Strain their rough powers the massive mound to pierce.
 Romans defend the dome; but O what arms
 Rash Fury seizes in its blind alarms!
 Marbles divine, of Praxitelian form,
 Are snatch'd as weapons in the raging storm;
 And, in the tumult of defensive wrath,
 Are hurl'd in fragments at th'invading Goth.
 On this dire fate of fav'rite statues plac'd
 To deck this hallow'd scene of royal taste,
 From wounded Pride a groan convulsive burst,
 And at the mournful sound the visions all dispers'd,

HINDA; an EASTERN ELEGY.

[From POEMS, EPISTOLARY, LYRIC, and ELEGIACAL, by the Rev.
 THOMAS MAURICE, A. M. &c.]

LED by the star of evening's guiding fires,
 That shone serene on Aden's lofty spires,
 Young Agib trod the solitary plain,
 Where groves of spikenard greet his sense in vain:
 In wealth o'er all the neighbouring swains supreme,
 For manly beauty, ev'ry virgin's theme;

But no repose his anxious bosom found,
 Where sorrow cherish'd an eternal wound.
 The frequent sigh, wan look, and frantic start,
 Spoke the despair that prey'd upon his heart.
 The haunts of men no more his steps invite,
 Nor India's treasures gives his soul delight.
 In fields and deep'ning shades he sought relief,
 And thus discharg'd the torrent of his grief.

‘Ye swains, that through the bow’rs of pleasure rove,
 ‘Ye nymphs, that range the myrtle glades of love,
 ‘Forgive a wretch, whose feet your bow’rs profane,
 ‘Where joy alone, and happy lovers reign:
 ‘But oh! this breast incessant cares corrode,
 ‘And urge my fainting steps to death’s abode!
 ‘Joyless to me the seasons roll away,
 ‘—Exhausted nature hurries to decay;
 ‘Day’s cheerful beams for me in vain return,
 ‘For me the stars of heav’n neglected burn:
 ‘In vain the flowers in wild luxuriance blow,
 ‘In vain the fruits with purple radiance glow;
 ‘In vain the harvest groans, the vintage bleeds,
 ‘Grief urges grief, and toil to toil succeeds:
 ‘Since she whose presence bade the world be gay,
 ‘Whose charms gave lustre to the brightest day,
 ‘Hinda, once fairest of the virgin train,
 ‘Who haunt the forest, or who range the plain,
 ‘Sleeps where the boughs of yon black cypress wave,
 ‘And I am left to languish at her grave!

‘To that dear spot, when day’s declining beam
 ‘Darts from yon shining towers a farewell gleam,
 ‘Constant as eve, my sorrows I renew,
 ‘And mix my tears with the descending dew,
 ‘The last sad debt to buried beauty pay,
 ‘Kiss the cold shrine, and clasp the mould’ring clay.

‘Far other sounds this conscious valley heard,
 ‘Far other vows these ardent lips prefer’d,
 ‘When sick with love, and eager to embrace
 ‘Beauties unrivall’d but by angel grace,
 ‘I madden’d as I gaz’d o’er all her charms,
 ‘And hail’d my Hinda to a bridegroom’s arms.
 ‘I printed on her lips an hasty kiss,
 ‘The pledge of ardent love and future bliss;
 ‘Her glowing blushes fann’d the secret fire,
 ‘Gave life to love, and vigour to desire;
 ‘Then, when the tear, warm trickling down my cheek
 ‘Spoke the full language passion could not speak,
 ‘Our mutual transport seal’d the nuptial rite,
 ‘Heav’n witness’d, and approv’d the chaste delight——

“Prepare,

" Prepare, I cried, prepare the nuptial feast,
 " Bring all the treasures of the rifled east :
 " The choicest gifts of every clime explore,
 " Let Aden* yield her tributary store ;
 " Let Saba all her beds of spice unfold,
 " And Samarcand send gems, and India gold,
 " To deck a banquet worthy of the bride,
 " Where mirth shall be the guest, and love preside.

" Full fifty steeds I boast of swiftest pace,
 " Fierce in the fight, and foremost in the race.
 " Slaves too, I have, a numerous faithful band,
 " And heav'n hath giv'n me wealth with lavish hand :
 " Yet never have I heap'd an useless store,
 " Nor spurn'd the needy pilgrim from my door ;
 " And, skill'd alike to wield the crook or sword,
 " I scorn the mandate of the proudest lord.
 " O'er my wide vales a thousand camels bound,
 " A thousand sheep my fertile hills surround ;
 " For her amidst the spicy shrubs they feed,
 " For her the choicest of the flock shall bleed.
 " Of polish'd crystal shall a goblet shine,
 " The surface mantling with the richest wine ;
 " And on its sides with Omman's† pearls inlaid,
 " Full many a tale of love shall be pourtray'd :
 " Hesper shall rise, and warn us to be gone,
 " Yet will we revel till the breaking dawn ;
 " Nor will we heed the morn's unwelcome light,
 " Nor our joys finish with returning night.

" Not Georgia's nymphs can with my love compare,
 " Like jet the ringlets of her musky hair :
 " Her stature like the palm, her shape the pine ;
 " Her breasts like swelling clusters of the vine ;
 " Fragrant her breath as Hadramut's perfume,
 " And her cheeks shame the damask-rose's bloom.
 " Black, soft, and full, her eyes serenely roll,
 " And seem the liquid mansion of her soul.
 " Who shall describe her lips, where rubies glow,
 " Her teeth like shining drops of purest snow ?
 " Beneath her honey'd tongue persuasion lies,
 " And her voice breathes the strains of Paradise.

" A bower I have, where branching almonds spread,
 " Where all the seasons all their bounties shed ;
 " The gales of life amidst the branches play,
 " And music bursts from every vocal spray ;

* Aden and Saba are both cities of Arabia Felix, celebrated for the gardens and spicy woods with which they are surrounded.

† The sea of Omman bounds Arabia on the south, and is celebrated by the eastern poets for the beauty of the pearls it produces.

" Its verdant foot a stream of amber laves,
 " And o'er it love his guardian banner waves;
 " There shall our days, our nights, in pleasure glide,
 " Friendship shall live when passion's joys subside;
 " Increasing years improve our mutual truth,
 " And age give sanction to the choice of youth."

' Thus fondly I of fancied raptures sung,
 ' And with my song the gladden'd valley rung.
 ' But Fate, with jealous eye, beheld our joy,
 ' Smil'd to deceive, and flatter'd to destroy;
 ' Swift as the shades of night the vision fled,
 ' Grief was the guest, and death the banquet spread,
 ' A burning fever on her vitals prey'd,
 ' Defied love's efforts, baffled med'cine's aid,
 ' And from these widow'd arms a treasure tore,
 ' Beyond the price of empires to restore.

' What have I left, what portion but despair,
 ' Long days of woe, and nights of endless care?
 ' While others live to love, I live to weep;
 ' Will sorrow burst the grave's eternal sleep?
 ' Will all my pray'rs the savage tyrant move
 ' To quit his prey, and give me back my love?
 ' If far, far hence, I take my hasty flight,
 ' Seek other haunts, and scenes of soft delight,
 ' Amidst the crowded mart her voice I hear,
 ' And shed, unseen, the solitary tear;
 ' Music exalts her animating strain,
 ' And beauty rolls her radiant eye in vain:
 ' All that was music fled with Hinda's breath,
 ' And beauty's brightest eyes are clos'd in death!
 ' I pine in darkness for the solar rays,
 ' Yet loath the sun, and sicken at his blaze;
 ' Then curse the light, and curse the lonely gloom,
 ' While unremitting sorrow points the tomb.

' Oh! Hinda, brightest of the black-ey'd maids,
 ' That sport in Paradise' embow'ring shades,
 ' From golden boughs where bend ambrosial fruits,
 ' And fragrant waters wash th' immortal roots;
 ' Oh from the bright abodes of purer day,
 ' The prostrate Agib at thy tomb survey;
 ' Behold me with unceasing vigils pine,
 ' My youthful vigour waste with swift decline;
 ' My hollow eye behold and faded face,
 ' Where health but lately spread her ruddy grace—
 ' I can no more—this sabre sets me free,
 ' This gives me back to rapture, love, and thee.
 ' Firm to the stroke its shining edge I bare,
 ' The lover's last sad solace in despair.

' Go, faithful steel, act ling'ring nature's part,
 ' Bury thy blushing point within my heart ?
 ' Drink all the life that warms these drooping veins,
 ' And banish at one stroke a thousand pains.
 ' Haste thee, dear charmer ; catch my gasping breath,
 ' And cheer with smiles the barren glooms of death !—
 ' 'Tis done, the gates of Paradise expand—
 ' Attendant Hours seize my trembling hand—
 ' I pass the dark inhospitable shore,
 ' And, Hinda, thou art mine, to part no more.'

INNOCENCE, SECURITY, and UTILITY of a COUNTRY LIFE, and ADVANTAGES of PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES.

[From the Second Book of the GEORGICS of VIRGIL, translated by WILLIAM SOTHEY, Esq. F. R. S. and A. S. S.]

A H! happy swain! ah! race belov'd of heaven!
 If known thy bliss, how great the blessing given!
 For thee just Earth from her prolific beds
 Far from wild war spontaneous nurture sheds.
 Though nor high domes through all their portals wide
 Each morn disgorge the flatterer's refluent tide;
 Though nor thy gaze on gem-wrought columns rest,
 The brazen bust, and gold-embroider'd vest;
 Nor poisoning Tyre thy snowy fleeces soil,
 Nor casia taint thy uncorrupted oil;
 Yet peace is thine, and life that knows no change,
 And various wealth in Nature's boundless range,
 The grot, the living fount, the umbrageous glade,
 And sleep on banks of moss beneath the shade;
 Thine, all of tame and wild, in lawn and field,
 That pastur'd plains or savage woodlands yield:
 Content and patience youth's long toils assuage,
 Repose and reverence tend declining age:
 There gods yet dwell, and, as she fled mankind,
 There justice left her last lone trace behind.

Me first, ye Muses! at whose hallow'd fane,
 Led by pure love, I consecrate my strain,
 Me deign accept! and to my search unfold
 Heaven and her host in beauteous order roll'd,
 Th' eclipse that dims the golden orb of day
 And changeful labours of the lunar ray;
 Whence rocks the earth, by what vast force the main
 Now bursts its barriers, now subsides again;
 Why wintry suns in ocean swiftly fade,
 Or what delay retards night's ling'ring shade.
 But if chill blood restrain th' ambitious flight,
 And Nature veil her wonders from my sight,

Oh may I yet, by fame forgotten, dwell
 By gushing fount, wild wood, and shadowy dell!
 Oh lov'd Sperchean plains, Taygetian heights,
 That ring to virgin choirs in Bacchic rites!
 Hide me some God, where Hæmus' vales extend,
 And boundless shade and solitude defend!

How blest the sage! whose soul can pierce each cause
 Of changeful Nature, and her wondrous laws:
 Who tramples Fear beneath his foot, and braves
 Fate, and stern Death, and hell's resounding waves.
 Blest too, who knows each god that guards the swain,
 Pan, old Sylvanus, and the Dryad train.
 Not the proud fasces, nor the pomp of kings,
 Discord that bathes in kindred blood her wings;
 Not arming Istrians that on Dacia call,
 Triumphant Rome, and kingdoms doom'd to fall,
 Envy's wan gaze, or pity's bleeding tear,
 Disturb the tenour of his calm career.
 From fruitful orchards and spontaneous fields
 He culls the wealth that willing Nature yields,
 Far from the tumult of the madd'ning bar,
 And iron Justice, and forensic war.

Some vex with restless oar wild seas unknown,
 Some rush on death, or cringe around the throne:
 Stern warriors here beneath their footstep-tread
 The realm that rear'd them, and the hearth that fed,
 To quaff from gems, and lull to transient rest
 The wound that bleeds beneath the Tyrian vest.
 These brood with sleepless gaze o'er buried gold,
 The rostrum these with raptur'd trance behold,
 Or wonder when repeated plaudits raise
 'Mid peopled theatres the shout of praise:
 These with grim Joy, by civil Discord led,
 And stain'd in battles where a brother bled,
 From their sweet household hearth in exile roam,
 And seek beneath new suns a foreign home.
 The peasant yearly ploughs his native soil;
 The lands that blest his fathers bound his toil,
 Sustain his herd, his country's wealth increase,
 And see his children's children sport in peace.
 Each change of seasons leads new plenty round,
 Now lambs and kids along the meadow bound,
 Now every furrow loads with corn the plain,
 Fruits bend the bough, and garners burst with grain;
 Or where the purple hues the upland glows,
 Autumnal suns on mellowing grapes repose.
 His swine return at winter's evening hours,
 Gorg'd with the mast that every forest showers;

For him the arbuté reddens on the wood,
 And mills press forth the olive's gushing flood;
 Chaste love his household guards, and round his knees
 Fond infants clime the foremost kifs to seize;
 Kine from their gushing udders nectar shed,
 And wanton kids high toss their butting head.
 He too, at times, where flames the rustic shrine,
 And, rang'd around, his gay compeers recline,
 In grateful leisure on some festive day
 Stretch'd on the turf delights his limbs to lay,
 To loose from care his disencumber'd soul,
 And hail thee, Bacchus! o'er the circling bowl:
 Or on the elm the javelin's mark suspend,
 Where for the prize his hardy hinds contend,
 Bare their huge bodies, and untaught to yield,
 To wrestling toils provoke the challeng'd field.

Such was the life that ancient Sabines chose;
 Thus Rome's twin founders, thus Etruria rose:
 Thus Rome herself, o'er all on earth renown'd,
 Rome, whose sev'n hills her towery walls surround;
 Such, ere Dictæan Jove's new sceptre reign'd,
 And slaughter'd bulls the unhallow'd banquet stain'd,
 Such was the life on earth that Saturn knew,
 Ere mortals trembled as the trumpet blew,
 Or started as the anvil rung afar,
 When clattering hammers shap'd the sword of war.

DESCRIPTION of HAYMAKING—the BULL—the CLOSE of EVENING—
 the WHIRLWIND—the THUNDER STORM—the COUNTRY after it.

[From Dr. HURDIS'S FAVOURITE VILLAGE, a Poem.]

MY native vale, in loveliness arrayed,
 Now let me paint thee, while the mower's scythe
 Thine herbage levels, harvest first conferred
 And least solicited, spontaneous gift,
 Abundance for the beast that toils for man.
 Thick swarms the field with tedders, tossing high
 And spreading thin upon the sunny sward
 The lock dishevelled. Frequent is the maid
 That trails the rake, and he that builds the cock,
 Or, plunging deep his fork in every hill,
 Bears it aloft uplifted to the load.
 The team alternate to the peopled rick
 Moves in procession, soon relieved, and soon
 Alert returning to be fraught anew.

Now is it sometimes pleasure to steal forth

At fultry midnoon, when the busy fly
 Swarms multitudinous, and the vex'd herd
 Of milch-kine slumber in yon elm-grove shade,
 Or unrecumbent exercise the cud
 With milky mouths. 'Tis pleasure to approach
 And, by the strong fence shielded, view secure
 Thy terrors, Nature, in the savage bull.
 Soon as he marks me, be the tyrant fierce—
 To earth descend his head—hard breathe his lungs
 Upon the dusty sod—a sulky leer
 Give double horror to the frowning curls
 Which wrap his forehead—and here long be heard
 From the deep cavern of his lordly throat
 The growl insufferable. Not more dread
 And not more sullen the profoundest peal
 Of the far-distant storm, which o'er the deep,
 Clothed in the pall of midnight premature,
 At ev'ning hangs, and jars the solid earth
 With its remote explosion. Tramples then
 The surly brute, impatient of disdain,
 And spurns the soil with irritated hoof,
 Himself inhaler of the dusty cloud,
 Himself insulted by the pebbly shower
 Which his vain fury raises. Nothing feared,
 Let him incensed from agitated lungs
 Blow his shrill trump acute, till echo ring,
 And with a leer of malice steal away,
 Assault and vengeance swearing ere be long.
 When the bright orb of ruddy eve is sunk,
 And the slow day-beam takes its last farewell,
 Retiring leisurely, how sweet to mark
 The watery scintillation of the star
 That first dares penetrate its flimsy skirt,
 And, as the subtil medium steals away
 Refined to nothing, bright and brighter glows!
 How cheerful to behold the host of night,
 Encouraged by example, fast revive,
 And splendid constellations long extinct
 In quick succession kindle! Summer's night
 Yields many a pleasure to the poet's eye.
 He loves to ramble when the vale is hushed,
 What time the preying owl with sleepy wing
 Swims o'er the cornfield studious, unannoyed
 By the fleet swallow to his chimney flunk,
 Or marten to his eave; what time the bat
 Hurries precipitous on leathern wing,
 Brisk evolution in the dusky air
 With sudden wheel performing. With delight
 He sees the recent moon with horn acute

Fast by the star of ev'ning glow, to grace
 The crimson exit of departing day;
 And ever with affection hails her beam,
 Whether her kindled cheek appear on high,
 As tranquil twilight dwindles, half illumed,
 And, westward tending, down the steep of heaven
 The chariot of retreating day pursue,
 Or full-faced meet him on yon eastern hill,
 Veiled if the sun be present, or with meek
 Uncurtain'd aspect if his orb be sunk.
 Or whether, with reverted horn, her bow
 Look eastward as the break of morning dawns,
 And hide its slender elegance, abashed
 At the bright egress of effulgent day.
 Yes, the fond poet can with joy behold
 Eve's dappled vesture in the rosy beam
 Twice-dyed, and with the ruddier hues of light
 In fold and border saturated well;
 A rich illuminated crimson stole
 With sanguine furbelow of molten gold.
 With equal transport views his cheerful eye
 The cloud of morning shot with purple streaks;
 Nor void of extacy observes on high
 The fleece of silver in which decent night
 Scarce veils her smiling orb, betraying oft
 Through its dishevelled border transient glimpse
 Of the pure studded azure, or sweet day
 Of moonbeam unrestrained. Some taste of bliss
 May happily be derived from lurid night,
 In dismal weeds of saddest sorrow dressed,
 And shedding fast from her maternal eye
 Afflicted widowhood's celestial tear,
 If unexpected the rent cloud display
 The pure cerulean cupola of heaven,
 With dewy gems serene of ev'ry size
 And ev'ry lustre sowed, not faint, nor few,
 As when the horned moon shines clear, but bright
 And numberless as the well-winnowed grain
 The ploughman scatters, or the silky fall
 Of the soft vernal show'r that bids it spring,
 Or dew-drops cherishing autumnal meads.

Sometimes the whirlwind's eddy let me see
 The highway march, and with cylindric tube
 The worried dust inhaling lift it high,
 A turbid vortex, swelling as it mounts,
 And soon dispersed in the wide field of heaven:

Anon the candent thunderbolt delights,
 That tears the bosom of the sultry cloud,
 And from its watery lap prone deluge sheds.

Let the tempestuous angel quit his hold
 Upon the swealing fork, and pour sublime
 His thund'ring volley through the deep of heaven:
 With vivid repetition gleam the flash,
 And ever, as it kindles, fall forth,
 Abrupt and ruinous, the rolling peal,
 As if, by lightning lash'd, at ev'ry blaze
 Shot forth a chariot from the throne of heaven,
 And headlong bounded o'er the cloudy waste.

The storm subsided, and fair day returned,
 Up to yon summit, that with haughty grace
 Its wither'd turban wears of perish'd heath,
 On its rude forehead, filleted around,
 Bearing distinct the trench of ancient war,
 With slow and painful footsteps let me climb.
 At length ascended, on the central mount,
 Erewhile perhaps the military throne
 Of some proud monarch, and the spot revered
 Whence the pavilion'd conqueror surveyed
 His tented host around him, lost awhile
 And musing let me stand, to think, Where now
 The leader and his army? prey alike
 To the none-sparing appetite of Time.
 Then let me feed with never-fated eye
 Upon the downy prospect wide out-spread.
 It shall not grieve me if the gulf be free,
 And to withstand its overbearing gale
 I lean upon the tide of air unseen.
 For pleasant then across the vale below
 Fleet the thin shadows of the sever'd cloud,
 Unwearied race performing. The blue deep
 Wears wrinkled laughter, and exulting bounds
 The shore along, with sycophantic air
 Welcoming fashion to her loved retreat
 Yon distant steeple, where she sits and smiles
 And dips her foot into the wholesome wave.

The HARVEST FIELD.

[From the FARMER'S BOY, a Rural Poem, by ROBERT BLOOMFIELD.]

HERE, midst the boldest triumphs of her worth,
 Nature herself invites the reapers forth;
 Dares the keen sickle from its twelvemonth's rest,
 And gives that ardour which in every breast
 From infancy to age alike appears,
 When the first sheaf its plummy top uprears.
 No rake takes here what Heaven to all bestows—
 Children of want, for you the bounty flows!

And

And every cottage from the plenteous store
Receives a burden nightly at its door.

Hark! where the sweeping scythe now rips along:
Each sturdy mower emulous and strong;
Whose writhing form meridian heat defies,
Bends o'er his work, and every sinew tries;
Prostrates the waving treasure at his feet,
But spares the rising clover, short and sweet.
Come, Health! come, Jollity! light-footed, come;
Here hold your revels, and make this your home.
Each heart awaits and hails you as its own;
Each moisten'd brow, that scorns to wear a frown:
Th' unpeopled dwelling mourns its tenants stray'd;
E'en the domestic laughing dairy maid
Hies to the field, the general toil to share.
Meanwhile the Farmer quits his elbow-chair,
His cool brick-floor, his pitcher, and his ease,
And braves the sultry beams, and gladly fees
His gates thrown open, and his team abroad,
The ready group attendant on his word,
To turn the swarth, the quiv'ring load to rear,
Or ply the busy rake, the land to clear.
Summer's light garb itself now cumb'rous grown,
Each his thin doublet in the shade throws down;
Where oft the mastiff sculks with half-shut eye,
And rouses at the stranger passing by;
Whilst unrestrain'd the social converse flows,
And every breast Love's powerful impulse knows,
And rival wits with more than rustic grace
Confess the presence of a pretty face.

For, lo! encircled there, the lovely maid,
In youth's own bloom and native smiles array'd;
Her hat awry, divested of her gown,
Her creaking stays of leather, stout and brown;—
Invidious barrier! why art thou so high,
When the slight covering of her neck slips by,
There half revealing to the eager sight
Her full ripe bosom, exquisitely white?
In many a local tale of harmless mirth,
And many a jest of momentary birth,
She bears a part, and, as she stops to speak,
Strokes back the ringlets from her glowing cheek.

Now noon gone by, and four declining hours,
The weary limbs relax their boasted pow'rs;
Thirst rages strong, the fainting spirits fail,
And ask the sov'reign cordial, home-brew'd ale:
Beneath some shelt'ring heap of yellow corn
Rests the hoop'd keg, and friendly cooling horn,

That

That mocks alike the goblet's brittle frame,
 Its costlier potions, and its nobler name.
 To Mary first the brimming draught is given
 By toil made welcome as the dews of heaven,
 And never lip that press'd its homely edge
 Had kinder blessings or a heartier pledge.

Of wholesome viands here a banquet smiles,
 A common cheer for all;—e'en humble Giles,
 Who joys his trivial services to yield
 Amidst the fragrance of the open field;
 Oft doom'd in suffocating heat to bear
 The cobweb'd barn's impure and dusty air;
 To ride in murky state the panting steed,
 Destin'd aloft th' unloaded grain to tread,
 Where, in his path as heaps on heaps are thrown,
 He rears and plunges the loose mountain down:
 Laborious task! with what delight when done
 Both horse and rider greet th' unclouded sun!

PICTURE OF A DISTRACTED YOUNG WOMAN.

[From the same Work.]

HITHER at times, with cheerfulness of soul,
 Sweet village maids from neighbouring hamlets stroll,
 Who, like the light-heel'd does o'er lawns that rove,
 Look shyly curious, rip'ning into love;
 For love's their errand: hence the tints that glow
 On either cheek, an heighten'd lustre know:
 When, conscious of their charms, e'en Age looks fly,
 And rapture beams from Youth's observant eye.

The pride of such a party, Nature's pride,
 Was lovely Poll*; who innocently try'd,
 With hat of airy shape and ribbons gay,
 Love to inspire, and stand in Hymen's way:
 But, ere her twentieth Summer could expand,
 Or youth was render'd happy with her hand,
 Her mind's serenity was lost and gone,
 Her eye grew languid, and she wept alone;
 Yet causeless seem'd her grief; for quick restrain'd,
 Mirth follow'd loud, or indignation reign'd:
 Whims wild and simple led her from her home,
 The heath, the common, or the fields to roam:
 Terror and Joy alternate rul'd her hours;
 Now blithe she sung, and gather'd useless flow'rs;

* Mary Rayner, of Ixworth Thorp.

Now pluck'd a tender twig from every bough,
 To whip the hov'ring demons from her brow.
 Ill-fated maid ! thy guiding spark is fled,
 And lasting wretchedness awaits thy bed—
 Thy bed of straw ! for mark, where even now
 O'er their lost child afflicted parents bow ;
 Their woe she knows not, but perversely coy,
 Inverted customs yield her fullen joy ;
 Her midnight meals in secrecy she takes,
 Low mutt'ring to the moon, that rising breaks
 Through night's dark gloom :—oh how much more forlorn
 Her night, that knows of no returning dawn !—
 Slow from the threshold, once her infant seat,
 O'er the cold earth she crawls to her retreat ;
 Quitting the cot's warm walls unhous'd to lie,
 Or share the swine's impure and narrow sty ;
 The damp night air her shiv'ring limbs affails ;
 In dreams she moans, and fancied wrongs bewails.
 When morning wakes, none earlier rous'd than she,
 When pendent drops fall glitt'ring from the tree ;
 But nought her rayless melancholy cheers,
 Or soothes her breast, or stops her streaming tears.
 Her matted locks unornamented flow ;
 Clasping her knees, and waving to and fro ;—
 Her head bow'd down, her faded cheek to hide ;—
 A piteous mourner by the pathway side.
 Some tufted molehill through the livelong day
 She calls her throne ; there weeps her life away :
 And oft the gaily passing stranger stays
 His well-tim'd step, and takes a silent gaze,
 Till sympathetic drops unbidden start,
 And pangs quick springing muster round his heart ;
 And soft he treads with other gazers round,
 And fain would catch her sorrow's plaintive sound :
 One word alone is all that strikes the ear,
 One short, pathetic, simple word,—“ Oh dear ! ”
 A thousand times repeated to the wind,
 That wafts the sigh, but leaves the pang behind !
 For ever of the proffer'd parly shy,
 She hears th' unwelcome foot advancing nigh ;
 Nor quite unconscious of her wretched plight,
 Gives one sad look, and hurries out of sight.—

Fair promis'd sunbeams of terrestrial bliss,
 Health's gallant hopes,—and are ye sunk to this ?
 For in life's road though thorns abundant grow,
 There still are joys poor Poll can never know ;
 Joys which the gay companions of her prime
 Sip, as they drift along the stream of time ;
 At eve to hear beside their tranquil home
 The lifted latch, that speaks the lover come :

That love matur'd, next playful on the knee
 To press the velvet lip of infancy;
 To stay the tottering step, the features trace;—
 Inestimable sweets of social peace!

O Thou, who bidst the vernal juices rise!
 Thou, on whose blasts autumnal foliage flies!
 Let Peace ne'er leave me, nor my heart grow cold,
 Whilst life and sanity are mine to hold.

MARKOFF, a SIBERIAN ECLOGUE, by JOSEPH COTTLE.

[From the Second Volume of ANNUAL ANTHOLOGY.]

AMID Siberian wastes and trackless ways,
 The Cossack*, Markoff, pass'd his happy days:
 No rapturous hope or rankling care he knew,
 His means were simple, as his wants were few.
 When summer cloth'd the hill and deck'd the plain,
 He wisely thought of winter's cheerless reign;
 And when the wintry snows the scene o'ercast,
 Look'd on to summer and endured the blast.
 Thus life roll'd on, and thus he sooth'd his breast,
 Freedom his guide, and Cheerfulness his guest;
 Till restless thoughts and vain desires arose
 To break his calm and long-enjoy'd repose.
 Beside his hut the musing Cossack stood
 And listen'd to the sound of neighbouring wood
 Whose slow and solemn murmurs fill'd his ear
 Through all the changeful seasons of the year.
 The dark Uralian hills† before him rose,
 The wind of autumn now impetuous blows:
 Dreary the view! the frost o'erspreads the ground,
 And the loud brook with fetters now is bound.
 He mark'd the clouds from arctic mountains roll'd,
 He call'd to mind the tale of traveller bold;
 He thought of distant scenes, of realms unknown,
 Where through all ages tempests held their throne,
 Sounding their ceaseless wrath, whose awful reign
 No mortal foot had ever dared profane.
 The desperate resolve is made! He cried,
 "These feet shall dare yon wilds, whate'er betide,
 "These eyes explore the extent yon regions spread,
 "Where the young north-wind dwells, the storm is bred.

* Though the Cossacks reside about the Nieper and the Don, bordering on the Black-Sea, yet tribes of them have spread over many parts of Siberia. A body of Cossacks dwell at the mouth of the Jana, in latitude 71. It is well known that Siberia became subject to Russia in the last century through the means of Yermac, a Cossack warrior.

† The loftiest in Siberia.

" I, who in caves of ice have oft reclined,
 " And braced my sinews in the fiercest wind,
 " May smile at danger! dangers but invite,
 " And storms and tempests were my first delight.
 " But if no bound appear, and as I go,
 " While rocks increase, and mountains hid in snow,
 " On all sides round more gloomy wastes prevail,
 " And as I journey bleaker winds assail;
 " Still shall I learn to brave the polar storm,
 " And gaze on Nature in her rudest form."

Through the thick mists no cheering sun-beams shone;
 His sledge prepared, his winter coat put on,
 Heedless, he cried " adieu!" and urged his deer;—
 The mother and her children dropt the tear!

Now the bold Cossack many a hill had past,
 Tho' each appear'd more threat'ning than the last;
 Whilst all before, far as his eye could strain,
 Seem'd Ruin's ancient unexplored domain.

With heart too proud to temporize with fear,
 The hardy Markoff pass'd the mountains drear;
 He cross'd each long continuous waste of plain,
 He reach'd each distant summit, but in vain;
 Beyond him still, bounding his utmost sight,
 Hills rise o'er hills clad in eternal white.
 And now he came where not a guide was nigh,
 Save (mid the valley bare or crag on high
 From certain death the wanderer's step to warn)
 Some solitary pine* by tempests shorn.
 He stood, and mark'd the desolation wide;
 His " mute companions" trembled by his side!
 And whilst he strives the chilling blast to bear,
 And hears the whirlwind thundering through the air;
 Fear shakes his frame, he dreads his coming fate,
 He knows his error, but, alas! too late!
 With resolution warring with dismay,
 Back he returns to trace his devious way;
 But now the scene seems wilder than before,
 The smoke-frosts rise, the cracking iceburgs† roar!

Weary,

* The chief forests in Siberia consist of the Norway and silver firs. It is understood by the northern travellers, that men may venture wherever forests are, without much danger from the cold; but in the higher latitude forests wholly disappear, and single trees only are found of stunted growth. Here the cold is often too intense for animal life: whilst in the most northerly regions vegetation never appears. The only trees that grow in Spitzbergen, and some parts bordering on the Icy-Sea, are the dwarf willows, from two to four inches only in height.

† In the most northern parts the hills are always covered with snow, and the valleys filled with ice, which are called *iceburgs*. When the atmosphere becomes warmer or colder, in any considerable degree, than at the point when the congelation took place, the ice either expands or contracts, which occasions it to crack, with a noise which the travellers have compared to the roaring of a cannon. Through these fissures in the ice a white smoke is often observed to arise, which is called *smoke-frost*, of great opacity,

Weary, the patient deer their path pursue,
Where never man abode, or herbage grew.
The prospect round appear'd one yawning grave,
And mid each pause the fitful tempest gave,
No howl from starving wolf invades his ear,
To soothe him with the thought that—life is near.

Now thicker darkness gather'd o'er his head;
Now anguish rose, till hope itself was fled;
Despair's impenetrable mists arise!
Frozen in death, each beast beside him lies:
From succour far, chain'd to the icy ground
The wilder'd Cossack sorrowing looks around;
Longs on the clouds that southward take their flight
To seek again his dwelling of delight;
"Ah vain desire!" he cries, "no more mine eye
" Shall mark that calm abode and tranquil sky;
" The wrathful elements around me rave;
" No friend to comfort me, no power to save!
" Why did I seek mid wilds like these to stray?
" And why disdain the perils of the way?
" My children now shall mourn, no father near!
" My wife shall drop the unavailing tear!
" Cold chills of death creep through my shivering form!
" Markoff, thy hour is come! Thou pitiless storm,
" Spare me one moment! keep thy wrath above!
" 'Tis hard to die, far from the friends we love:"
Once more he thought upon his home, and sigh'd!
Once more he cast a look on every side!

What forms are those which through the plain below
Speed undiverted, scatt'ring wide the snow?
It is a band of sable hunters* bold;
Rise! Markoff, rise! shout, ere thy heart be cold!
He calls! they heed him not! more loud he calls!
They hear a voice! the sound each breast appals!
They pause! they look around! they see his face!
They haste the lonely wand'rer to embrace!
Safe in their sledge he seeks his native vale,
And warns each venturous traveller by his tale.

opacity, and so intensely cold as to peel the skin of any person who comes in contact with it.

* The hunting of the sable is attended with great danger, as the animal is found only in the most northern latitudes; and the instances which have occurred of individuals and even companies being frozen to death are insufficient to intimidate others from following the same hazardous occupation. The hunters set forward, in summer, in bands of from five to forty, dragging their boats up the great rivers as far as possible; when they wait for the setting-in of the frost, before they can use their sledges, and penetrate farther north in quest of the sables. (Their only guides on these occasions are the single trees, alluded to in a former part of the poem.) The chief danger arises in not returning from these inhospitable regions before the extremity of winter, as the cold is then intolerable; and which avarice often prevents them from doing; when their bodies are sometimes discovered by the hunters of the following autumn.

AN EVENING WALK at CROMER, 1795, by MRS. OPIE.

[From the same Work.]

HAIL scene sublime! along the eastern-hills
 Night draws her veil, and, lo! the circling * lamp
 That guides the vessel thro' the ambush'd rocks,
 Hangs in bright contrast on her dusky brow,
 And smiles away its gloom.—See from the west,
 A branching stream of silver radiance flows
 On Ocean's bosom, till it emulates
 The trembling lustre of the milky way;
 While the dark cliffs projecting o'er the waves,
 And frowning, (Fancy whispers) envious seem
 Of the soft light they share not. In the south,
 The star of evening sheds her pallid rays;
 While from the humble cottages that skirt
 Yon hill's uneven side, lights *redly* shine
 Contrasting Art with Nature, and fill up
 The chain of objects that leads captive sight
 And to the shrine of Meditation draws
 The wanderer's soul.—But hark! the awaken'd owl
 Majestic, slow, on sounding wings sails by,
 And, rous'd to active life, enjoys the hour
 That gives his winking eye-lids leave to rest,
 While his bright eye, dim in day's dazzling light,
 Now into distance shoots its beams, and guides
 The unwieldy spoiler to his creeping prey,
 Which having seiz'd, again on murmuring wing
 He cleaves the tranquil air, and to his nest
 Proudly bears home the feast he toil'd to gain;
 Then from the bosom of some thick-wove tree
 Breathes in dull note his votive strain to Night,
 Friend of his daring, season of his joy.

Here could I stay, now list'ning, gazing now,
 Till all that crowded busy life can give
 Sunk from my view, lost in the splendid vast
 Of Nature's pure magnificence, that still
 Will shine and charm for ages. Fashion's hand
 Which, in the world's gay scenes omnipotent,
 Makes and destroys, and the same object bids
 Delight one moment, and disgust the next,
 Here can no influence boast; but here true Taste
 To Fashion rarely known, enamour'd roves
 And rapt, becomes devotion, while the tear
 Steals the flush'd cheek adown, as on the rose
 Glitters the dew-drop. Hail again, bright scene!

* The light in Cromer light-house revolves.

On the moist gale of eve shall I breathe forth
 The song of praise to thee, responsive still
 To Ocean's solemn roar? or shall I stand
 In sacred silence bound, Devotion's friend,
 And list'ning, let my eager ear drink in
 The distant mingling sounds that Fancy loves,
 'Till every thought's thanksgiving, and the lips
 Can only murmur praise? And, lo! my lips
 In utterance fail, and Silence I am thine.

AMELIA OPLE.

ODE for his MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY,

By HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. POET-LAUREAT.

I.

STILL the expecting Muse in vain
 Reluctant Peace impatient woos,
 Still cruel War's destructive train
 O'er half mankind their vengeance loose;
 Still o'er the genial hours of Spring
 Fell Discord waves her crimson wing,
 O'er bleeding Europe's ravag'd plains
 The fiend in state terrific reigns;
 Nor oaten pipe, nor pastoral song,
 Resound her waving woods among,
 But floating on the burthen'd gale afar,
 Rolls in tremendous peal the thundering voice of War.

II.

Yet from Albion's tranquil shores
 The storm of Desolation roars,
 And while o'er fair Liguria's vales,
 Fann'd by Favonius' tepid gales,
 O'er Alpine heights that proudly rise
 And shroud their summits in the skies,
 Or by the Rhine's majestic stream
 The hostile arms of Gallia gleam.
 Fenc'd by her naval hosts that ride
 Triumphant o'er her circling tide;
 Britannia, jocund, pours the festive lay,
 And hails with duteous voice her George's natal day.

III.

Yet though her eye exulting sees
 Valour her daring offspring crown,
 And Glory wafts on every breeze
 The swelling pæans of Renown,
 Not from the warrior laurel's leaves
 The votive garland now she weaves,

Sweeter

Sweeter than Maia's balmy breath,
 Concord perfumes the civic wreath
 Of flowers embued with dew divine,
 Which Albion and Ierne twine,
 To deck his brow whom each with grateful smiles
 Owns heir of Ocean's reign, lord of the British Isles.

IV.

God of our fathers, rise,
 And through the thundering skies
 Thy vengeance urge,
 In awful justice red,
 By thy dread arrows sped,
 But guard our monarch's head,
 God save great George!

V.

Still on our Albion smile,
 Still o'er this favour'd Isle
 O spread thy wing;
 To make each blessing sure,
 To make our fame endure,
 To make our rights secure,
 God save our king.

VI.

To the loud trumpet's throat,
 To the shrill clarion's note,
 Now jocund sing;
 From every open foe,
 From every traitor's blow,
 Virtue defend his brow,
 God guard our king!

BANNOCKBURN.

ROBERT BRUCE'S ADDRESS to his SOLDIERS.

[From the Fourth Volume of the WORKS of ROBERT BURNS.]

SCOTS, wha hae wi' Wallace bled;
 Scots, wham Bruce has aften led;
 Welcome to your gory bed,
 Or to glorious victorie.

Now's the day, and now's the hour;
 See the front o' battle lour;
 See approach proud Edward's power—
 Edward! chains and flaverie!

Wha will be a traitor knave?
 Wha can fill a coward's grave?
 Wha sae base as be a slave?
 Traitor? coward! turn and flee!

Wha for Scotland's king and law
Freedom's sword will strongly draw,
Free-man stand, or free-man fa',
Caledonian ! on wi' me !

By oppression's woes and pains !
By your sons in servile chains !
We will drain our dearest veins,
But they shall be—shall be free !

Lay the proud usurpers low !
Tyrants fall in every foe !
Liberty's in every blow !
Forward ! let us do, or die !

To MARY in HEAVEN.

[From the First Volume of the same WORKS.]

THOU lingering star, with less'ning ray,
That lov'st to greet the early morn,
Again thou usher'st in the day
My Mary from my soul was torn.
O Mary ! dear departed shade !
Where is thy place of blissful rest ?
See'st thou thy lover lowly laid ?
Hear'st thou the groans that rend his breast ?
That sacred hour can I forget,
Can I forget the hallowed grove,
Where by the winding Ayr we met,
To live one day of parting love !
Eternity will not efface
Those records dear of transports past ;
Thy image at our last embrace ;
Ah ! little thought we 'twas our last !
Ayr gurgling kissed his pebbled shore,
O'erhung with wild woods, thick'ning green ;
The fragrant birch, and hawthorn hoar,
Twin'd amorous round the raptur'd scene.
The flowers sprang wanton to be prest,
The birds sang love on every spray,
'Till too, too soon, the glowing west,
Proclaim'd the speed of winged day.
Still o'er these scenes my mem'ry wakes,
And fondly broods with miser care ;
Time but the impression deeper makes,
As streams their channels deeper wear.
My Mary, dear departed shade !
Where is thy blissful place of rest ?
See'st thou thy lover lowly laid ?
Hear'st thou the groans that rend his breast ?

ALFRED'S ADDRESS to the SAXON TROOPS, whom, on quitting his RETREAT in the ISLE of ETHELNEY, he met flying towards CAMBRIA, to escape from farther Contest with the invading DANES.

[From ALFRED, an Epic Poem, by JOSEPH COTTLE.]

“ —SUBJECTS! tho’ absent long,
 “ I have been planning for you, and am now
 “ Returning in your cause. The hand of God
 “ We all have felt, but, let us not despair,
 “ And we shall conquer. — Think how Saxons met
 “ In former times the Caledonian host,
 “ Fierce from their snowy mountains! Think again,
 “ How we, undaunted, faced that daring man —
 “ Rollo the Norman, when upon our coast
 “ His navy rode, and less than British heart
 “ Had awed — such was his might; but in our strength
 “ We dared him, and the robber chieftain fled
 “ To ravage weaker climes. So shall the foe
 “ That now assaults us flee. Before the wrath
 “ Of injured Saxons, weak the hostile spear
 “ And weak the hand that guides it. Ills may rise,
 “ Many, and threaten to destroy our race,
 “ The very name of Saxon, but, the day —
 “ The glorious day of triumph now draws near.

“ There is a point in human wretchedness
 “ Beyond whose bound the wretched cannot feel,
 “ And nothing here is lasting. We have felt,
 “ Each that before me stands, that prostrate state,
 “ That absence of all hope, and we may now
 “ Look on to happier times. Cheer up, brave men!
 “ The king whom you have served, and by whose side
 “ Met the fierce fight undaunted, now demands
 “ Your further aid — fearless, attend your prince,
 “ And let him lead you on to victory.
 “ At hand is my resort, Selwood, where dwell
 “ A valiant host of Saxons like yourselves; —
 “ Your brethren meet! Friends, if the name you own,
 “ Will you forsake me? seek inglorious flight?
 “ Have I thus fought and suffered, now to hear
 “ The voice of disobedience? — now to find
 “ A coward’s heart in Saxon? am I doom’d
 “ To reign, but not to rule; and at this hour
 “ Behold you shun the fight? It cannot be!
 “ Some fiend hath spread the calumny, — the sound
 “ Came from the air, for never English tongue
 “ Dealt in such words.

“ My subjects! I have long
 “ Endured a weighty burden; I have lived

" Goaded with cares, that filled my mind by day,
 " And when night came assumed a character
 " Ten-fold more fearful. What have I sustain'd
 " These ills for?—to support a crazy crown?
 " For what have I defied the elements,
 " And bared my head, and 'mid the hottest strife
 " Mix'd evermore?—to guard the name of king?
 " Thou know'st, oh heart! that now art beating high,
 " Thou know'st it was not! No, these feet have toil'd,
 " This mind hath ponder'd, and this head endured
 " Life's crushing cares for nobler purposes!—
 " Whom have you dared the fight for? for your king?
 " To save yourselves? or hurl destruction's brand
 " Fierce on the Danes? No, nobler views were yours!
 " You fought for liberty! you fought to save
 " All that is dear in life—your peaceful homes,
 " Your helpless fires, your wives, your innocents!
 " And not for these alone, but distant heirs—
 " For generations yet unborn, the race
 " Of future Saxons, down to farthest time!
 " Who, oft as they shall hear what we endured
 " To guard their rights, the precious blood we shed
 " To make their lives secure, and bid the form
 " Of holy Freedom rise, engirt with flowers
 " That dare the breath of time, shall look to heaven,
 " And with no common fervour bless the names
 " Of us their great forefathers, who for them
 " Endured but triumph'd—suffer'd but obtain'd.—
 " Now boldly I advance to meet the foe!
 " And you whose hearts shrink with the coward's fear,
 " Turn not to me! haste to your safe retreat,
 " And joy, if joy you can, when far away,
 " To think of those who suffer'd from your flight
 " To think for what your brethren fought and died."
 Alfred his sword unsheath'd, the scabbard cast
 Far in the air, and singly march'd along.—
 All follow'd, shouting, "Death or Victory!"

ELEGY ON RECOVERY FROM AN ILLNESS.

[From POEMS ON various Occasions, &c. by the Rev. W. COLLIER.]

YE soft'ring gales! which thro' the temper'd air,
 Around me sport on aromatic wing,
 What joy to hear your wanton flight declare
 Stern Winter yielding to the birth of Spring!
 Hail, glorious Sun! conceal'd in clouds no more
 Whose op'ning rays their genial vigour dart,
 I feel thy warmth my shatter'd pow'rs restore,
 And aid the pulses of my lab'ring heart.

Nor owe I less to Thee, whose milder beams,
 From storms secure, now cheer the gloom of night,
 While Thought in rapture o'er my fancy streams,
 Inspir'd by Silence, and thy virgin light.

The force of Nature in her rising charms,
 By all with grateful ardour is confest;
 But most their hearts the soft enchantment warms
 Whom Pain and pale Disease have long oppress.

With rapture them each spreading branch inspires,
 Whose redd'ning buds the promis'd leaves reveal;
 Their thoughts each shrub and gaudy flow'ret fires,
 And in their life returning life they feel.

To them the lark, while pois'd in air she floats,
 Their present bliss records in wildest strains;
 To them the nightingale, in plaintive notes,
 Tells the sad story of their former pains.

With eager steps, at dawn of rising day,
 They meet the sun on some aspiring hill,
 Or watch at eve the moon's serener ray,
 Confus'dly trembling on some secret rill.

Such are the joys which, sickness past, we know,
 Joys health perpetual knows not how to taste:
 O fickle state of happiness below!
 When in possession all our bliss we waste.

O tell, ye wretches! at whose bed, like mine,
 Sickness hath fix'd her melancholy stand,
 Tell the distress it is in pain to pine,
 Nor feel the pressure of Sleep's downy hand;

To count the hours which limp on leaden feet,
 Or in wild phrensy their swift flight to lose;
 To glow in flames of life-exhausting heat,
 Or melt in torrents of faint, chilly, dews;

Or, when at last the dire distemper flies,
 And, wearied out, we quit the loathsome bed,
 With nerves unbrac'd, and languid looks to rise,
 Doubtful among the living or the dead;

To feel the pow'rs of memory impair'd,
 Our senses torpid, our attention weak;
 To dread their sight who most our love have shar'd,
 More childish grown than ere we learn'd to speak.

Yet, when is man so wretched, or so blest,
 That no mischance can wound, or comfort cheer?
 Midst all the languors of my panting breast,
 Some gentle sounds approach my trembling ear:

'Tis Mira's voice—a voice whose soothing pow'r
 Might still the ravings of a frantic mind,
 Or hush the sorrows of the mournful hour,
 Which seeks that comfort it despairs to find.

Let

Let Grandeur act the flatter'd patron's part,
 Protection give to raise itself a name,
 Great in the treasure of a feeling heart,
 Friend to the wretched is thy nobler fame.
 O gentlest fair one! my true thanks receive,
 Still in this heart thy kindest aid shall live;
 And if, as mortal, thou art doom'd to grieve,
 May some fond friend thy own soft comfort give!

ODE of HAFIZ.

[From PERSIAN LYRICS, or scattered Poems from the DIVANI HAFIZ, &c.
 translated by Mr. HINDLEY.]

MINSTREL, tune some novel lay,
 Ever jocund, ever gay;
 Call for heart-expanding wine,
 Ever sparkling, ever fine.
 Sit remov'd from prying eyes;
 Love the game, the fair thy prize;
 Toying snatch the furtive bliss,
 Eager look, and eager kiss:
 Fresh and fresh repeat the freak,
 Often give, and often take.

Can'st thou feed the hung'ring soul
 Without drinking of the bowl?
 Pour out wine; to her 'tis due:
 Love commands thee— Fill anew;
 Drink her health, repeat her name,
 Often, often do the same.

Frantic love more frantic grows,
 Love admits of no repose:
 Haste, thou youth with silver feet,
 Haste, the goblet bring, be fleet;
 Fill again the luscious cup,
 Fresh and fresh, come, fill it up.

See, yon angel of my heart
 Forms for me, with witching art,
 Ornaments of varied taste,
 Fresh and graceful, fresh and chaste.

Gentle Zephyr, should'st thou roam,
 By my lovely charmer's home,
 Whisper to my dearest dear,
 Whisper, whisper in her ear,
 Tales of Hafiz; which repeat,
 Whisper'd soft, and whisper'd sweet;
 Whisper tales of love anew,
 Whisper'd whispers oft renew.

ANACREON'S ODE to his DOVE.

[From ODES of ANACREON, translated into English Verse, with Notes, by
THOMAS MOORE, Esq.]

Tell me, why, my sweetest dove,
Thus your humid pinions move,
Shedding through the air in showers,
Essence of the balmiest flowers?
Tell me whither; whence you rove—
Tell me all—my sweetest dove.
Curious stranger! I belong
To the bard of Teian song;
With his mandate now I fly
To the nymph of azure eye;
Ah! that eye has madden'd many,
But the poet more than any!
Venus for a hymn of love,
Warbled in her votive grove,
(’Twas in sooth a gentle lay)
Gave me to the bard away.
See me now his faithful minion:
Thus with softly-gliding pinion,
To his lovely girl I bear
Songs of passion through the air.
Oft he blandly whispers me,
“ Soon, my bird, I’ll set you free.”
But in vain he’ll bid me fly,
I shall serve him till I die.
Never could my plumes sustain
Ruffling winds and chilling rain,
O’er the plains, or in the dell,
On the mountain’s savage swell;
Seeking in the desert wood
Gloomy shelter, rustic food.
Now I lead a life of ease,
Far from such retreats as these;
From Anacreon’s hand I eat
Food delicious, viands sweet;
Flutter o’er his goblet’s brim,
Sip the foamy wine with him.
Then I dance and wanton round
To the lyre’s beguiling sound;
Or with gently-fanning wings
Shade the minstrel while he sings:
On his harp then sink in slumbers,
Dreaming still of dulcet numbers!
This is all—away—away—
You have made me waste the day.
How I’ve chatter’d! prating crow.
Never yet did chatter so.

SATIRICAL PRAISE OF MODERN ENGLISH HONOUR:

[From the MILLENNIUM, a Poem. Canto I.]

BACKWARDS half an age,
 When Johnson penned his four satiric page,
 He told the slumbering people he addressed
 That "English Honour was a standing jest:"
 The slumbering people started, growled,—and then,
 Too dull for vengeance, closed their eyes again.
 Should Johnson now, or bard of Johnson's fame,
 Rise unabashed, and dare assert the same,
 Quick from their scabbards countless swords would fly,
 To prove 'twas all a libel, and a lie.
 'Tis English honour spurs us into war;
 Bids us maintain the nation we abhor;
 Fight for the monarchy, that once restored,
 Would straight repay our friendship with the sword.
 'Tis English Honour boldly that equips,
 For foreign coasts, our soldiers and our ships;
 Points out the scene where thickest dangers press,
 And valour vainly struggles for success;
 And, when subdued, their glory to regain,
 Plans some like project o'er some neighbouring main.
 Touch but an English toe—nay cough, or hem,
 Wink but with these, or titter but with them,
 Speak but a word too little or too much,
 Such now our nerves, our pungent honour such,
 A friend or foe some insult here may feel,
 And dare you to the pistol, or the steel.

From rank to rank the high-soul'd orgasm flits,
 Thro' princes, premiers, senators, and cits:
 Some precious life is ever on the wing;
 Some public loss from Honour's noble sting
 Shakes every dome with dread where'er you range,
 St. Stephen's now, and now the Stock-Exchange.

Guardians of Britain! ye, in doubtful hour,
 Thro' the mid air who mustered all your power,
 When wicked Tierney into combat pressed
 The man on whom our lives and fortunes rest;
 Subverted nature's laws and sidelong led
 The ball that else had surely struck him dead:
 Ye! who, soon after, saved from equal fate
 The brother-champion of the sister-state,
 When, fiercer still, with ampler courage steeled,
 Himself called Grattan to the hostile field,
 And, from his luckless elbow, rudely gored,
 A few red drops of peerless value poured:—

Where'er

Where'er ye dwell, in darkness or in light,
 Whate'er your order, spirits black or white,
 Take, O, benign! from Aganippe's banks,
 As on we stray, this casual verse of thanks:
 Nor deem that all, the tuneful chords who strike,
 Are cursed with base ingratitude alike;
 Tho' Pindar, oft in antic flight who sings
 The vast exploits of ministers and kings,
 Tells not the tale; nor Pye, whose rapid rhyme
 By just one year outstrips the race of time,
 And, while chronologists are all perplexed,
 Proves that the present century is the next:
 Bard of the laureat brow! whose downy song,
 Like downy couch, o'er mattresses stretched along,
 So soft, so smooth, so genial to repose,
 Lulls the vexed soul to slumber 'mid its woes:
 He, too, tho' back one hundred years he looks
 For choicest anecdotes from choicest books,
 Strings them together, and, with dext'rous thrift,
 Weaves for our liege a worthy New-Year's Gift:
 He, too, ungrateful, exiles from his page
 These deeds most warlike of this warlike age;
 And Pitt and Corry, like the swinish throng,
 Live, fight, and die, uneternised in song.

Yet not in vain th' example; nor th' affray
 Useless to those just peeping into day.
 Already, see! each school-boy, 'prentice, clerk,
 Assumes the pistol, and demands the Park;
 Feels every breeze the fire of honour fan,
 Pants for dispute, and burns to meet his man.
 See! with what terror-striking air he stalks,
 At noon, through Bond-street, or St. James's walks;
 Or, if at night, with what vast swell he blocks
 Each play-house pass, and bellows for his box:
 With crop high frizzled, and depending glass,
 Short-sighted fop! to spy the crowds that pass,
 Booted, and buskin'd, and with pliant switch,
 Perchance far better laid athwart his breech;
 And, most tremendous! o'er his beardless face
 Th' enormous beaver, cocked with soldier-grace,
 Aslant and edgewise confidently hurled,
 Inviting broils, and braving all the world.
 'Tis English Honour that, like bottled air,
 Close pent within, makes thus the stripling dare:
 'Tis high example prompts th' illustrious deed,
 Like Pitt to fight, or e'en like Corry bleed;
 And wrap the hero-scarf, and boast the wound,
 And tell the tale to crowds of striplings round.

Nor honour only boast we, that to deeds
 Of noblest worth and hardiest danger leads.

Contempt of life, th' enthusiasm that binds
 Each tyrant instinct of untutored minds,
 Roots out the love of being, breaks the chain
 Of stern oppressive destiny in twain;
 Bids us be free, command our future hours,
 And live or die at will—This, too, is ours.
 See! with what calmness, what contempt of breath,
 The sons of Newgate hear the doom of death;
 Mount the thronged scaffold, as the post to fame,
 Laugh at the clerk, and, cursing, die *true game*.
 Or, braver still, see yonder corps who dare
 E'en for themselves th' eternal doom prepare.
 A thousand modes, for nature kindly opes
 A thousand such to crown their ardent hopes,
 Try they, capricious, to relinquish life,
 Pond, poison, lead, the garter, or the knife.
 Ask you the cause? Time was when nought availed
 But public freedom, or the state, assailed;
 When the stern patriot, deeming all was o'er,
 Mixed with the common wreck his spouting gore.
 Such Utica surveyed; and such the scene
 That dyed with glory the Philippine green,
 When the big soul of Brutus took her flight,
 And spurned the slaves that conquered in the fight.
 Ask now the cause—Ill-luck, perchance, at play,
 The fall of stocks, a mistress gone astray,
 A captured ship, an unpropitious breeze;
 These, and events far lighter still than these,
 Incite them oft to assert *the rights of man*,
 Retreat from life, and fly—where'er they can.
 What, when once wound to dignity like this,
 Is social duty or domestic bliss?
 The call of friends, or country? the despair
 Of him who gendered them, or her who bare—
 Now worn with years, and linked to life alone,
 Haply, by fondness for the hero-son?
 What then connubial ties? the tender claim
 That springs, spontaneous, from a husband's name,
 And prompts protection—rousing every nerve
 To toil for her, whose charms such toil deserve?
 Ah! what the foldings fond, the sweet embrace,
 The play, the prattle of the rising race,
 With rival feet, and joy-distended eyes,
 Their fire half-meeting as he homewards flies?
 Bonds such as these, that meaner men enthrall,
 The undaunted suicide contemns them all;
 Friends, country, children, wife, no more restrain,
 And fate and nature boast their laws in vain.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1800.

IT is with much pleasure that we introduce our annual notice of domestic productions in Theology, by announcing a pious legacy with which a late illustrious ornament of the Irish church, and of Christianity at large, has enriched the stores of Biblical literature. We allude to "an Attempt toward revising our English Translation of the Greek Scriptures, or the New Covenant of Jesus Christ, and toward illustrating the Sense by philological and explanatory Notes; by William Newcome, D. D. Member of the Royal Irish Academy, and Archbishop of Armagh," in two volumes. This work was printed so long ago as the year 1796, but was reserved for publication until after the author's death; because, as we have good reason to believe, the worthy prelate was unwilling, at his advanced period of life, to engage in the controversies to which his alterations of the commonly-received version might give rise. When he first undertook this design, his "intention extended no farther than to improve our authorised translation of the Greek Scriptures, following the text of Griesbach's excellent edition, except in a few instances, the reasons for which deviations that work itself will suggest." After having concluded this task, "with as much attention and labour as its importance demanded, I was convinced," says he, "that my plan

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was very defective, unless I subjoined a comment to the text of such an important and difficult book. I therefore engaged in a second labour of selection and abridgment from a body of notes which I had formed, or compiled, many years ago, with occasional additions suggested by able commentators, or by my own study of the Sacred Writings." The result of the archbishop's labour we consider to be very useful to Biblical scholars, as affording them a variety of important elucidations of obscure passages in our common translation, pithy and apposite remarks, and a judicious compressed collection of valuable criticisms, either borrowed from the works of other writers, or suggested by his own inquiries and reflexions. As far as we have compared his alterations with our common version, and with the original, they do not appear in any instance to have been introduced unnecessarily, and they possess also the merit of a simplicity and plainness that render them easily assimilable with the phraseology of the translation now in use. This work is a proper sequel to his lordship's former useful exertions in the field of sacred criticism, and will contribute with them to render his memory dear to those who entertain a just value for the Scriptures, and who wish to see them so completely understood, as that they may prove

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a rational

a rational "rule of faith and practice to the whole world." And like those exertions, it is offered to the public with that unassuming modesty, genuine candour, and unaffected piety, which were the predominant qualities in Dr. Newcome's mind. We understand that the excellent author had employed much time and labour on a similar "attempt toward revising our English translation of the Hebrew Scriptures;" which he has left as a bequest to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth Palace. We hope that those Scriptural philologists who have access to that collection, will be permitted to avail themselves of the advantages which his manuscripts cannot but afford, and to benefit the interests of sacred literature by a liberal communication of them to the public.

Another posthumous publication, which is honourable to the author's zealous attachment to the interests of revealed religion, is "a Commentary, with Notes, on part of the Book of the Revelation of St. John, by the late John Snodgrass, D. D. Minister of the Middle Church of Paisley." This work was left by the author at his death in an incomplete state, but was thought by his friends to possess too much merit to be consigned to oblivion. And we cannot say that, in forming their judgment of it, they were biassed by a blind or undue partiality. It displays much historical knowledge, sound learning, cool reflexion, and no little ingenuity; and it is also distinguished by a prevalent spirit of ardent piety, and interspersed with liberal and striking sentiments. Whether the author has been more successful than preceding writers in decyphering the obscure meaning of this part of Scripture, or whether he may

not be thought sometimes to have exposed himself to the charge of being too fanciful and hypothetical, particularly in elucidating the prophetic language by a reference to recent events, we must leave to the judgment of his readers. But his attempt is entitled to praise, and merits notice at a time when the attention of thinking believers in revelation is particularly fixed on the testimony of prophecy.

The "Practical Observations on the Revelation of St. John, written in the Year 1775, by the late Mrs. Bowdler," appear to have been originally published in 1787, but then escaped our notice. They are now reprinted in an enlarged form, with the hope that the instruction which they contain "may be read with pleasure and advantage by many persons who have not leisure or inclination to examine the prophetic meaning of the Apocalypse." Without affecting any profound critical skill, or pretending to an extensive acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, Mrs. Bowdler has chiefly followed, in her explanations of the visions, the most approved and rational interpreters of the book of Revelation, particularly the learned Joseph Mede; but not without occasional deviations from their opinions, which are supported with ingenuity, if not always satisfactorily. Her principal object, however, has been to deduce practical instruction from a view of the important scenes and circumstances to which the attention is drawn in the book of Revelation; and in this light her observations are entitled to much praise, and cannot fail to afford pleasure and improvement to serious readers, by the good sense, piety, candour, and modesty which they discover.

Mr. Zouch's "Attempt to illustrate

strate some of the Prophecies of the Old and New Testament," is a work which, within a small compass, contains much sound learning, judicious criticism, and calm discussion, united to an ardent zeal for the honour of revelation, and a lively jealousy against antichristian corruptions and abuses. The prophecies which engage his attention are those which the Protestant world in general formerly considered to be clearly predictive of the errors and vices of the papal church; but which some commentators of late have applied to the state of things in France, during its revolutionary scenes. That they are not justified in such an application of them, Mr. Zouch shows with great clearness and force of reasoning, and establishes the fact, that the apostasy predicted in the Old and New Testament writings relates not to a dereliction of all religion, or a change of political principles, but to a falling away from the purity of the Gospel, by the admission of tenets and practices contrary to its genuine principles and spirit. And he is equally successful in proving that papal Rome bears, most expressively, many of the distinctive marks which the Scriptural predictions attribute to the antichristian power. Whether he is justifiable in maintaining that "there and there only are we to look for the predicted apostasy, the seeds of which were sown in the first ages of the church, have long since taken deep root, and brought forth fruit abundantly," is another question, about which the Protestant world will be divided in opinion. His concluding remarks, on the actual state of the Christian religion in the world, are peculiarly deserving of attention; and, indeed, his whole work merits the serious perusal of those who

with thoroughly to investigate the meaning of the prophetic parts of Scripture.

The "Observations on the Seventh Form of Roman Government, in a Letter to the Rev. Henry Kett, B. D. Author of History the Interpreter of Prophecy, by a Layman," constitute a very able and well-written treatise, which will be perused with much pleasure by Biblical scholars. Mr. Kett, in his interpretation of the vision of the seven-headed beast in the Revelation of St. John, which is universally allowed to designate the seven forms of government that have prevailed in Rome, considered the seventh form to refer to the government under the Gothic kings, and the exarchs of Ravenna. Against this interpretation the author of the Observations before us offers such objections as appear to us to be unanswerable, for which we must refer the inquisitive reader to the work itself. It is said, that they have had the effect of altering the opinion of the respectable writer to whom they are addressed. Our layman's own hypothesis is, that the seventh form of Roman government commenced with pope Boniface the Third's assumption of the title of Universal Bishop, in the beginning of the seventh century; under which he and his immediate successors gradually enlarged the power of the papal See, until the bishops of Rome acquired that plenitude of spiritual and temporal dominion, in the eighth century, which entitle the papacy from that time to be considered as the eighth form mentioned in the Revelation, that is "of the seven," or proceeding or springing from the seven, "and goeth into perdition." Whether the arguments by which the author supports his hypothesis be

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generally thought satisfactory, or otherwise, it must be acknowledged that they are maintained with much ingenuity and modesty; and the whole scope of his treatise cannot fail of proving interesting to students in the sacred writings.

In our Register for the year 1788 we announced the appearance of "Morsels of Criticism, &c. by Edward King, Esq." During the present year the worthy author has published "a Second Part to the Morsels of Criticism, containing additional Dissertations, and additional Notes; further illustrating the original Work, and tending to show the most perfect Consistency of Philosophical Discoveries, and of Historical Facts, with the Holy Scriptures." This work possesses a similar character with the preceding, to which it is a supplement, and presents us with learning, piety, curious speculation, fanciful conjectures, and some peculiarly singular notions for a zealous believer in revealed religion, (as Mr. King unquestionably is) blended together in a strange association. It is but justice to the author, however, to remark, that he does not obtrude his sentiments with a dogmatical and imperative air, but offers them "as the apprehensions of a honest humble mind; no ways wishing to impose opinions upon others, but merely to offer fair considerations, and wishing only truth to prevail." Among other bold hypotheses, he maintains "that the commonly-received opinion that all mankind are the sons of Adam, is so far from being really founded on Scripture, or necessarily to be implied from the whole tenor of the inspired Mosaic writings, that it is even directly contrary to what is contained there;" "that man was at first created of one *genus* in-

deed, and all of one blood, and in the image of God,—but of different *species*, with different capacities, and powers, and dispositions, for very wise purposes,—having Adam (of super-eminent abilities and endowments) as the first and head class or species,—and who was therefore distinguished by that noble appellation of being a son of God;" that at the deluge, not only Noah and his family, and the animals which were with him in the ark, were preserved, but "that some few other human beings, the descendants of the other classes or species of the first created man, might be preserved here and there, by the direction and permission of the Almighty wisdom, and by such providential means of deliverance as are in general called fortunate accidents," &c. Some of the philosophical notions which he advances, likewise, are as peculiarly his own as the above hypotheses respecting the Mosaic history; but for their particulars, and the author's method of supporting them, we must refer our curious readers to his work itself.

The "Concise View, from History and Prophecy, of the great Predictions in the Sacred Writings that have been fulfilled, also of those that are fulfilling, and that remain to be accomplished; by Francis Dobbs, Esq. Member for the Borough of Charlemont in Ireland, in Letters to his eldest Son," is a most extraordinary production, abounding in wonderful discoveries, which the unenlightened and profane part of mankind will be apt to attribute to the dreams of a heated or disordered imagination. The author, however, is prepared to meet their taunts and sneers, and, under a firm conviction that he possesses the genuine key to the prophetic

phetic writings, thus addresses his correspondent: "Let men call your father mad if they please, but I know that I can bear the testimony of sober examination, and that I am, in all I shall say on this subject, only the zealous advocate of sacred truth." According to this writer, the second coming of the Messiah is immediately to be expected, and Ireland is the happy country in which Satan is to receive his first deadly blow. By Armageddon, in the Revelation, is meant Armagh, which is to be the chief city in the Messiah's empire. There are now on the earth 144,000 true believers and followers of Christ, ready to receive and obey the commands of their Master, who are the salt of the earth, and by whom it will be saved. All men, both good and bad, now upon the earth have lived before, and no man has lived since the flood who was not in existence before it. And there are two distinct races of men, the one from God through Adam, the other through a creation of the devil. Those of our readers whose curiosity is excited by the particulars just enumerated, may find abundant novelties of a similar description in Mr. Dobbs's Concise View.

Mr. Gisborne's "Familiar Survey of the Christian Religion, and of History as connected with the Introduction of Christianity and with its Progress to the present Time," was drawn up by the worthy author for the information and improvement of young persons of either sex, during the course of public or private education. It consists of thirteen chapters, in which the author treats of the state of mankind from the creation of the world to the calling of Abraham; of the origin of the Jewish race; and of the history of that people to the death of

Moses; of the history of the Jews from the period last mentioned to the present time; of the books of the Old Testament; of the books of the New Testament; of the evidences of the Christian religion; of the leading doctrines of the Christian religion; of the character of Jesus Christ; of the history of Christianity to the subversion of the western empire, and from that event to the present time; and of forms of church government and ecclesiastical establishments. The concluding chapter contains cautions against infidelity; and exhortations to the cultivation of Christian virtue from Christian motives. With such a large field before him, the author cannot be expected, within the compass of one octavo volume, to have dwelt very fully on any of the subjects which he has selected. He has, however, upon the whole, treated of them in a manner that is judiciously adapted to the understandings and instruction of the persons for whose use his survey was designed, and with the same spirit of liberality and candour that have characterised his former productions. Against particular passages and sentiments exceptions will be made by many, whose views of Christian doctrines and church establishments differ from those of the author; but they will concur with us in commending the general excellence of his work, and in applauding the benevolent and pious design in which it originated.

The "Summary of the principal Evidences of the Truth and divine Origin of the Christian Revelation, designed chiefly for the Use of Young Persons, more particularly of those who have lately been confirmed in the Diocese of London, by Beilby, Lord Bishop of London," is a very valuable present to the rising generation.

neration. His lordship's object was, "to collect together into one view, and to compress together in a narrow compass, all the most forcible arguments for the truth of our religion, which are for the most part to be found in our best writers, with the addition of such observations of his own as occurred to him in the prosecution of the work." These arguments he has classed in a series of "short, clear, distinct propositions," which are discussed with admirable perspicuity, and equal fairness and impartiality, interspersed with judicious and striking observations; and forcibly warrant the conclusion "that a religion supported by such an extraordinary accumulation of evidence must be true." We consider it as a very excellent elementary work for young persons, before they are employed in the study of larger treatises on the evidences of Christianity, and warmly recommend the dispersion of it to those who have the interests of that religion at heart.

"Christianity vindicated, in a Series of Letters addressed to Mr. Volney, in Answer to his Book called 'Ruins, or a Survey of the Revolutions of Empires,' by the Rev. Peter Roberts, A.M." is a work engaged in by the author under the conviction that the treatise to which it is an answer "has been, and is, doing much mischief; and the more, perhaps, because that objections, however unfounded in reality, if left unanswered, are not unfrequently considered as unanswered." But surely Mr. Roberts's information or memory must be very incorrect, or we do not conceive that he would have insinuated that Volney's objections to Christianity are left unanswered, after the appearance of Dr. Priestley's able replies to them, announced in our

Register for the year 1797! for we think better of his judgment, and hope better of his candour, than to imagine that he would have suffered such an expression to have escaped him, if he had been acquainted with the doctor's writings in answer to his infidel opponent. Be the case, however, what it may, the merits of his own performance, as an argumentative production, are not affected by the preceding remarks. To the futile objections of Volney against Christianity we think that he has given a judicious and satisfactory reply, for which he is entitled to the thanks of the friends of revealed religion. Many of his incidental sentiments and observations, likewise, are valuable and important, especially such as relate to the distinction which ought ever to be drawn between Popery and Christianity—between the abuses of religion and religion itself.

The "Brief View of the Necessity and Truth of the Christian Revelation," by Thomas Hartwell Horne, is a pleasing and well-written manual of the evidences in favour of Christianity, which may supply young and general readers, with an useful antidote against the poison of modern unbelief. It is divided into two sections. The first is built on materials selected from different writers on the subject, and particularly from Dr. Leland's Account of the State of Religion in the Ancient Heathen World, and is employed in proving the necessity of the Christian revelation. The second section is designed to demonstrate the "existence of our Saviour, from the united testimony of authors both friendly and inimical to the Christian revelation." To the whole are added some just and acute remarks on the superior purity and sanctity of the Christian

Christian precepts. We wish that the author had omitted any reference to supposed "miracles performed after the apostolical age, particularly the casting out of demons or evil spirits by Christians." A point about which some of the best friends to Christianity are divided in opinion were better to be lost sight of, when the repulse of the common enemy is the main object in view.

The "Argument concerning the Christian Religion, drawn from the Character of the Founders, translated from the French of J. Vernet," is written with much ability, clearness, and precision, and richly deserves the serious notice of dispassionate and conscientious sceptics. The author's observations on the nature of moral certainty are truly excellent; and his application of them to points at issue between believers and unbelievers, on the ground indicated in the title, logical, pertinent, and forcible. And we think that, from the whole, he has fairly made out his concluding charge of the greatest credulity in unbelievers, who, in order to elude the proofs of the Christian religion, "admit paradoxes, contrary to every thing we know of man, and of his nature, and contrary to all the examples with which we are furnished from history."

"The Gospel its own Witness, or the Holy Nature and Divine Harmony of the Christian Religion, contrasted with the Immorality and Absurdity of Deism; by Andrew Fuller," although on the whole not ill written, and containing many just remarks and important reflexions, we cannot class among the judicious defences of revelation. Instead of presenting us with a calm comparison of the principles of the deistical and Christian systems, and

of the effects in improving the human heart and conduct produced by them respectively, it is chiefly employed in exposing the immoral practices and absurd tenets of individual deists and atheists, whom, with great injustice, he confounds together in one common class. He might have greatly enlarged his catalogue of such 'fools,' in the Scriptural sense of the expression, and unbelievers might contrast with it a long list of respectable characters of whom their systems have to boast; but still the question in debate between them would remain undecided. A demonstration of the natural and prevailing influence of their opposite principles, and a dispassionate delineation of that influence, tracing the connexion between cause and effect, was what ought to have been the object of his treatise, and what we were led to hope for when we took it in hand. But we were disappointed. And we were also disgusted with the acrimonious virulent language of which the author frequently makes use. The true friends of Christianity will lament to see such means resorted to in its defence, and the infidel will triumph in finding his adversary abusive and out of temper.

"Apeleutherus, or an Effort to attain Intellectual Freedom," &c. is stated in the preface to be "the result of long continued and serious meditation," and written from motives of the purest kind, and with a wish "that the light of truth may be more and more extensively diffused, and that, in proportion to its diffusion, the human race may become virtuous and happy." We see no reason to question the sincerity of the author's declarations, or the uprightness of his views; but we conceive that the opinions for which he is an advocate have a

tendency to introduce licentiousness, rather than to establish true freedom. His work is divided into three parts. In the first part the author has undertaken to show the unreasonableness of public worship. But in the whole of what he has advanced on this subject, he has done little more than argue from the possible abuses of public worship against its use, excepting when he begs some questions which he considers to be already decided, but which will not be conceded to him by the great majority of those who derive their sentiments from the most liberal interpretation of the New Testament writings. The second part of this treatise is intended to expose the inutility of public religious instruction; in which still the force of the author's reasoning is principally applicable to the improper manner in which that practice is too commonly conducted, and does not disprove the wisdom or generally beneficial effects of the practice itself. Instead of public instruction, he recommends domestic instruction, and the dissemination of knowledge through the medium which the art of printing supplies, as the proper means of cultivating the best principles of the human mind. That these are most necessary and proper means for that great end will be readily acknowledged by the advocates for public instruction, but without allowing that they are of themselves sufficient for accomplishing the moral improvement of the human race. Indeed, we are weak enough to believe, that in the most improved state of human knowledge that can be expected on this side of the grave, the advantages of public and private instruction, and those to be derived from books, must ever be combined, in order to excite the

best energies, and to promote the highest excellence of the human character. The third part of this work is entitled, "on Christianity as a supernatural communication." Notwithstanding that the author admits that Christianity could be no other than a supernatural communication, yet his assertions that "the miraculous facts which are said to have accompanied the first preaching of Christianity are not of any great direct importance to us at this day," and that in our situation "it is, not the miracles that prove the truth of the religion, but it is the truth of the religion that proves the miracles," are certainly very exceptionable; for they cannot be received without fatal consequences to that kind of evidence in favour of Christianity on which its Author constantly laid the greatest stress, and, in particular, to the evidence arising from the grand fact of his own resurrection. We are not willing to class the author of *Apeleutherus* among the insidious enemies to Christianity, who assume a mask of friendship in order with more effect to direct a deadly blow at its vitals; but we must consider him as an injudicious believer, at least, if not as halting on the confines of scepticism.

The "Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with those of the Hindoos and other Ancient Nations, with Remarks on M. Dupuis' Origin of all Religions, &c. by Joseph Priestley, LL.D. F.R.S. &c." is a work not only highly interesting to curiosity, but of considerable importance, as it is connected with the evidence of the divine origin of the Jewish revelation. Infidelity has diversified its modes of attack on the Mosaic and Christian systems, in almost every possible form. Among others, it

has been the subject of bold affirmation, that the principles of those religions have been borrowed from the theology of the oriental world, and that the peculiar institutions of the Mosaic dispensation; in particular, may be clearly shown to have been copied from the superstitious ordinances of the Hindoo code. Some points of resemblance between certain Jewish and Hindoo traditions have, by superficial inquirers, been considered to be decisive of the question; and this opinion has been confirmed by the exaggerated commendations bestowed by some able oriental scholars on the reasonableness and excellence of the Hindoo fundamental doctrines. It has become, then, a very desirable object, that the question should be fairly brought to issue, by such a comparison as that announced in the title of the present performance; and we consider the friends of revelation to be under very great obligations to Dr. Priestley, for the learning, ingenuity, and labour which he has bestowed upon it in his American retreat. After examining into the antiquity of the Hindoo nation, and religion, and the points of resemblance between the religion of the Hindoos and that of the Egyptians, Greeks, and other western nations, and giving an account of the Vedas and other sacred books of the Hindoos, the doctor proceeds to show wherein the Mosaic and Hindoo systems differ from each other. This object he pursues under the heads of the Hindoo account of the creation, and of the general principles of their philosophy; their polytheism and idolatry; their different castes; the Brahmins; the prerogatives of their kings; the situation of their women; their devotion; their restrictions with respect to food; their austerities, penances,

superstitions, licentious rites, charms, and trials by ordeal; and their doctrine of a future state. This comparative view is followed by some very important general remarks on the evidence of revelation. From the able and satisfactory manner in which this comparison is conducted, we must attribute more than prejudice to him who, after having carefully attended to it, shall still maintain that the system of Moses is only built on the eastern customs and fables. To this comparison succeed some judicious and spirited observations on M. Dupuis's *Origin of all Religions*, and M. Boulanger's attack upon revelation; which are followed by an useful methodical arrangement of the laws and institutions of Moses, under distinct heads, for which we must refer to the work itself. The volume concludes with an address to the Jews on the present state of the world, and the prophecies relating to it; in which the doctor encourages that nation to expect their speedy return to and establishment in Palestine, as he conceives that the wars which now convulse the globe will terminate in events that will lead to such a change in their political situation. The change of their religious creed, from Judaism to Christianity, he is persuaded will soon take place after their re-instatement in the country of their ancestors. Very different will be the impressions which this part of the doctor's labours will make on his readers, according to the different constructions which they have been accustomed to attach to the language of the prophetic writings. We do not find ourselves disposed either to condemn the doctor's interpretations as fanciful and visionary, or to embrace his views with full confidence and lively hope.

The "Animadversions on the Elements of Christian Theology, by the Rev. George Pretyman, D. D. F.R.S. Lord Bishop of Lincoln, in a Series of Letters addressed to his Lordship, by William Frend," consist of serious argument, polite satire, and a considerable portion of humour, intermingled in a manner that will afford entertainment to readers who may differ widely from the author in sentiment, and even sometimes think that his language wears too much of the appearance of levity. "They are comprised in twenty-one letters, and comprehend a great variety of topics, chiefly suggested by the materials in the latter part of the second volume of the bishop's Elements," the subjects of which were noticed in our last year's Register. In the course of his work Dr. Pretyman had with much force maintained, that "it behoves every one, before he offers himself a candidate for holy orders, to peruse carefully the articles of the church, and to compare them with the written Word of God." And his lordship afterwards added, that "if he thinks that he sees reason to dissent from any of the doctrines asserted in them, no hope of emolument or honour, no dread of inconvenience or disappointment, should induce him to express his solemn assent to propositions which, in fact, he does not believe. Let it be remembered, that in a business of this serious and important nature, no species whatever of evasion, subterfuge, or reserve, is to be allowed, or can be practised, without imminent danger of incurring the wrath of God. The articles are to be subscribed in their plain and obvious sense; and assent is to be given to them simply and unequivocally." In these sentiments Mr. Frend concurs in opinion with the bishop, and after-

wards applauds the liberality and manliness with which he disclaims all condemnation of those who differ from the church in the articles of their belief, and pronounces the damnatory clause in the Athanasian creed both unnecessary and presumptuous. But he conceives that this liberality subjects his lordship to the charge of "impugning religion as established by public authority within this realm;" and that the system to which he has subscribed contains many other particulars, which are no less inconsistent with the terms laid down by our Saviour and his apostles for Christian communion than the damnatory clause of the Athanasian creed. The object of these letters is to point out these particulars, and to recommend them, together with the consequences of his lordship's liberal concessions, to the farther examination of his cool and serious judgment. Whether the bishop will hear, or whether he will forbear, we think that many of Mr. Frend's animadversions carry with them no little weight, and that his pages will supply the greater number of his readers with some curious ecclesiastical information as well as amusement.

The author of "Serious and candid Observations on that Part of the Bishop of Lincoln's Work, entitled Elements of Christian Theology, which contains his Lordship's Exposition of the 17th Article of the Church of England," who styles himself "an old Christian in the country," has undertaken to prove, in opposition to Dr. Pretyman's interpretation, that the literal sense of the article in question, cannot, excepting by an astonishing and unwarrantable perversion of language, be construed into any thing else than the pure Calvinistic

nistic doctrine of predestination. This point he argues with considerable ability and seriousness, and backs his opinion by an appeal to bishop Beveridge's exposition of the same article, and to the sentiments of the early fathers of the reformed church, "almost to a man," and, in particular, those of archbishop Whitgift, Dr. Fletcher, bishop of London, and Dr. Hutton, archbishop of York. As far as the grammatical sense of the article has any weight, and the intention of its first imposers is to be taken into consideration, we do not think that it will be easy to answer the reasonings of the author before us. Of the conclusiveness of his arguments to prove that the article itself is consistent with Scripture, as they contain nothing but what has been commonly advanced in the controversy from the days of Calvin to the present time, his readers will most probably form their judgment according to the systems which they have respectively embraced.

"Scripture the only Guide to Religious Truth, by D. Eaton," contains "a narrative of the proceedings of the society of Baptists in York, in relinquishing the popular systems of religion, from the study of the Scriptures. To which is added, a brief account of their present views of the faith and practice of the Gospel. In a series of letters to a friend." It is written with great plainness and simplicity, and presents us with a very striking account of the effect of unwearied and dispassionate religious inquiry on a number of "illiterate persons, without learning, or any of the advantages of an improved education; most of them in the lowest stations of life—journeymen, mechanics, with one or two exceptions, thus situated in the mass of society, and,

of course, heirs to the prejudices and habits of thought which prevail there." They were originally of the established church, and became serious pretty early in life, but chiefly confined their attention to the preaching of the methodists. From churchmen of the methodistical class they became independent Calvinists; and, after a succession of gradual changes in opinion, on the subjects both of doctrine and church government, have at length settled as members of a Baptist Church, holding religious sentiments nearly similar with those of modern Unitarians, and united under a form of discipline that is exceedingly simple and primitive. In the narrative, a particular account is given of the manner in which those changes took place, and of the arguments which produced them,—comprehending a summary of the principal objections which are generally urged against the leading articles of the popular creed. The whole forms a curious and interesting production; and will impress the reader with a high opinion of the honesty, and good dispositions of the members of this new Baptist Church, whatever may be his judgment of the extent of their knowledge, or the solidity of their understanding. The "Defence of Scripture Doctrines, as understood by the Church of England, in reply to a Pamphlet entitled 'Scripture the only Guide to Religious Truth, &c.' in a Series of Letters to Mr. D. Eaton, by the Rev. John Graham," is written with calmness and good temper, under an evident conviction of the truth and importance of the creed maintained in the articles of the established church, and with a laudable zeal in the author, as one of its ministers, to oppose the progress

progress of what he conceives to be dangerous errors in his neighbourhood and connexions. It shows him to be not unskilful in polemics; and presents those readers who have no leisure for the perusal of larger treatises, with a plain and perspicuous epitome of the arguments commonly appealed to in support of our established system of belief. Whether he or his opponent is most successful in the application of the reasonings which they respectively advance, we leave to the judgment of those who have the opportunity of consulting both their performances.

The "Vindication of the Calvinistic Doctrines of Human Depravity, the Atonement, Divine Influence, &c. in a Series of Letters to the Rev. T. Belfham, occasioned by his 'Review of Mr. Wilberforce's Treatise, &c.' by Thomas Williams," however well intended, is not distinguished by any novelty of remark, masterly criticism, or peculiar force of reasoning, that can entitle the author to be classed among the eminent defenders of the orthodox cause. His arguments are such as have been commonly adduced by his predecessors in the controversy, and clothed in the well-known phraseology of the Calvinistic school. For the zeal which he displays in support of what he considers to be the truths of the Gospel, he is certainly entitled to commendation; but his claim to it would have been still higher if his language had been unmingled with bitterness and insinuations against his opponent, which cannot be vindicated on the ground of courtesy or liberality. We allude to the spirit and expression of his strictures on rational divines and rational gentlemen, as well as to the charge

of profaneness which he prefers against Mr. Belfham, and his associating him with the most scurrilous of our modern enemies to divine revelation. Subjoined to this Vindication is an appendix, addressed to the author of "Letters on Hereditary Depravity," which feebly combats some of the leading arguments and positions in that judicious and rational performance.

The design of the next publication which falls under our notice will sufficiently appear from its title: It is "the Liturgy of the Church of England explained and vindicated, so as to appear in perfect Harmony with the Scriptures, and very far distant from the Arminian system; now first printed from the Manuscript of Augustus Toplady, A. B. &c." Our readers need not be informed, that the late Mr. Toplady was one of the most zealous and popular advocates in defence of the Calvinism of our established creed. In this posthumous production his argumentative powers are occasionally displayed with vigour and acuteness, but not unmingled with flippancy and a coarseness of censure on his Arminian brethren which does little honour or service to his cause. Prefixed to this treatise is an essay on the character and works of the Author, in which his abilities as a minister and as a writer are commended in very warm and exalted terms.

The "Call for Union with the established Church, addressed to English Protestants, &c. by George Isaac Huntingford, D. D. Warden of St. Mary's College, Winchester," consists chiefly of selections from various authors, on the subjects of church unity, church edification, the reasonableness of conformity, the advantages of composed forms of prayer, the excellence

lence of the liturgy; the unreasonableness and mischief of separation, &c.; together with some preliminary observations, and a conclusion, by the editor, intended to interest the attention of Dissenters, and to convince them that separation is not only unnecessary, but, at this juncture, in particular, exceedingly dangerous in a civil as well as a religious view. Highly as we deem of the purity of Dr. Huntingford's motives in forming this compilation, and of the excellence of the temper and spirit discovered in the reasonings and remarks that are properly his own, we cannot say that his work is very judiciously adapted to meet the objections of modern sectaries. For it does not enter into a discussion of what they will maintain to be fundamental points in debate between them and the establishment, and, in particular, those of the right of the civil magistrate to interfere in the government of the church of Christ, and of any man, or body of men, to decree rites and ceremonies, and exercise authority in matters of faith; and it takes for granted certain other points which they cannot concede without self condemnation. Such, for instance, are his positions which maintain or imply that the prayers and credenda of the established church are most purely Christian, and that whatever imperfections there may be in the liturgy, they do not "in any manner relate to essentials, but are confined altogether to matters indifferent." Churchmen and sectaries, however, notwithstanding that they differ widely on these subjects, and must continue to differ until both parties show a disposition to make greater concessions and advances towards each other

than present appearances warrant us speedily to expect, may, nevertheless, preserve "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace" by which the interests of Christianity would be essentially promoted, and the open opposition, or insidious arts of its enemies, most effectually defeated.

The "Report of the Clergy of a District in the Diocese of Lincoln, convened for the Purpose of considering the State of Religion in the several Parishes in the said District, as well as the best Mode of promoting the Belief and Practice of it, &c." appears to have originated in the fears and apprehensions created in the clergy by the increasing desertion of the parish churches which has of late years been observable in the part of the country to which they relate, and their wishes to prescribe the most effectual remedies for the evil of which they complain. From an inquiry into the causes of the fact which has excited their alarm, it appears to be attributable, not to the exertions and zeal of the real Dissenters, who are represented to be few in number, and to "behave in general with great decency, and to manifest no asperity towards the clergy, or other members of the establishment," but, in a considerable degree, to the labours of the Methodists, and the unwearied assiduity of their numerous and illiterate itinerant preachers. One principal object of this report is, to point out such means as the authors consider to be most proper for preventing the farther progress of Methodism, and to bring back again into the bosom of the church those who have been led astray by its seductions. When for these ends they recommend to their brethren of the clergy dili-

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gence and zeal in the discharge of their professional duties, and a particular regard to the exemplariness of their conduct and behaviour, they give such advice as is consonant with sound wisdom and policy, and from a compliance with which the most beneficial consequences may be fairly augured. But when, among other remedies, they intimate the necessity of applying to the legislature for "such explanations and amendments of the Toleration Act as, without infringing in any degree upon any of the privileges, immunities, and exemptions which the dissenters from the church of England now enjoy, shall secure the church from fraudulent intrusion or encroachment," they enter on tender ground, and are advocates for a measure, which, if it were carried into effect, would, we are persuaded, rather tend to increase than to diminish the adherents to Methodism: for it would amount to a persecution of their cause; and persecution was never yet found an efficacious instrument in suppressing principles.

The "Vindication of the People called Methodists, in Answer to a 'Report from the Clergy, &c.' by Joseph Benson, a Preacher among the Methodists," is written with considerable ability, and, so far as it is intended to show that the reporters have not always been quite accurate in their account of the conduct of the Methodists, and in their representation of the views which they attribute to them, is certainly deserving of notice and consideration. So, likewise, are the author's observations on the impolicy of, and probable consequences which would follow, the alterations in the Toleration Act, the expediency of which has been

suggested by the Lincolnshire clergy. But when Mr. Benson endeavours to justify the proceedings of the class of Christians to whom he belongs, and to claim for them the character of consistent members of the established church, he undertakes a task which is utterly impracticable. The church can acknowledge no members but those who are uniformly submissive to its discipline, as well as believers in its doctrines; and may with reason pronounce those hostile to its peculiar principles and spirit, who do not strictly confine themselves within the bounds of canonical obedience. Mr. Benson then, and the class of whom he is the advocate, if they think it of importance to give to the world unequivocal proofs of their religious sincerity, and purity of intention, should either renounce the exercise of private judgment in which they have indulged themselves, and yield an unreserved submission to the laws and regulations of the establishment, or openly avow themselves Dissenters. For we do not see how it is possible, without having recourse to a species of quibbling and mental reservation, which, to say the least, is unmanly and contemptible, to embrace any medium between either conformity or non-conformity.

The "Letter to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, respecting the 'Report which the Clergy, &c,' by Cursitor," was written on the supposition that a design was entertained of introducing a bill into parliament, under the auspices of his Lordship, for the purpose of altering the Toleration Act in the manner already noticed. Against the necessity, policy, and justice of such a measure, Cursitor's letter contains many weighty arguments;

ments; and also well-written and pointed strictures on the reasons which the reporters urge for such an infringement of religious liberty. But, surely, whatever may be the wish or recommendation of individuals among the clergy, the governors of the church and the legislature can have had no such bill in contemplation as the author's apprehensions lead him to imagine; for it could not be carried into effect without a gross violation of those principles of the British constitution which have ever been considered as its greatest glory and excellence, and a breach of the solemn contract implied in the recognition of the claims of the house of Brunswick to the crown of these realms.

Dr. Barry's "Few Observations on the Expedience of Parliamentary Interposition duly to explain the Act of William and Mary, commonly called the Tolerating Act," were written by way of appendix to his "Friendly Call to a new Species of Dissenters," noticed in our last year's Register. It should seem that the doctor's persuasive powers have not operated according to his wishes on the persons for whose benefit he exerted himself, and he would, therefore, compel them, by the strong arm of the law, to renounce the character of schismatics, and to re-enter the fold of the church, whence they have strayed. After the remarks which we have offered in the preceding articles, it is unnecessary for us to express any opinion of the measure for which the doctor is an advocate. We cannot refrain from observing, however, that the disappointment which he received from the inattention paid to his former work, is apparent in the language of these "Observations," which

is far less conciliating than that of the author's "Friendly Call," and is sometimes calculated to excite the indignant passions of the persons to whom it is addressed, by the contemptuous and disdainful expressions which occur in it.

The next article which offers itself to our notice is "Reformation Truth restored; being a Reply to the Rev. Charles Daubeny's Appendix to his Guide to the Church, &c. in a Series of Letters to Mr. Daubeny, by Sir Richard Hill, Bart. M. P." In our Registers for the years 1798 and 1799, our readers may find an account of the preceding publications in this controversy between the baronet and the divine, and our judgment of the abilities and temper displayed by the respective disputants. The treatise before us undertakes to demonstrate Mr. Daubeny's "own inconsistency with himself, and his great misrepresentation of some historic facts." It also contains "a more particular vindication of the pure, reformed, episcopal church of England, from the charges of Mr. Daubeny, and other doctrinal dissenters of that gentleman's sect, who are fomenting schisms and divisions, and disseminating errors, in the very bosom of the establishment." Such is the language in which Sir Richard describes the object of his present work, which is not likely to be the last of his performances in the same line, and is too similar, in manner and spirit, to his "Apology for Brotherly Love," to render it necessary for us particularly to characterise it. We cannot say that, with all the ingenuity which the author displays in it, he offers a satisfactory vindication of the conduct of himself and his friends, in their open and repeated disobedience to the discipline.

pline of the established church; while they profess to be its members. His arguments in support of the Calvinistic sense of the articles carry with them more force and validity; and his strictures on the methods in which preferments are commonly obtained in the church, are such as merit the serious consideration of its true friends and well wishers.

The "Refutation of some of the more modern Misrepresentations of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers; with a Life of James Nayler; by Joseph Gurney Bevan, &c." does certainly acquit that description of people of some injurious reflexions cast on them by Mosheim, Hume, John Wesley, and other writers; and it proves, that the fanatical and mad extravagances of James Nayler, for which he was subjected to a horrid punishment, when he ought to have been sent to Bedlam, cannot, with any fairness, be imputed to the sect of which he was a member. In both these points of view we think it entitled to dispassionate notice: and it will also afford some information to general readers, by a summary that is subjoined to it, of "the history, doctrine, and discipline of Friends," which appears to be now first printed for public sale, "by permission of the Meeting for Sufferings."

The "Modest Apology for the Roman-catholics of Great Britain, addressed to all moderate Protestants, particularly to the Members of both Houses of Parliament," has been very generally ascribed to an author of distinguished learning, and equal liberality, who has been long known to the public by his instructive and entertaining productions. But as he has thought proper to withhold his name, we do

not conceive ourselves at liberty to introduce it, on the authority of common rumour. The design of this Apology is to show that English Catholics do not hold any opinions which, fairly and candidly considered, ought to expose them as objects of jealous apprehension to government, or subject them to any religious or civil disabilities, incompatible with the common privileges and birth-rights of Britons. After some preliminary observations, the author divides his work into three sections. In the first, he lays before his readers those articles of belief in which Catholics and Protestants mutually concur. In the second, he marks more particularly the points in which Catholics are either perfectly agreed, or nearly coincide with some one or other Protestant communion; especially with the established church of England. In the third section he sums up the tenets that are peculiar to Catholics; determines the strict sense in which a British Catholic receives them; and endeavours to defend or apologise for those tenets, and to show, that they neither merit proscription nor persecution, nor even the privation of a single privilege that other Britons enjoy. To the subjects included under the last section the greater share of his attention is paid; and in his discussion of them he displays much learning and acuteness, an extensive knowledge of ecclesiastical history, and a degree of moderation, liberality, and frankness, that are highly commendable. "Papal infallibility," he maintains, "is as absurd in itself as it is pernicious in its consequences—the spurious child of arrogance and ignorance, fostered by credulity, and matured by servile adulation." The sole supremacy which

which he allows to the pope is "a bare primacy of honour, rank, and precedence." "That faith is not to be kept with heretics" he pronounces an odious and detestable doctrine, which he acknowledges to have been formerly taught by Romish divines and canonists, but which British Catholics reject, and renounce, and solemnly swear that it is no part of their creed. And that they are entitled to credit for sincerity in such renunciation; and do not admit of any dispensing power in the popes to absolve them from the obligation of their declarations and oaths, candour must acknowledge to be a fair conclusion, from this plain question: "If the English Catholics imagined that the pope could dispense with their oaths, why have they so long persevered in refusing to take the oaths of *supremacy* and the *test*, — and so re-enter, all at once, into their British birth-rights? This consideration alone, one might think, should stop the mouth of captiousness itself." And on various other topics, of a doctrinal kind, our apologist gives such a representation of the creed of modern British Catholics, as leads us to entertain hopes that they are gradually approximating towards the Protestant faith. That there are bigots among them, who are as superstitious as ever their forefathers were in the darkest ages of popery, we can readily conceive; but that the author of this apology has spoken the sense of the generality of his communion, at least upon such important points as bear any relation to the grounds of their civil disability, we find ourselves disposed to believe, until we meet with strong evidence to the contrary. And that he has satisfactorily made out

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the justness of their pretensions to share in every privilege which their fellow subjects enjoy, we have not the least difficulty in asserting.

"The Christian's Guide, in six progressive Lectures, embellished with a few serious Extracts, and illustrated with copious Notes, for the Parishioners of Skipton, by J. A. Busfield, A. B." consists of pious reflexions, and serious admonitions, on the shortness of life, the wisdom of preparation, the weakness of man without Christ, pride and humility, faith the only means of salvation, the nature and necessity of the new birth, and the life and death of a faithful Christian; which will be found to accord with the sentiments and views, and are calculated for the edification, of those Christians who embrace the popular system of belief. The language of the author is animated and impassioned, but rather too declamatory, and sometimes too inflated for practical instructions intended to reach and influence the heart.

"The Libertine and Infidel led to Reflexion by calm Expostulation, a Method recommended in a Farewell Address to his Younger Brethren, by John Duncan, D. D." is an enlarged edition of "the Libertine led to Reflexion &c. by an old Parochial Clergyman," which we noticed in terms of warm approbation in our Register for the year 1794. We shall only remark on the appearance of the present volume, that in its improved form it is still more worthy of the praise which we formerly bestowed upon it; that those unbelievers who are influenced by a sincere love of truth, will meet in it with many observations worthy of their serious attention, that are totally unmingled with bigotry, or any sentiments not compatible

compatible with the purest benevolence and urbanity; and that pious believers may extract from it many useful and consolatory reflexions, peculiarly adapted to administer support to their minds under the present uncertain and gloomy aspect of public affairs.

The ‘Prayers for Families, consisting of a Form, short but comprehensive, for the Morning and Evening of every Day in the Week, selected by Edward Pearson, B.D.’ will prove an acceptable and useful present to those pious families whose devotional feelings are best excited by the phraseology and sentiments occurring in compositions that are sanctioned by the approbation of our established church. They are compiled from “the Book of Common Prayer,” “the Common Prayer Book the best Companion, &c.” “the Companion to the Altar,” “the Pious Country Parishioner,” and “the great Importance of a Religious Life.” Prayers for particular occasions are added at the end of the volume; and to each form is prefixed a psalm or hymn, said to be taken from a collection selected for the use of the parish church of Cardington, in Bedfordshire.

Among the collections of Sermons, of which we have to insert the titles in our annual catalogue, is a third volume of “Family Sermons by the Rev. E. W. Whitaker.” The subjects of the discourses in this volume are of a mixed nature, like those of which the two preceding volumes consisted, which were announced by us in our last year’s Register; and their generally practical useful tendency, and character as compositions, may be understood from what we therein suggested respect-

ing the worthy views of the author, and the manner in which the former part of his design has been executed.

“The Divine Origin of Prophecy illustrated and defended, in a Course of Sermons preached before the University of Oxford in the Year 1800, at the Lecture founded by John Bampton, M.A. by the Rev. George Richards, M.A.” is a work that, from the peculiar importance of its subject in the present times, and the manner in which the author has treated it, comes strongly recommended to the notice not only of theological students but of readers in general. “It is boldly and strenuously asserted by the infidel, with respect to sacred prophecy at large, that the predictions were delivered for purposes of imposture; and that their completion either was foreseen by human sagacity, or was the fortunate result of chance. To detect the fallacy of this objection, and to show the certainty of a miraculous prescience in the prophets, is the sole object” of these sermons.—The first sermon presents us with some preliminary observations on the nature of prophecy, and a view of the plan afterwards pursued by the lecturer. In the second, predicted events are examined in relation to their remoteness from the time at which they were foretold, the minuteness with which they were described, and their exact agreement with the prophetic descriptions. The third and fourth discourses are employed in showing that the events predicted were of such a nature as to lie entirely out of the reach of human foresight and sagacity, and that in the age of the respective prophets by whom they were foretold, they must have appeared often improbable,

ble, and sometimes the exact reverse of what might have been reasonably expected. In the fifth it is demonstrated, that the subjects of the predictions were peculiarly unfavourable to any interested views in the prophets, and contrary to those which it is reasonable to suppose impostors would have chosen. In the sixth, the real inspiration of the prophets is deduced from the propriety and consistency of all the parts of prophecy, constituting one great and harmonious scheme, and also from their own superior morality, and the enlarged ideas which they give us both of the creation and the Creator. The seventh discourse inquires into the motives by which the prophets could be actuated, and shows that their conduct is inexplicable upon human principles, and can only be satisfactorily accounted for by an acknowledgment of their inspiration. The eighth shows the pretensions of the prophets to divine inspiration, from the sensible demonstrations of their prescience afforded by the circumstances attending the origin and termination of sacred prophecy, and by the present situation of a considerable portion of mankind. In the ninth, and last sermon, the author forms a general argument and conclusion from his preceding observations. The whole is arranged with great clearness and perspicuity, and drawn up in a correct, energetic, and pleasing style. It presents us with much genuine and unostentatious learning, judicious and forcible arguments, striking illustrations of prophecy, and pious sentiments and reflexions, which are at once calculated to afford conviction, edification, and rational entertainment to well disposed and unprejudiced readers.

The "Sermons preached to a

Country Congregation, &c. by William Gilpin, Prebendary of Sarum," as might naturally be expected from the well-known abilities and character of the author, are sensible, well written, and useful compositions, which he publishes as specimens of that kind of preaching which he considers to be best adapted for the edification of such audiences as are referred to in the title. The subjects of them are practical and important, and their manner, from their plainness and simplicity, well suited to the worthy author's design. Subjoined to them are "a few hints for sermons, intended chiefly for the use of the younger clergy." These hints originated in "the author's practice when he walked about his parish, and afterwards when he was able only to walk into his garden and fields, to take with him in a memorandum book a text or two of Scripture, which he had before chosen on account of some observations which he thought arose from it, or some objection which he thought might be answered. From these hints the author commonly took his sermons. They are mere sketches; though, perhaps, for that reason, they have more spirit than finished pieces." This mode of uniting exercise with study the author warmly applauds, from a long experience of its beneficial effects, observing, that although "at first, it may be difficult to fix the mind on any subject of meditation, amid a variety of external objects, a habit of thinking abroad will soon be formed; and when it is formed, the practice will certainly be followed with great advantage." We have known more than one respectable clergyman who have adopted a similar method with Mr. Gilpin, of rendering

ing their walks at the same time useful and amusing: and we see no reason why the author should not recommend "this mode of exercise with confidence."

Mr. Cowe's "Twelve Sermons on the Advantages which result from Christianity, and on the Influence of Christian Principles on the Mind and Conduct, designed chiefly for the Use of Families," principally consist of an enlarged edition of his little treatise, under a similar title, noticed in our last year's Register, thrown into the form of pulpit discourses. The author's plan has been "to exhibit the doctrines, the evidences, the precepts, and the motives of our holy religion, in a regular order; and make such additions, and new arrangements, as seemed most consistent with perspicuity." They are plain, serious, and affectionate; and would, doubtless, be heard with pleasure and edification in the parish of which the worthy author is an useful minister. We add, also, that the perusal of them will impress readers who may be strangers to the author, with a conviction of the sincerity and zeal of his intentions to diffuse "religious sentiments and moral principles" among his fellow creatures, and that it is calculated to improve the hearts of numbers who would remain unaffected by more laborious and polished compositions. To the sermons is added a revised and enlarged edition of the author's "Philanthropic Tracts," which we announced with much commendation in our Register for the year 1797.

Mr. Henville's "Sermons on practical and important Subjects, vol. I." while they must be allowed to enforce many just sentiments, and to recommend much useful advice, cannot be praised as regular

methodical compositions, in which the author has been careful to preserve any unity of plan, or distinctness of sentiment or argumentation. Many parts might be selected from each of them which are entitled to commendation; but not one of them forms a connected consistent whole, in which the author's attention is confined to one subject, without the introduction of irrelative and extraneous matter. They are preceded by a very long "preface, particularly addressed to candidates for orders, and the younger clergy," which contains some useful hints and observations that deserve the attention of those for whose benefit they are designed. This preface, in point of composition, is of a similar character with the author's sermons.

The volume of "Sermons by John Mackenzie, D.D. Minister of Portpatrick," is employed in describing the opposite effects of virtue and vice on individuals and on nations; in exhibiting evidence of the moral government of God over the world; and in pointing out various reasons which we have for being satisfied that virtue will ultimately prove completely triumphant over vice, and a new order of things, a kingdom of righteousness, be established, in which the moral nature of man will be perfected; and the "children of the resurrection come forth, and become citizens of an eternal world." The discourses of which it consists are sensible, argumentative, and often highly animated, and cannot be read without affording pleasure and improvement to persons of liberal and cultivated minds. For the use of plain and uninformed readers, indeed, they are not so well adapted as more simple and less polished compositions. We should, however,

ever, have been better pleased with the author's style, if it had been less sententious and abrupt. A perpetual succession of short periods, like a long string of maxims, tires the ear, and distracts the attention. It will, therefore, be avoided with as much care as the opposite fault, by those preachers who would adopt the most impressive manner of writing, either for the pulpit or the closet.

The "Sermons on various Subjects and Occasions, by the late James Riddock, A. M. &c." in three volumes, are chiefly of a practical tendency, and show the author to have been a solid, judicious, and animated preacher, whose principal aim was to impress on the minds of his hearers such truths as might prove useful in the regulation of their moral and religious conduct. As compositions, they possess the merit of simplicity, energy, and pathos, and will be perused with pleasure and profit by serious and well disposed readers.

The "Sermons of the late Rev. John Touch, A. M. Minister of Aberlour and Mortlach, Banffshire, revised by his Son, the Rev. P. Touch, late Chaplain in his Majesty's Navy," in three volumes, vol. I. constitute another posthumous publication, which reflects credit on the good sense and pious useful views of the author, and affords favourable specimens of the manner in which he addressed the different flocks to which he ministered during the course of a long and active life. From the unfinished state in which they were left, it is evident that they were not intended for publication. The motive, however, for their being sent to the press was a benevolent one, on behalf of some of the author's descendants who are in re-

stricted circumstances; and we hope that their reception will prove equal to the wishes of the editor. Prefixed to them is an interesting account of the life and character of the author.

The "Select Sermons, translated from the French of Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux; to which is prefixed an Essay on the Eloquence of the Pulpit in England," will supply the English reader with some spirited specimens of the striking and impassioned eloquence of one of the greatest ornaments and finest writers of the Gallican church. The essay prefixed to them is employed in recommending to our English clergy the infusion of a similar spirit and unction into their pulpit discourses. And it certainly offers to them many useful observations and remarks, an attention to which would greatly contribute to improve the style of preaching which prevails among our regular English divines, and render their public addresses more impressive and useful. By adopting a judicious medium between the tastes of the ablest French and English preachers, which should blend together the animation of the former with the solidity and correctness of the latter, excellence in pulpit oratory might be attained, as far as it depends upon the form and composition of the preacher's matter.

The "Six Sermons, preached at Charlotte Chapel, Edinburgh, by the Rev. Sidney Smith, A. M. and Fellow of New College, Oxford," considered as compositions, partake much of the spirit of the French school, and present us with animated and eloquent declamation, intermingled with sensible useful remarks, and pathetic descriptions, well adapted to interest

the sensibility of his hearers and readers. They afford proof that the author possesses talents which, under the influence of a matured judgment, and knowledge increased by diligent study, may entitle him to a very respectable rank among our pulpit orators. The subjects of three of these sermons are political, and will have their merits variously appreciated, according to the different political creeds of their readers. The titles of the others are. "the Poor Magdalene," "the best Mode of Charity," and "the Conversion of St. Paul."

In "the Anic Calvinist, or two plain Discourses on Redemption and Faith, by Robert Fellowes, A.B. Author of a Picture of Christian Philosophy, &c." we are presented with a spirited and able attack on the high orthodox notions respecting the radically vitiated and corrupt state of human nature, in consequence of Adam's transgression, and the imputation of Christ's righteousness; which are leading topics in the discourses of the methodistical part of the clergy; and, from their increasing popularity among the members of the established church, have excited no small degree of jealousy and alarm in the minds of the more rational clergy. There is too much reason for the author's complaint in the preface, "that a miserable, whining, driveling cant, about the mere shadows, the forms, and, as it were, the excrescences of religion, to the neglect of its weightier matters, and to the destruction of the rationality, the dignity, and magnanimity of its character, hath been too much practised by several writers in the present day, from whom better things might have been expected." We think that Mr. Fellowes's reasonings in these sermons are well cal-

culated to expose the absurdity and incongruity with the genuine sense of Scripture, of the language or cant against which he protests, and to correct errors respecting Christian doctrines which threaten to produce unfavourable effects on moral benevolent Christianity.

"Modern Infidelity considered with respect to its Influence on Society, in a Sermon preached at the Baptist Meeting, Cambridge, by Robert Hall, A.M." is a highly animated and eloquent discourse, in which a variety of just and important observations occur respecting the comparative utility of the sceptical and religious systems, and the superior efficacy of the latter in promoting virtue and human happiness, is supported with much force of reasoning and beauty of illustration. But there is a spirit of religious alarm pervading it, which is unworthy of the author, and has led him to advance propositions that will be contested by persons equally zealous with himself in the cause of revelation; and to which also we must ascribe a want of discrimination, and something that at least wears the appearance of a want of liberality, in his censures and insinuations against the men whom he indifferently calls atheists, sceptics, or infidels.

"The Principles of Roman-catholics and Unitarians contrasted, written with Reference to the Charges brought against those who maintain the Doctrine of the Divine Unity in the strictest Sense, by Dr. Horsley, &c.—by Charles Wellbeloved," is the title of a sermon preached to a congregation of Protestant dissenters at York, which contains a well-written, able, and temperate defence of the class of Christians to whom the author belongs, against some very illiberal reflections

reflexions on their principles, motives, and conduct, which the bishop thought fit to introduce into a circular letter addressed to the clergy of his diocese.—At a time like the present, when misrepresentation and calumny are so active in insinuating prejudices against the persons who depart from the sentiments generally prevailing in religion or politics, the publication of such a discourse is peculiarly seasonable; and we hope that it will be successful in contributing to allay the spirit of bigotry and animosity, which is too much the disgrace of an age that is called enlightened, and of a country which the world has been taught to regard as the nurse of manly sentiment, liberal inquiry, and truly Christian toleration.

“The Charge of Samuel Lord Bishop of Rochester, to the Clergy of his Diocese, delivered at his second general Visitation in the Year 1800,” displays the well-known abilities, energy, and peculiar spirit of the right reverend author, which have in none of his pastoral admonitions appeared more conspicuous and striking than in that before us. It commences with a brief view of the state of the Christian world; which leads his lordship to descant on the causes by which it has been produced. This object engages him to draw the character of the French atheists and philosophers; to describe the nature and tendency of their productions; to assign his reasons for concurring with the abbé Barruel and professor Robinson, in what he is pleased to call their “mass of authentic documents of a conspiracy to subvert all belief in Christianity;” and to offer reflexions and remarks suggested by the preceding matter.

Afterwards his lordship indulges himself in a triumphant sarcasm levelled at the propagators of the Socinian heresy, whom, in the plenitude of his Christian charity, he classes among those “who openly disown the Son of God;” observing, “that the advocates for that blasphemy have preached themselves out of all credit with the people. The patriarch of the sect is fled, and the orators and oracles of Birmingham and Essex-Street are dumb; or, if they speak, speak only to be disregarded.” From French atheism, modern philosophy, and Socinianism, the bishop proceeds to his reflexions on Methodism, which he very much fears is made use of as an instrument in the hands of the common enemy “in a conspiracy against the Lord, and against his Christ.” The suspicions which he has thrown out upon this subject, and the assertions and observations with which they are accompanied, either deserve to be strongly confirmed or to be treated in a manner that our respect for his lordship’s character will not permit us to suggest. Subsequent to these reflexions are the bishop’s exhortations to his clergy on the subjects of doctrine, instruction, Sunday-schools, and residence; on the latter of which he offers some hints that merit their serious notice, if they have any proper regard for the establishment of which they are members, or for their own interests and respectability. On the whole, this charge, both in respect to its matter and language, is a singular and curious composition, which we think will be more frequently admired than it will be commended; and which is better calculated to propagate a spirit of religious jealousy and animosity, than

to promote the real interests of the established church, or those of Christianity at large.

In the "Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln, at the Triennial Visitation of that Diocese in June and July 1800, by George Pretyman, D.D. F.R.S. Lord Bishop of Lincoln," the author, adverting to the apostasy from Christian principles, of which the present times afford many lamentable instances, condescends to appeal to the compilations of the abbé Barruel and professor Robinson in proof of the fact, that there has been formed "a regularly digested plan for the extirpation of all belief in Christianity." We so fully expressed our opinion on that subject in the notice which we took of those publications in our Register for the year 1797, that it is unnecessary to repeat it in this place. After warning his clergy against the dangers which the church has to encounter from the attacks of infidelity, the bishop thence takes occasion to recommend several points to them that deserve their serious consideration, and to offer his advice respecting the subjects which they should chiefly inculcate in their public instructions. But besides the dangers to be apprehended from the attacks of infidelity, his lordship expatiates also on those which arise from the assiduous labours of fanaticism; and in this part of his charge takes the opportunity of expressing his approbation of the "report of the clergy of a district in the diocese of Lincoln," noticed in our preceding pages. The remarks which we introduced in our observations on that and the two following articles in our catalogue sufficiently express our sentiments

on this subject. While pointing out to his brethren the most effectual means to counteract these attacks of infidels and sectarists, he strongly urges that they must not confine themselves to general decency of character, to the ordinary discharge of the stated duties of public worship; "We must," says he, "oppose energy to violence, zeal to enthusiasm, vigilance to cunning, piety to infidelity, and Christian firmness, forbearance, and charity, to the shafts of envy and malice, ridicule and ignorance. We must contend for the faith once delivered unto the saints, with Scriptural arguments adapted to the sophistry and prejudices of our adversaries, point out the censures of the apostles when they heard of divisions in the church under separate teachers, and defend our discipline upon the high ground of apostolical institution, and by historical proofs of uniformity in the churches for a long succession of ages. We must state the authority transmitted to us from the apostles, to be preachers of the word of God, and to administer the holy ordinances of our religion; and urge the important inquiry of the excellent Hooker, whether, "as we are to believe for ever the articles of evangelical doctrine, so the precepts of discipline we are not in like sort bound for ever to observe?" To the audience before whom it was delivered, such advice was certainly appropriate; and an attention to it would prove more efficacious in opposing the progress of fanaticism than any severity of reflexion, however well deserved, on the principles and views of the new species of separatists, or any such legislative interference as the report of the Lincolnshire clergy recommends. Sunday

day schools, the instruction of young persons before confirmation, circumspection in signing testimonials for orders, and residence, are the subjects which occupy the remaining part of the bishop's charge, and give him the opportunity of enforcing on his clergy exhortations and admonitions of considerable importance and utility.

Among the publications of the year which belong to the department of Ethics and Philosophy, we find "Remarks on the Theory of Morals: in which is contained an Examination of the theoretical part of Dr. Paley's 'Principles of Morals and Political Philosophy,' by Edward Pearson, B.D., &c." These remarks are always very ingenious, often very forcible and convincing, and, without obtaining our entire concurrence, dispose us to agree with the author in what at the conclusion of the whole he states to be the chief peculiarity of his work. "That peculiarity," says he, "consists in this, that, whereas others have admitted into their systems of morality, whether as the foundation, the rule, or the motive to virtue, obedience to the will of God, conformity to truth, conformity to the eternal fitness of things, the moral sense, regard to the good of mankind, regard to private happiness, &c. but have admitted one or more of these particulars separately, always to the disparagement, and generally to the exclusion, of any other,—I have endeavoured to show that there is not such an incompatibility between them as has been supposed; that the admission of some does not necessarily imply the exclusion of the rest; but that, when they have their proper place in the subject, they are all perfectly consistent with each other, and con-

tribute their parts towards the formation of one harmonious whole." Mr. Pearson has divided his work into five chapters. In the first chapter he treats of the foundation of virtue; and particularly discusses Dr. Paley's definition, that virtue consists "in doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness." That definition, he contends, is objectionable in all its parts, because it makes the will of God the rule and not the foundation of virtue, and because it embraces at the same time the subject and the motive of it, which ought to have no place in the definition. According to his own definition, which is certainly more simple and precise, and justified with much acuteness, "virtue is voluntary obedience to the will of God." In the second chapter our author proceeds to inquire into the rule of virtue; and after examining and showing the imperfection of several celebrated criteria, particularly that of general utility, maintains that a rule of virtue so general as to be applicable to all cases is not to be discovered. His "result is, that, in order to act virtuously, we must always have in view obedience to the will of God; but that, in order to discover what his will is, with respect to any particular action, we are not confined to one mark or criterion of it, but are at liberty to make use of any of the methods, by which, as we conceive, it may be discovered with the greatest ease and certainty." The third chapter is employed in showing the obligation that there is on mankind to obtain the knowledge of virtue; and the fourth treats of the motive to virtue. In the latter Mr. Pearson combats, with much ingenuity and force, Dr. Paley's notion

notion of obligation. The fifth chapter is devoted to the division of virtue, under the heads of duties to God, to our neighbour, and to ourselves, each of which is subdivided into duties of thoughts, words, and action. Having already expressed our sense of the general merits of this work, we only add, that, from the close dry manner in which it is written, it will chiefly afford pleasure to such readers as are proficient in metaphysical studies, and admirers of profound, minute, and nicely scrutinising research.

“The Philosophical Treatise on the Passions, by T. Cogan, M. D.” presents us with a very elaborate, and at the same time very interesting and pleasing elucidation of the practical philosophy of mind, which is well adapted to inform, improve, and entertain the attentive reader. It consists of two grand divisions or parts, the first containing an analysis of the passions; and the second, philosophical observations and inquiries, founded on the preceding analysis. The first part is divided into three chapters. In the first chapter we are presented with a general view of the subject, together with an accurate definition of the terms which the author uses in the course of his subsequent researches, and a recapitulation of the several senses which he affixes to them. The passions and affections are ranged by the author under two classes; which he subdivides into orders, and the orders again into genera. In the second chapter of the analysis are exhibited the passions and affections which owe their origin to the principle of self-love, and constitute the first class; which, under order I. includes the passions and affections excited by the idea of good, as joy, gladness, &c. contentment, satisfaction, complacency, pride, &c. de-

fire, hope; and under order II. the passions and affections excited by the idea of evil, as sorrow, grief, melancholy, &c. patience, resignation, humility, fear, consternation, terror, dread, despair, &c. anger, wrath, resentment, indignation, &c. In the third chapter we have an analysis of the passions and affections belonging to the second class, and which are derived from the social principle. These are, in the first order, benevolent desires and dispositions, social affections, sympathetic affections; affections derived from good opinion, as gratitude, admiration, esteem, respect, veneration, fondness, &c.: and in the second order, passions and affections in which evil is the predominant idea; malevolent desires and dispositions, as malignancy, envy, rancour, cruelty, &c. rage, revenge, &c. suspicion, jealousy; and displacency indicated by unfavourable opinions, as horror, indignation, contempt, &c. Such are the subjects of the first part of our author's work. The second part is also divided into three chapters. The first chapter contains observations relative to the laws of excitement, and is employed in showing that surprise is the efficient cause of passion; that passions and emotions are of a transitory nature, and the affections alone permanent; the influence of particular passions and affections, in disposing the mind to some others of a similar nature and tendency; and in a disquisition concerning the seat of the passions and emotions. The second enumerates the causes which create a diversity in our affections; such as the influence of experience, difference of sex, diversity of temperament, &c. national customs, the force of habit, the principle of self-love, the influence of education, the influence

ence of novelty, the power of fashion, the love of singularity, popular prejudices, associated ideas, the manner in which information is conveyed to us, &c. &c. In the third chapter the author considers the particular effects resulting from the operation of the passions and affections; which he distributes under the heads of the medical influence of the passions, their influence on thoughts and language, and their effects on our character and happiness. The whole of this excellent work shows the author to possess not only extensive knowledge, and clear discrimination, but sound philosophy, and an ardent attachment to the interests of virtue. Of its admirable tendency we are persuaded there can be only one opinion; and we doubt not but that the reception which it will meet with will amply recompense the author for the labour which he has bestowed, in endeavouring to introduce his fellow-men to an intimate knowledge of their own hearts.

“Practical Philosophy of Social Life, or the Art of conversing with Men, after the German of Baron Knigge; by P. Will, Minister of the Reformed German-Lutheran Congregation in the Savoy,” in two volumes, is the title of a work in which will be found much useful instruction and advice for the conduct of social intercourse, written by a person whose extensive acquaintance with men and manners, and active spirit of observation, well qualified him for undertaking such a performance. But if it had been less extended and more sententious in its construction, it would have been more acceptable to the general taste of English readers. It is, notwithstanding, a work that deserves to be placed in a respectable class among our treatises on moral wisdom; and, with the ex-

ception of a few foreign idioms, does not appear to disadvantage in its English dress. The first volume presents us with general rules to guide us in our conversation with men; and afterwards with rules to guide us in conversation with ourselves, with persons of different tempers and ages, with parents, children, relatives, in the conjugal connexion, &c. In the second volume the author offers his advice and remarks on conversation with friends, with masters and servants, with landlords and neighbours, with the great, with inferiors, with clergymen, with men of letters; on conduct in different situations of life; on secret societies; on the treatment of animals; on the want of pleasure in social circles; and on candour and tolerance in conversation. The translator has omitted some parts of his original, which he thought would not prove interesting in this country, and supplied their place by extracts from other German moralists, of high character and respectability.

The next articles which call for our notice belong to the heads of Government, Political Economy, and Law. In this number is the fourth volume of “the State of the Nation, comprised in the Report of the Select Committee appointed by the House of Commons to examine and state the Total Amount of the Public Debts, and of the Interest and Charges attending the same, &c.” This is a continuation of a work highly useful to the historian and politician, of which the preceding volumes were announced in our Registers for the years 1798 and 1799. As the committee proceed in their labours, they accumulate proofs upon proofs of the strong necessity that exists for the correction of gross abuses in the management

ment and conduct of our public offices, if any, regard to justice or decency towards the community is to be maintained by those with whom the expenditure of the national purse is intrusted.

“Morality united with Policy; or, Reflexions on the old and new Government of France, and on various important Topics of Civil and Ecclesiastical Reform, by Robert Fellowes, A. B.” is the title of a well written treatise, which we read with much pleasure, notwithstanding that we often found ourselves obliged to differ in opinion from the author. His apology for the old government of France, that it was more an imaginary than a real despotism, the malignancy of its principle being counteracted by the beneficence of its operation, though ingenious, and the best perhaps that could be made, carries with it little weight, while the author allows that *arbitrary power did exist* in it, however seldom it was exerted, or by how many causes soever it was moderated. Whether by the revolutions which have taken place it has not been succeeded by despotisms more malignant in their nature and oppressive in their effects, and whether the French nation possesses virtue, wisdom, or constancy, necessary to secure obedience to “the simple majesty of republican institutions,” are different questions. Many of Mr. Fellowes’s subsequent observations on the nature of true liberty, and the maxims of freedom which have been transmitted to us from our ancestors, are sensible and just, and breathe the genuine spirit of English Whiggism. And what he says on the necessity of a paramount regard to moral obligation in every well regulated government, is highly important and excellent. So, likewise, are many of his reflexions

on subjects of ecclesiastical and civil reform, by which his own country might be benefited, and the machinations of those evil minded persons defeated, who rejoice in the continuance of abuses, indulging the hope that, from their naturally progressive tendency, they will speedily produce that confusion in which they may gain something, but can lose nothing.

In our Register for the year 1796, we introduced to our readers a valuable and interesting “Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, &c. by a Magistrate.” During the present year, the Sixth edition of that work has made its appearance, corrected and enlarged, with the name of the author, P. Colquhoun, LL.D. prefixed to it. And that has been followed, from the same pen, by “a Treatise on the Commerce and Police of the River Thames, containing an Historical View of the Trade of the Port of London, and suggesting Means for preventing the Depredations thereon, by a Legislative System of River Police: With an Account of the Functions of the various Magistrates and Corporations administering Jurisdiction on the River; and a general View of the Penal and remedial Statutes connected with this Subject.” This work is replete with a variety of curious and important information, which will be found interesting and useful not only to the commercial world, but to politicians and moralists. The design of the author in undertaking it was “to excite attention, by placing objects of general interest in a prominent point of view, by showing the extent in the aggregate of great evils, heretofore little understood, and only contemplated in detail; to exhibit a faithful display of the magnitude and enormity of numerous wrongs, which, from the malignity of their nature, threaten to sap the foundation

tion of all morals; to warn the public at large, and those more particularly interested, of the growing danger before it is too late to apply an antidote; and, finally, to suggest practicable remedies, calculated in their nature to improve society and better the condition of human life." The best idea which our limits will permit us to lay before our readers of the matter constituting the seventeen chapters of which the volume before us consists, we shall extract from the general review of it given in the author's preface, and from his table of contents. The first chapter presents us with a view of the rise, progress, and magnitude of the navigation and commerce of the river Thames. In the two following chapters the author gives an account of the nature, origin, progress, and extent of the depredations and injuries sustained by them, and a detail of the different branches of trade which suffer by such depredations. The 4th, 5th, and 6th chapters, particularise the causes which produced the institution of the marine police, explain its system, and illustrate its beneficial effects. In the 7th, 8th, and 9th chapters, the author offers a variety of considerations to show the advantages which would arise from extending the marine police institution to every great commercial port, together with a digest of a new system of legislation for the river Thames, grounded on actual experience, and a view of the benefits which would result from adopting it. The five following chapters contain much general information, in many respects new, relating to the various authorities under whose jurisdiction the police of the river is conducted. In the 14th and 15th chapters we have a particular account of the penal laws which attach to maritime of-

fences, and particularly to local injuries as they relate to the Thames below and above London bridge, and an abridged view of the statutes applicable to these affairs. The last chapter presents us with a concise and judicious compendium of the general laws and regulations of the port of London, and is followed by an appendix of illustrative papers and documents. In collecting his materials, and in preparing his work for the public, Mr. Colquhoun has evidently spared no pains nor labour, and deserves the thanks of his country, for the light which he has contributed to throw on many dark and intricate subjects, of no small moment in a legislative and economical point of view.

"The Duties of Overseers of the Poor, and the Sufficiency of the present System of the Poor Laws considered; in a Charge delivered to the Grand Jury at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the Isle of Ely, holden on April 2d, 1799, by James Nasmyth, D. D. Chairman," is a treatise which, within a small compass, contains much weighty and temperate discussion on the subjects mentioned in the title, which the long experience of the author as an active magistrate strongly recommends to the serious consideration of the reader. Dr. Nasmyth contends that the abuses which exist in the management of the poor are not to be attributed to any deficiency in our system of poor laws, but to neglect, and want of vigour in the persons who execute them. He is, consequently, of opinion, that no new statutes are necessary for remedying those abuses, but only a diligent and strict observance of the regulations adopted by the wisdom and policy of our ancestors. On this subject he differs widely from Mr. Saunders, whose observations on the

the present state and influence of the poor laws were noticed in our last annual volume, and has annexed to his work particular remarks on that gentleman's objections to the present system, and on some of the leading alterations for which he is an advocate. These remarks, however we may differ from the author in opinion respecting their strength and conclusiveness, we must acknowledge to be written with ability, candour, and good temper, and to merit the same attention with the author's charge, from those who would wish to become thoroughly acquainted with a difficult, much disputed, but very important subject.

Since the notice which we took in our last year's Register of "the Reports of the Society for bettering the Condition and increasing the Comforts of the Poor," we have seen the second volume of those truly patriotic and benevolent papers completed. We wish that we could add, on examining the list of subscribers which is annexed to it, that the number of the members of the society had increased, in any degree adequate to its meritorious claims for support and encouragement.

The "Estimate of the Number of the Inhabitants of Great-Britain and Ireland, by Sir Frederick Morton Eden, Bart." is an ingenious attempt to determine, by political arithmetic, a question concerning which the guesses and speculations of our political calculators have produced such very different results, that it has become a matter highly interesting to curiosity, and important in a financial view, to have it decided as nearly as it is possible to approach to certainty. The data on which Sir Frederick founds his calculations are, lists of baptisms, burials, assessed houses, marriages, and population, in a variety of different

places, under various circumstances; in various districts of the kingdom; together with another list of houses inhabited, houses uninhabited, and houses exempted from duty, obtained from the tax office. From tables of these data, and results deduced from them, he calculates the number of inhabitants in England and Wales at 10,710,000; which, allowing a population to Ireland of 3,800,000, and to Scotland of 1,500,000, and the maritime and military population (exclusive of Indian and foreign corps) to be 500,000, will make the number of inhabitants in the British isles to amount to no less than 16,500,000. The returns which may soon be expected, in consequence of a late act of the legislature for enumerating the people, will afford us a test by which to judge of the comparative merits of our author and his preceding fellow-labourers in the same field, and to ascertain whose inquiries have been conducted on the most solid and judicious principles.

The three next articles which we have to announce, treat of a subject of considerable importance in relation to one of the staple manufactures which have raised this country to its enviable pre-eminence in the commercial world. The first is "Lord Somerville's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on the Subject of Sheep and Wool, on the 14th of May 1799." In this address his lordship truly remarks, that "we are infants in the knowledge of sheep and their treatment, compared with the Spaniards;" in proof of which he points out the difference between the Spanish and the English practice, and to the more rational and judicious system pursued in the former attributes the superiority of their wool. He afterwards expatiates

tiates on the importance of introducing a similar management into this country, by which English wool may be rendered equally valuable with the Spanish, and the necessity of importing the latter no longer exist; and mentions a resolution which his patriotism had led him to form, never again to wear any superfine cloth or kersey-mere, any part of which shall be of foreign growth.

The author of "an Answer to Lord Somerville's Address, &c. or to such part of it as relates to the substitution of English for Spanish Wool in the Manufacture of Superfine Cloth," professes to be a woollen manufacturer, upon a considerable scale, and decidedly condemns some of the leading sentiments and positions in his lordship's address to the Board of Agriculture. Adverting to the resolution mentioned at the conclusion of the preceding article, he maintains that it is impossible to manufacture superfine cloths, which shall prevent the trade of Great Britain from suffering in its reputation, from English wool only; and that in the great quantity of Spanish wool we annually consume, not one pound of English is ever mixed, and that with such a mixture not any reputation, as to the quality of our cloths, could be supported. He, likewise, instead of being favourable to that part of lord Somerville's theory which would gradually discourage and finally abolish the importation of Spanish wool, contends "that the growth of English wool is now barely sufficient for the consumption of the manufactures of the country; that no stock of English wool remains on hand from one year to the other; consequently, that every pound of Spanish wool brought into the country, and

worked up in it, is so much additional employment and profit to the country."

The author of "a Reply to a Treatise called an Answer to the President's Address, &c." is an able advocate for the cause which he espouses, and proves that both in Yorkshire and Somersetshire English wool only is employed in manufacturing superfine cloth of an excellent quality; and has accompanied his reply with a specimen of such cloth that is peculiarly beautiful. In answer to his antagonist's political reasoning above quoted, he observes, "True! Import wool from Spain—the more the better; leave not a pound in that country;—but if the interest of this country be an object, export every pound again when worked up—pay the Spaniard for the raw material, and be re-paid by the Turk for it: when manufactured, he wants it; we want it not, and are fools to pay the difference of price. The manufacturer is paid his wages, and the heart of the poor gladdened alike, in either case."—From a dispassionate consideration of the arguments adduced in the preceding pamphlets, and our own personal inquiries among manufacturers, we have no reason to doubt that cloth sufficiently fine for the English market may be manufactured from English wool only; but that to furnish such a product as is best adapted to foreign markets, particularly the Turkish, and to maintain in them an unrivalled preference for English cloths, the finest Spanish wool must for the present be employed. At the same time we are persuaded, that when the same systematic attention is paid to the management of English sheep which the Spaniards bestow on theirs, the fleeces of the former will prove equally valuable with those

those of the latter, and all necessity of our dependence on a foreign supply of wool, for the most delicate and beautiful fabrics, be entirely done away. On which account we conceive, that our country is greatly indebted to lord Somerville, for his patriotic attempt to engage the public attention to a subject of considerable national interest and policy.

Lord Sheffield's "Observations on the Objections made to the Export of Wool from Great-Britain to Ireland," offer a variety of sensible reasons to show, that the apprehensions created in the minds of the English woollen manufacturers by a clause in the Act of Union, permitting the exportation of a restricted quantity of British wool to Ireland, are without any solid foundation. The facts which he adduces are stated with fairness and impartiality, and his conclusions from them are forcible and satisfactory. Those political economists who hesitate at believing that any management of English sheep will enable them to produce wool equally fine with the clothing of the Spanish flocks, may have their doubts respecting our ultimate competition with the Spaniards, in that article removed, by what his lordship has brought forward to prove, that the Spanish wool may be produced in this country without any deterioration.

Another topic which engaged the attention of our writers on political œconomy, was the high and alarming price of corn, and other provisions. The treatises which appeared on this subject, inquiring into the causes of the evil, and prescribing remedies for it, were so numerous, that we can do little more than mention their titles, and the peculiarities of such as were most important and striking.

The "Selections from the Correspondence of General Washington and James Anderson, LL. D. F. R. S. &c., in which the Causes of the present Scarcity are fully investigated," are entitled to notice in this place, on account of some excellent and important remarks which they contain on the present system of agriculture, and the too general neglect of arable husbandry. They are so judicious and weighty, that they highly merit the attention of the public; as do, likewise, many of the author's collateral observations on tythes, bounties on the exportation of corn, and the influence of the Income Tax on agriculture.

The "Observations on the present High Price of Provisions, in a Letter to the Lord-lieutenant and Inhabitants of Hampshire, by John Duthy, Esq." strongly ridicule the popular idea that the present scarcity is to be attributed to a monopoly among the farmers. He ascribes it to an increased consumption; a diminished produce; an increase in the expence of raising that produce; and, in particular, to that great master-mischief, the war. His language is bold and spirited, and his arguments are not deficient in force.

Mr. Waithman, in his treatise entitled "War proved to be the real Cause of the present Scarcity and enormous High Price of every Article of Consumption, with the only radical Remedies," maintains the position in the former part of his title-page with shrewdness and ability, and in strong and animated language. With his arguments he intermingles pointed political remarks, levelled at the conductors and supporters of the present ministerial system. His radical remedies are, the restoration of peace; a rigid reform in the public expenditure;

penditure; some limitation to paper currency; the cultivation of waste lands; the sale of the crown lands; the erection of a sufficient number of cottages throughout the kingdom for the relief of the labouring poor; the abolition or commutation of tythes; the repeal of the income-tax, &c.

Lord Sheffield, in his "Remarks on the Deficiency of Grain, &c." proposes to inquire into the nature, progress, and extent, of our present distress. He attributes it to the bad harvest of 1799, which he supposes yielded only two-thirds of the usual supply, united to the effects of a short average crop in the year 1800. Corn, he maintains, cannot be monopolized to any great and permanent extent in a country like this; and clamours against farmers and middle men he reprobates, not only as illiberal and unjust, but as having a tendency to produce incalculable mischiefs, by enraging and misleading the lower classes. He is even of opinion, that an army and navy of 300,000 men do not consume more corn than they did as individuals, particularly as peasants. In detailing the means of relief which are in our power, he is hostile to a maximum, public granaries, or fixing the price of labour; and concludes that there is "no reasonable expectation of relief, except through management, including the use of substitutes, and importation." An additional part of this treatise is promised, intended to point out the means of future plenty, and to be followed by an Appendix, containing accounts of all the corn exported and imported, with the prices, from 1697 to the 10th of October 1800.

In "The Causes of the Scarcity investigated, &c. by Samuel Hop-

kinson, B.D.," the author dwells on the extraordinary ungeniality of the seasons, the increased consumption and waste occasioned by the operations of war, and other subordinate circumstances, which have concurred in producing the present high prices of every article of provision. The chief value of his treatise consists in an account which it presents to the reader of the most striking variations in the weather, from October 1798 to September 1800.

The "Short Inquiry into the Nature of Monopoly and Forestalling, by Edward Morris, Esq. Barrister at Law," is a very able and well written treatise, in which the reader will meet with a concise and perspicuous view of the principles of Adam Smith, respecting the policy of allowing an entire and absolute freedom of trade. He will also find in it some strong arguments and considerations to show the folly of believing in the possibility of any combination, to any serious extent, for raising the price of grain, and of giving any encouragement to the vulgar outcry against monopolists, middle men, forestallers, &c. Importation from abroad, and a judicious management at home, are the only means of alleviating the distress occasioned by a time of scarcity, which the author recommends or deems consistent with the true interest of any country.

"The true Causes of our present Distress for Provisions, &c." as developed by William Brooke, F. S. A. are the monopoly of farms, which has been and is a subject of much controversy and diversity of opinion; the immense number of horses kept in the kingdom; the neglect of breeding cows, horned cattle, hogs, asses, and goats; the

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almost difuse of fish, and carelessness of our fisheries; the present mode of supporting the clergy; too extensive hop grounds; neglecting of orcharding, &c.: to which he has added several secondary causes, that have operated in a lesser degree. His observations on these subjects, and on the remedies necessary to be adopted for the future prevention of the evils which we now suffer, evince much knowledge and attentive consideration, and offer many judicious and useful hints which merit the serious notice of the public.

In "The Question of Scarcity plainly stated, and Remedies considered, &c., by Arthur Young, Esq. F. R. S." the author presents us with the results of his inquiries and reflections relative to the causes of the present high price of provisions, and the best preventives of such an evil for the future. The scarcity he maintains to be real, and attributes it, partly to a deficiency of about one third in the crop of 1799, and partly to a wonderfully increased state of population, amounting to a third of the whole in ten years, with which the extension of cultivation has preserved no proportion. Among the remedies which he recommends are, a greater encouragement of the growth of potatoes; a prohibition against feeding horses kept for pleasure on oats; the more frequent use of oats and barley in the room of wheat; to render as general as possible the system of cottagers having land for potatoes and cows; to pass a general inclosure act as speedily as can be done, &c.

The "Thoughts on Scarcity, and Remedies suggested, by the Rev. James Matthews, M. A.," are principally employed in endeavouring to prove, that the chief

cause of our present distress is the consolidation of small farms; and that it is from parliament alone we can hope for redress, by the enactment of "such regulations as will, under Divine Providence, prevent the return of similar visitations." We believe, however, that parliament, whatever other regulations it may be inclined to adopt, will not consider it prudent or safe to attempt such a correction of the grand evil of which the author complains, as must meet his wishes, any more than it would deem it just or politic to prescribe limits to the acquisition of real or personal property.

In the "Strictures on the true Causes of the present alarming Scarcity, &c. by Alexander Annesley," the author maintains that the dearness of provisions is not warranted by the actual quantity of grain in hand; and insinuates that, from a principle of rapacity which has become too general, and comprehends under its influence our corn-dealers, millers, farmers, &c. we are subjected to a factitious dearth, after plentiful and exuberant harvests. His plan for a permanent relief proposes a bounty on the first two millions of quarters of English wheat brought to market by the farmers; the establishment of public granaries; the erection of an additional number of corn-mills; the inclosure of waste lands; and, what is his favourite measure, the subjection of all grain to the excise laws.

Mr. George Brewer is an advocate for the same plan of extending the excise laws to farmers and corn-dealers, in his "Rights of the Poor considered, with the Causes and Effects of Monopoly, &c.;" and he is also disposed to concur with the author last mentioned;

tioned, in the bad opinion which he entertains of middle men between the grower and consumer. What he says respecting the state of the poor, and the poor laws, is less open to controversy, and will furnish the reader with many just observations, and useful benevolent hints.

The treatise entitled "the Scarcity of Wheat considered, or, A Statement of the Impolicy of the late and present Price of Wheat, &c. by the Rev. James Malham," is employed in an attempt to prove, that the evil originates in "the flagrant practices of farmers, millers, and bakers," and in the system of consolidating small farms into large ones: but the author has not advanced any thing on these trite subjects of declamation, that is interesting from its novelty, or very important in an argumentative view.

The "Determination of the Average Depression of the Price of Wheat in War below that of the preceding Peace, and of its Re-advance in the following, &c. by J. Brand, CL. M. A." is a very laborious and ingenious attempt to prove, by a reference to various tables and arithmetical calculations, that "the effect of war is to reduce the price of wheat, and, it is probable, by parity of reason, that of all the prime necessities of life which are not directly taxed." We conceive, however, that the data from which the author draws his conclusions are not applicable to the peculiar circumstances of the present war; and that some of his own leading positions and observations, considered in connexion with those peculiar circumstances, tend to establish a very opposite result to the general one which he would deduce from his tables and reasonings.

The "Address to the Good Sense and Candour of the People, in behalf of Dealers in Corn, &c. by Sir Thomas Turton, Bart.," is a very spirited and eloquent production, and combats, with great acuteness and force, the popular opinion respecting combinations and monopolies; maintaining that to ascribe the dearness of bread to such imaginary causes, is not only injustice to the individuals, whether farmers, millers, bakers, merchants, or middle men, who are the objects of ignorant clamour and suspicion, but also highly dangerous to the peace and commercial prosperity of the community. The author has, likewise, introduced into it some interesting observations on a late trial for regrating, which merit the attention of the legal profession.

The "Investigation of the Causes of the present high Price of Provisions, by the Author of the Essay on the Principle of Population," is employed in proving, with much ingenuity, though we cannot think satisfactorily, that the principal cause of the high price of provisions, in proportion to the actual degree of scarcity, is "the attempt, in most parts of the kingdom, to increase the parish allowances in proportion to the price of corn, combined with the riches of the country, which have enabled it to proceed as far as it has done in this attempt." The fact which the author takes for granted, is at least questionable; and if it were otherwise, we cannot conceive how it could possibly prove in any degree adequate to the effect which he ascribes to it. His treatise contains some judicious observations on middle men, and small farms, and on the wisdom and policy of legislative interference.

The author of "A Temperate Discussion of the Causes which have led to the present high Price of Bread," contends that it is neither the effect of monopoly and combination, nor of the speculations of the farmer, the corn-dealer, or the miller, nor the consequence of the war, though all these things have had their weight in the scale, but of an ordinary consumption considerably exceeding our ordinary produce, and of a produce, in the years 1799 and 1800, below the average; and that the price is still further augmented by the increased wealth of the nation, and the consequent depreciation in the value of money. The principal remedies which he considers to be consistent with justice and good policy are, a more limited use of wheat; a further encouragement to the importation of it; a general inclosure; and the removal of every impediment to a more extended cultivation of arable land. What he has written is distinguished by good sense and good temper, and was read by us with pleasure even when it did not produce conviction.

The "Enquiry into the Causes and Remedies of the late and present Scarcity and high Price of Provisions, in a Letter to Earl Spencer, K. G.," is another sensible and temperate production, in which the author maintains similar sentiments with those in the preceding article respecting the origin of the present distress, and delivers some important observations on the necessity of a free and unrestrained trade in the article of provisions, and on the utility of middle men, against whom the public prejudice, among the higher as well as lower classes, has been very generally excited. He reckons, indeed, among the causes of the calamity, the pro-

secution of forestallers, and the assize of bread; and among the necessary remedies, the restraining of prosecutions against dealers in corn; the abolition of the assize; the enforcing the stale bread act; and the stoppage of the distilleries, and of the manufactures of starch and hair powder. As he concludes, he strongly protests against the project of a maximum.

The author of "Thoughts on the present Prices of Provisions, their Causes and Remedies, &c.," who styles himself an independent gentleman, is a bold and ingenious advocate for the measure of a maximum of prices, both of provisions and labour; which he maintains to be the only alternative left, "calculated to afford the most distant chance of cure for the enormous and inveterate malady of the land." That measure he attempts to vindicate, by a comparison of it with the law of interest, and the maximum in the assize of bread, both which some of our ablest political economists have concurred in pronouncing highly inexpedient and prejudicial. And in assigning his causes for the present state of things, besides indulging himself in declamations against the avarice and extortion of farmers, he mentions a deficiency in the harvest of 1799; impediments thrown in the way of imports from the Baltic; the increase of taxation; the increase of real capital; the increase of artificial capital by paper circulation, to an enormous amount, particularly through the medium of country banks; and the state of the warfare in which we are engaged.

In the treatise entitled "Corn Trade: an Examination of certain commercial Principles in their Application to Agriculture and the Corn Trade, as laid down in the fourth

fourth Book of Mr. Adam Smith's *Treatise on the Wealth of Nations*, &c., an attempt is made to prove, that the theory of that celebrated writer on the subject of Free Trade, although in general just and good, is wholly inapplicable to that of bread corn; which, on account, "of its being indispensable for subsistence to the people generally, and in a commercial view, further, as a material on the price of which that of every manufacture whatever must rest, and the successful trade thereof, in competition with other nations, must ultimately depend, ought to have holden over it the arm of regulation and control." We cannot say, however, that his arguments are sufficiently strong and convincing to refute the doctrine of the Smithian school.

The author of "the Cause of the present threatened Famine traced to its real Source, viz. an actual Depreciation of our circulating Medium, occasioned by the Paper Currency, with which the War, the Shock given to public Credit in 1794, the Stoppage of the Bank in 1797, and the Bankruptcies of Hamburgh in 1799, inundated the Country, to accommodate Government, and enable the Merchants to keep up the Price of their Merchandize, &c.," who has adopted the signature of Common Sense, sufficiently explains in his long title page what he considers to be the origin of the present alarming scarcity. The principal remedies which he prescribes are, the abolition of paper currency; the removal of the exclusive monopoly of money from the bank; and a new system of taxation, which would make the burden fall solely on the opulent classes of the community.

A second part of the same work

is entitled, "the Discharge of thirty-seven Millions of the National Debt demonstrated to be a Part of the Cause of the rapid Dearth of Provisions that has taken place within the last ten Years; proving, on the same compound Principle on which the Debt is discharged, the Extent of that Part, viz. that the first four Millions had the pernicious Effect of depreciating each annual Income of 26*l.* to the amount of 1*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* i. e. - to 24*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* and so on progressively, &c." The author's plan for discharging the national debt, besides the abolition of paper currency, recommends a division of the crown lands among the stockholders, and the reduction of the annuities in proportion to the cheapness produced by the preceding measures.

The principal object of the treatise entitled "Patriotic Competition against Self-interested Combination, &c.," is to recommend it to the nobility, the landed and independent interest, the clergy, &c., to unite in the establishment of county banks, for the purpose of purchasing and importing, on a large scale, articles of provision, to be retailed to consumers in the most convenient and economical methods. According to the author, such a plan would reduce "commodities from their money, or market, price, to their real, or labour price."

Homo's "Considerations on the present high Price of Corn, &c.," are employed in endeavouring to prove the necessity of establishing a maximum, beyond which the price of corn shall not be carried in the dearest times; as are, likewise, the "Thoughts of an old Man, of independent Mind, though dependent Fortune, &c.," in which the

policy of erecting parochial granaries is also strongly recommended.

With the "Short Thoughts on the present Price of Provisions, by an Officer of the Volunteer Corps," and the "Hints for a Vindication of Monopoly, Forestalling, and Regrating," &c., we shall close our long list of treatises, to which the present unexampled dearness of all the necessaries of life has given rise. The author of the former attributes the evil chiefly to rapacious combination, and contends for the necessity of legislative interference to remedy the mischief. The author of the latter, with much energy and seriousness, combats the popular opinions on the subjects indicated in his title page, and maintains, that "to attempt to reduce the price of provisions, by any other means than those of increased production, is a policy spurious as it is unavailing."

The Law Publications of the year 1800 were, "a Digest of the Laws of England, by the Right Hon. Sir John Comyns, Knight, Lord Chief Baron of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer, the fourth Edition, corrected, and continued to the present Time, by Samuel Rose, Esq. Barrister at Law," in six volumes; "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of King's Bench, from Michaelmas Term, 39 Geo. III. 1798, to Trinity Term, 40 Geo. III. 1800, both inclusive, with Titles of the Names of Cases and principal Matters, by Charles Durnford and Edward Hyde East, Esqrs." vol. VIII; the second edition of "Reports of Cases, adjudged in the Court of King's Bench, from Hilary Term, the 14th of Geo. III. 1774, to Trinity Term, the 18th of Geo. III. both inclusive, by Henry Cowper,

Esq. Barrister at Law," in 2 vols. 8vo; a second edition, corrected, and considerably enlarged, of "a digested Index to the Term Reports, containing all the Points of Law determined in the Court of King's Bench, from Michaelmas Term, 1785, to Trinity Term, 1800, and in the Court of Common Pleas, from Easter Term, 1788, to Trinity Term, 1799, by T. E. Tomlins, Barrister at Law;" "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Courts of Common Pleas and Exchequer Chamber, and in the House of Lords, from Easter Term, 36 Geo. III. 1796, to Trinity Term, 39 Geo. III. 1799, both inclusive, with Titles of the Cases and principal Matters, by John Bernard Bosanquet, and Christopher Puller, Esqrs." vol. I. folio; "Report of a Case recently argued and determined in his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, on the Validity of a Sentence of Condemnation by an Enemy's Consul in a Neutral Port, and the Right of the Owner of the Ship to call upon the Underwriters to reimburse him for the Money for the Purchase of the Ship at a Sale by Auction under such Sentence, with an Appendix, containing the French Laws now in Force relative to Maritime Prizes, &c., by Nathaniel Atcheson, F. A. S. Solicitor;" "Report of a Case argued and determined in the Court of Exchequer Chamber, in Easter Term, 40 Geo. III. between the Right Hon. Lord Petre, Plaintiff, and the Right Hon. Lord Auckland, and Earl Gower, his Majesty's Postmasters-general, Defendants, by John Joseph Dillon, Esq.;" "Cases in Crown Law, determined by the Twelve Judges, by the Court of King's Bench, and by the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, and General Gaol Deli-

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very, from the 4th Geo. III. 1730, to the 40th Geo. III. 1800, by Thomas Leech, Esq. Barrister at Law, the third edition, with corrections and additions," in 2 vols.; "Reports of Cases relative to the Duty and Office of a Justice of the Peace, from Michaelmas Term, 1776, inclusive, to Michaelmas Term, 1785, inclusive, part III. and last, by Thomas Caldecott, Esq. Barrister at Law;" "a Compendious View of the Ecclesiastical Law, being the Substance of a Course of Lectures read in the University of Dublin, by Arthur Browne, Esq. S. F. T. C. D. &c." vol. II.; "the Spirit of Marine Law, or Compendium of the Statutes relative to the Admiralty, being a concise and perspicuous Abridgment of all the Acts relative to Navigation, alphabetically arranged, and the Substance and References to the several Clauses placed in the Margin, by John Irving Maxwell, of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple;" "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the High Court of Admiralty, commencing with the Judgments of the Right Hon. Sir William Scott, Michaelmas Term, 1798, by Chr. Robinson, LL. D. Advocate," vol. I. part II.; "an Argument of Dr. Croke in the High Court of Admiralty, 27th November, 1799, in the Case of the Hendrick and Maria, &c. upon the Question of the Validity of a Sentence of Condemnation, while a Vessel is lying in a neutral Port, taken in Short Hand by T. N. Mendham;" "a Report of the Case of Horner against Liddiard, on the Question of what Consent is necessary to the Marriage of illegitimate Minors, determined on the 24th of May, 1799, in the Consistorial Court of London, by the

Right Hon. Sir William Scott, Chancellor of the Diocese, with an introductory Essay on the Theory and History of the Laws relating to illegitimate Children, and to the Encouragement of Marriage in general, by Alexander Croke, Esq. LL. D. &c.;" "the modern Practice of levying Fines and suffering Recoveries in the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster, with an Appendix of select Precedents, by W. Hands, Gent. one of the Attornies of the Court;" "Memoranda Legalia, or an alphabetical Digest of the Laws of England, adapted to the Use of the Lawyer, the Merchant, and the Trader, by Geo. Clark, Attorney at Law;" the 19th edition of "the Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer, by Richard Burn, LL. D., continued to the present Time by John Burn, Esq. his Son, corrected and considerably enlarged, including the late adjudged Cases, and the Statutes of the last Session of Parliament (39 and 40 Geo. III)," in 4 vols.; "an Abridgment of the modern Determinations in the Courts of Law and Equity, being a Supplement to Viner's Abridgment, by several Gentlemen in the respective Branches of the Law, vol. III.—Creditor and Bankrupt—Durefs;" "a Treatise on the Revocation and Republication of Wills and Testaments, together with Tracts upon the Law concerning Baron and Feme, including Curtesy, Dowers, Jointures, Leafes, Settlements, &c., by R. S. Denison Roper, Esq. Barrister at Law;" "the Law of Executors and Administrators, by Samuel Toller, Esq. Barrister at Law;" "the Principles of the Bankrupt Law, by Archibald Cullen, Esq. Barrister at Law, and a Commissioner of Bankrupts;" "the Principles of Conveyancing, designed for

the Use of Students, with an Introduction on the Study of that Branch of Law, by Charles Watkins, Esq.;" "An Enquiry into the Laws, ancient and modern, respecting Fore-stalling, Regrating, and Ingrossing, together with adjudged Cases, Copies of the original Records, and Proceedings in Parliament, relative to those Subjects, by William Illingworth, of the Inner Temple;" "the Trial at large of John Rusby, Corn-factor, for Regrating Corn at the Corn Exchange, Mark Lane, London, 8th November last, tried before Lord Kenyon, and a Special Jury, in the Court of King's Bench Guildhall, the 4th of July 1800, taken in Short Hand by a Barrister of the Inner Temple;" "the Proceedings of the House of Lords, in the Case of Benjamin Flower, Printer of the Cambridge Intelligencer, for a supposed Libel on the Bishop of Llandaff, &c., by the Printer; to which are added the Argument in the Court of King's Bench, on a Motion for a Habeas Corpus, and a Postscript, containing Remarks on the Judgment of the Court, by Henry Clifford, Esq.;" "A Letter to a Nobleman, on the proposed Repeal of the Penal Laws which now remain in Force against the Irish Roman Catholics, from Charles Butler, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn;" "Considerations on the Coronation Oath to maintain the Protestant reformed Religion, and the Settlement of the Church of England, as prescribed by Stat. 1. W. and M. Ch. 6. and Stat. 5. Anne, Ch. 8, by John Reeves, Esq.;" "the Question as to the Admission of Catholics to Parliament considered, upon the Principle of existing Laws, with supplementary Observations on the Coronation Oath, by a Barrister;" "A further Supplement (occasioned

by the second Edition of Mr. Reeves's Considerations, &c.) to a Pamphlet entitled 'the Question as to the Admission of Catholics,' &c." by the same Author; "Case of the Catholics considered, and an Expedient proposed for the final Settlement of it, with an Appendix, containing Remarks on Mr. Reeves's Pamphlet;" "a short View of the Catholic Question, in a Letter to a Counsellor at Law in Dublin, by the Hon. Augustus Dillon, M. P.;" and "the Case of Conscience solved, or Catholic Emancipation proved to be compatible with the Coronation Oath, in a Letter from a Casuist in the Country to his Friend in Town, with a Supplement in Answer to Considerations on the Coronation Oath by John Reeves, Esq."

Our list of the Mathematical Productions of the year commences with "Tracts on the Resolution of affected algebraic Equations, by Dr. Halley's, Mr. Raphson's, and Sir Isaac Newton's Methods of Approximation, published by Francis Maseres, Esq. F.R.S. Curfitor Baron of the Exchequer." These Tracts, which are ten in number, consist of a method of finding the roots of any equation generally, and that without any previous reduction, by Dr. Halley, taken from the Philosophical Transactions; an Appendix to the preceding, by Baron Maseres; Dr. Wallis's Solution of Colonel Titus's arithmetical Problem, with an Explanation of the difficult Passages that occur in it, by Baron Maseres; another Solution of the same, by Mr. Friend; Observations on Mr. Raphson's Method of resolving affected Equations of all Degrees by Approximation, by Baron Maseres; an Application of Simon Stevin's *General Rule* to extract

tract one Root out of any possible Equation in Numbers, either exactly or very nearly true, taken from Mr. Kersey's Elements of Algebra; a Remark on an Error in the Reasoning of Clairaut, in that Part of his Elements of Algebra, in which he endeavours to prove the Rules of Multiplication laid down by Writers on Algebra concerning negative Quantities, by the Baron; a general Method of investigating the two, or three, first Figures of the least Root of an Equation, that has more than one real and affirmative Root, by the same, and reprinted from the third Volume of the "*Scriptores Logarithmici*;" a Specimen of Vieta's Method of resolving Algebraic Equations of any Order, or Degree, by Approximation, by the same; and Remarks on the Number of negative and impossible Roots in Algebraic Equations, by Mr. Frend. From this summary of the contents of the Tracts before us, and the well known character of the editor, the mathematical reader will be sufficiently apprised of their value and importance. In Baron Maseres's Remark on the Error of Clairaut, he furnishes new support to Mr. Frend's doctrine respecting negative numbers, in addition to what he advanced in his "*Appendix to the Principles of Algebra*," announced in our Register for the year 1798.

In our Register for the year 1796, we introduced to our readers the first part of "*the Principles of Algebra*, by William Frend." We have now to announce a second part of that work, entitled, "*the Principles of Algebra, or the true Theory of Equations established by Mathematical Demonstration*." In this continuation of his plan, the author perseveres in simplifying the science by rejecting negative and

impossible quantities, and carefully refraining from the use of terms that appear absurd or unintelligible in the solution of his problems. With respect to the propriety of that measure, the mathematical world is much divided in opinion; but to our mind the arguments in favour of it appear more satisfactory than those adduced to support the ancient system. This part of the author's work is confined to the Doctrine of Equations; which are divided into four classes, according to the number of their unknown terms, and are all subjected to one general rule, viz., that none in any class can have more roots than it has unknown terms. In the forms of each class, however, the number of roots depends, partly upon the coefficients, which he denominates the co-parts, and partly upon the changes of the marks of addition or subtraction. Mr. Frend's solutions of his problems are direct, accurate, and perspicuous; and are followed by some general observations, which convey to the learner much useful practical information. On the whole, we think that his work deserves to be recommended as a valuable elementary treatise to those instructors who wish to teach, or to those young persons who wish to acquire a knowledge of, the principles of algebra, in the most easy and expeditious manner.

The "*Analysis Fluxionum*, Auctore Guil. Hales, D.D. Rectore de Killestandra, et nuper Trin. Col. Dublin. Socio, ac Linguarum Orientalium Professore," is divided into two parts. The first part treats of the History of Fluxions; in which the author neither awards the merit of their prior discovery to Newton, nor Leibnitz, but supposes that both those great men were led to the invention of the

the same principle, although differing in their conception, and using different characters in their description of it, about the same time. The basis of the whole he makes to be the law of prime and ultimate ratios. The second part is employed in illustrating the Method of Fluxions. Subjoined to the work are two appendixes. In the first appendix we are presented with an investigation of the analysis of the ancient geometricians; and, in the second, with a vindication of sir Isaac Newton from the insinuations of professor Robison, respecting his doctrine of a vibrating æther, and with other matter, critical, theological, and political. The whole displays much profound science, solid learning, and a commendable zeal in the interests of genuine philosophy, religion, and morals. But the author has written only for the learned; and their patience will often be put to the trial, by the want of judgment in the arrangement of his materials, and the strange mixture of languages, ancient and modern, in which they are exhibited.

From the ample title of the next work which we have to notice, our readers will receive sufficient information respecting the nature of the task which the author has undertaken. It is "the Elements of Euclid, viz. the first Six Books, with the Eleventh and Twelfth. In which the Corrections of Dr. Simpson are generally adopted, but the Errors overlooked by him are corrected, and the Obscurities of his and other Editions explained. Also, some of Euclid's Demonstrations are restored, others made shorter and more general, and several useful Propositions are added: together with Elements of Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, and a Treatise on Practical Geometry.

By Alexander Ingram, Philomath." Precluded as we are by the nature of our work from entering into a detail of the particulars of Mr. Ingram's corrections and amendments of the labours of preceding editors of Euclid, we can only observe in general, that they show him to be possessed of that degree of scientific learning, acuteness, and accuracy, which abundantly qualified him for engaging in such a work, and that they cannot fail of proving useful to students in geometry. The Treatise which the author has added on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, is judiciously executed; as is, likewise, the tract which follows it, on Practical Geometry, illustrated with plates, containing diagrams, &c.

In our Register for the year 1798, we noticed the appearance of the first volume of "a complete System of Astronomy, by the Rev. S. Vince, M.A. F.R.S. Plumian Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy in the University of Cambridge." That truly valuable and useful work is now completed by the publication of a second volume, and entitles the author to the warm acknowledgements and commendation of every English lover of the science which it teaches. For it contains the fullest, most perfect and satisfactory information, not only respecting plane, but also physical astronomy, that has yet appeared in our language. And with respect to the manner in which it is executed, the testimony which we formerly gave to the author's merits as displayed in the first volume, is strictly applicable to the proofs of them in the volume before us. The body of the work is divided into eleven chapters, in which the author successively treats of the general doctrine of centripetal forces; the theory

theory of the moon; the figure of the earth; the precession of the equinoxes, and the nutation of the earth's axis; the densities, quantities of matter, light and heat of the planets; the motions of the planes of the orbits of the planets, from their mutual attractions; the effects produced on the motions of the planets in the planes of their orbits, from their mutual attractions; the tides; the principles of projection, and the construction of geographical maps; the use of interpolations in astronomy; and the history of astronomy. These chapters are followed by a forcible, perspicuous, and satisfactory argument in favour of the existence of an intelligent, omnipotent, and infinitely good First Cause, deduced from the simplicity and regularity observable in the construction and procedure of the universe. To the whole the author has added numerous valuable tables, for facilitating astronomical calculations, with precepts and examples to each; Dr. Bradley's Catalogue of 389 fixed Stars; M. de la Caille's Catalogue of 515 Zodiacal Stars, and his Catalogue of 307 principal Stars; Zach's Catalogue of 301 principal Stars, and his Catalogue of the Declination of 162 principal Stars; and Mayer's Catalogue of 992 principal Stars.

To military men the following work will prove acceptable and useful, from the fullness and excellence of the instructions contained in it, and the judicious intelligible manner in which they are conveyed. It is entitled "the first Principles of Field Fortification: containing concise and familiar Precepts for the Construction, Attack, and Defence of Field Works; with a preliminary Introduction to the Science of Fortification in general. By

Charles Augustus Struensee. Translated from the German by William Nicolay, Captain-Lieutenant in the Corps of Royal Engineers." It is illustrated with thirteen correct and well executed plates.

The second and third parts of "a Collection of Papers on Naval Architecture, &c.," complete the second volume of a very useful and interesting work, which increases in value and importance as it swells in magnitude. The publication of the preceding divisions of this Collection was announced in our Registers for the years 1791 and 1795.

The "Essays on Gothic Architecture, by the Rev. T. Warton, Rev. J. Bentham, Captain Grose, and the Rev. J. Milner, &c." constitute a judicious and pleasing compilation, which furnishes the reader, at an easy expence, with some of the best treatises on Gothic architecture, extracted from voluminous or costly works, and forming together an useful manual on that interesting subject. They consist of an Essay on Saxon and Norman Architecture, from Bentham's elaborate History of Ely Cathedral; Captain Grose's Preface to his Antiquities of England; Professor Warton's concise History, in his Notes on Spenser's Fairy Queen; and the History of the Origin and Progress of the pointed Arch, from Mr. Milner's History and Antiquities of Winchester. They are preceded by a preface from the pen of Mr. Taylor, the editor, which displays a considerable acquaintance with the subjects discussed; and "Observations on the Means necessary for further illustrating the ecclesiastical Architecture of the middle Ages," by the Rev. Mr. Milner. And they are illustrated with

with ten plates of ornaments, &c. selected from ancient buildings, calculated to exhibit the various styles of different periods.

The "Anecdotes of the Arts in England, or comparative Remarks on Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, chiefly illustrated by Specimens at Oxford, by the Rev. James Dallaway, M.B. F.S.A. &c." are divided into three parts, each of which is subdivided into sections. The first part treats of architecture, commencing with some remarks on the origin of Gothic architecture, and afterwards enlarging on the several varieties of ecclesiastic Gothic architecture; military and domestic Gothic architecture; mixed architecture; the revived Grecian; and modern architecture. The second part, which is devoted to sculpture, exclusive of an abridged history of the origin and progress of sculpture among the ancients, and of the practice of amassing the treasures of antiquity in Italy before other nations of Europe acquired a similar taste for the arts, consists of distinct catalogues of the several collections in England, with remarks, and some cursory notice of the most celebrated of our living artists. The third part gives a summary view of the history of painting in England; of public and private collections; with notices of the merit of particular pictures, and of the excellences of individual painters of the modern English school. These anecdotes, which the author acknowledges to be only "sketches, from many causes necessarily less complete than he could wish them," while they exhibit evidence that he is not devoid of knowledge or taste, on the subjects which he has undertaken to discuss, discover occasional marks of negligence and inaccu-

racy which are highly blameable. In some instances, his chronological blunders, and confusion of characters, are gross and ludicrous. When these errors are carefully corrected, his work, although not calculated to extort supereminent commendation from the profound connoisseur, may afford instruction and amusement to young students in the arts.

During the present year Mr. Joseph Halpenny, by the publication of the twentieth number of "Gothic Ornaments of the Cathedral Church of York," has completed his elegant and acceptable present to the admirers of Gothic architecture, of which some of the earlier numbers were announced in our Register for the year 1796. It consists, in the whole, of 105 plates, and has been deservedly patronised by a respectable list of subscribers.

With respect to the two following works, which relate to the theory and practice of a science of which we have very imperfect knowledge, we must content ourselves with barely announcing their titles; premising only, that the ablest professional judges have concurred in bestowing very high praise on their respective merits and utility, and in recommending them to the careful attention of musical students. The first is "a general Treatise on Music, particularly on Harmony or Thoroughbass, and its Application in Composition: containing also many essential and original Subjects, tending to explain and illustrate the whole; by M. P. King." The second is entitled "an Introduction to Harmony, by William Shield," well known to the public by his numerous, excellent, and favourite compositions.

In the Philosophical Transactions of the present year, the first publication we usually notice in the department of Natural Philosophy, we find several very important papers by Mr. Herschell, which materially extend the bounds of science. That "on the Power of penetrating into Space by Telescopes, with a comparative Determination of the Extent of that Power in Natural Vision, and in Telescopes of various Sizes and Constructions," is very interesting. The immensity of penetrating power is almost incredible. Even with his reflecting telescope, stars of 1340th magnitude, should such exist, may be seen; and, when assisted by the united lustre of sidereal systems, it will penetrate near twelve hundred millions of millions of millions of miles, more than 300,000 times the distance of the nearest fixed star. Other avocations seem to have drawn for a time his attention from astronomy, and we meet with nothing on the subject in our annual list of publications, but a second appendix "to the improved Solution of a Problem in physical Astronomy, inserted in the Transactions for 1788, by Mr. Hellins."

But if Mr. Herschell has left the field in which he has acquired so much glory, for a time, he has gathered laurels in another. In this volume of the Transactions, we find a series of important articles on the subjects of light and heat. The first is "an Investigation of the Powers of the prismatic Colours to heat and illuminate Objects, with Remarks to prove the different Refractions of radiant Heat; to which is added, an Enquiry into the Method of viewing the Sun advantageously with Telescopes of large Apertures" and high magnifying Powers. The second is entitled

"Experiments on the Refrangibility of the invisible Rays of the Sun;" and the third, divided into two parts, "Experiments on the solar and the terrestrial Rays that occasion Heat, with a comparative View of the Laws to which Light and Heat, or rather the Rays that occasion them, are subject, in order to determine whether they are the same or different." The design of these papers was originally subservient to our author's favourite pursuit; for, as glasses of some colours heated without brightly illuminating the object, others, which heated little, were not sufficiently illuminating. The maximum of illumination appeared to reside in the middle of the scale, in a light of the brightest yellow or the palest green. Our author was obliged, however, to sacrifice a little light, for the purpose of avoiding heat, and he adopted, in his telescopes, a blueish green on a deep blue glass. In the second paper, Mr. Herschell shows that, in the prismatic spectrum, the greatest heat is in the neighbourhood of the red rays, but in uncoloured light. In the third, it appears that those rays which are without colour, and of course invisible, are still refracted; and the proposition is extended to heats raised, on the surface of the earth, by our own powers. They are capable of repeated refractions, without diminishing the heat, and are not rendered visible by condensation. The prism is found to disperse the heating rays, in a ratio different from that in which the illuminating ones are affected; and the focus of heat is of course not the same with that of light. From the whole, our author thinks heat and light really different. Dr. Holmes's paper, containing "Observations and Experiments on the Light which is spontaneously emitted with
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some Degree of Permanency," is of a different kind, and relates to the phosphorescence of different bodies, particularly putrescent ones. Putrefaction destroys, but a certain degree of it separates the light, which appears to be a component part of different bodies. Dr. Woolaston's article "on Double Images caused by Refraction," is highly ingenious, and the various appearances are well explained from the varying density of the different strata of air. One other optical phænomenon has been illustrated by the publications of the present year, viz. what is called the Mirage, in the Collection of Memoirs published by the Philosophers who followed Bonaparte to Egypt. The author is M. Monge, whose account is neither very clear nor scientific. Mr. Anstruther, in a separate pamphlet, has offered his ideas respecting the connection of electricity, heat and light, a work which does not greatly add to the stock of science. They are crude conjectures, rather than accurate philosophical inductions. Count Rumford's Essays, particularly those published since our last annual review, relate to the phænomena of heat, and its management. This very ingenious philosopher has greatly illustrated the subject of the communication of heat, particularly of thawing and raising water to the boiling point; but the principal economical advantages derived from them, are in the saving fuel. M. Volta's paper, in the "Transactions," on "Electricity excited by the mere Contact of conducting Substances of different Kinds," is in reality an inquiry into the new science entitled Galvanism, the influence of a fluid connected with electricity, whose phenomena are highly curious and interesting. We regret that no separate work has yet ap-

peared to connect in a scientific form the appearances hitherto observed. Dr. Young's "Outlines of Experiments and Enquiries respecting Sound and Light" are published in the "Transactions," and are equally ingenious and scientific. On the subject of sound we may notice in the same volume of the Transactions, Mr. Home's Croonian Lecture on the Structure and Use of the Membrana Tympani. One of the uses is supposed to be giving that nicety of perception of tones, which is styled a musical ear; but the system is not well supported, and from a case, adduced by Mr. Cooper, in a subsequent article, it appears untenable. The more miscellaneous contents of the volume of the Philosophical Transactions for the present year, are the usual Meteorological Journal, to which we may add, Mr. Bent's annual publication on the same subject, and the Trigonometrical Survey. It gives us great pleasure to see the successful progress of this great national work, and we shall, at no great distance of time, have, we trust, some equally elegant and accurate maps of the different counties of England. France, notwithstanding the war, continues these pursuits, in connection with the attempts in Britain, so that scientific geography appears to advance with no slow pace. A proposal lately made by one of the most respectable journals of this country, the Critical Review, will greatly assist the progress, viz. that of giving an account of the best maps published in England and on the continent. We highly approve the plan, and wish it success; though, as a novel attempt, difficulties must, of course, at first occur.

While we thus improve our knowledge of the surface, Mr. Kirwan, in his Geological Essays, has pursued

purfued the ftructure of this globe in its deeper ftrata. We mentioned this work in our laft volume; but we again introduce it, as we omitted fpeaking of his Effays on the compofition and difintegration of ftones, on mountains, and volcanic mountains, ftrata of coal, and beds of common falt. Thefe fubjects he has illuftrated by his ufual acutenefs, and his very extenfive refearches. Though fomewhat beyond our limits, yet the mention of mountains leads us to fpeak of Beaumont's "Travels through the Lepontine Alps," as containing fome remarks on their formation, though we cannot praise the fcientific accuracy of the investigation, or the probability of the conclufions. Dr. Garnet's "Tour through Scotland," contains fome mineralogical remarks, fuggested by his obfervations in that alpine region; but they are not diftinguifhed by any particular novelty or precision. In the *Ægyptian Memoirs* is a valuable paper on the Valley which affords the Natron, and the lakes from which it cryftallizes, by General Andreoffy; and we may, on this occafion, mention fome fimilar investigations in the fame volume, which would not otherwife merit a peculiar diftinction, viz. the investigation of the nature of the mud of the Nile, and fome topographical illuftrations of the geography of that once celebrated country. If we afcend from the furface to its productions, our refpect for the Linnean Society will lead us firft to fpeak of the work of its prefident, the *Flora Britannica*. It is fufficient to fay, that nothing hitherto published approaches it in that minute botanical acumen, which, without aiming at fplendour, attains that accurate finifh which will attraft the real botanift. Two volumes only have yet appear-

ed, and we may again mention the fubject when completed. Dr. Hull's *British Flora* is a work of great utility, and, fo far as we have been able to examine it, of general accuracy; we fay "general accuracy," in comparifon of Dr. Smith's fystem, which is neceffarily labour-ed with more peculiar care, and not meaning to convey any difrefpect. On the contrary, we have been highly pleafed with the introduction, and the general views of the fciences. Dr. Mavor's *Botanical Pocket-book* is a more humble attempt to affift the collector, and on the whole merits his gratitude. The monographifts are indeed few within this period, and our lift affords only the description of a new fpecies of *Nymphæa*, by M. Savigny, in the *Ægyptian Memoirs*. The phyfiology of plants has been greatly illuftrated by one of their moft zealous amateurs, Dr. Darwin, who, in his "*Phytologia*," has been equally anxious to explain their phyfiology, their pathology, their moft nutritious diet, and their enemies. As he has before treated of their "Loves," we muft not be furprifed if he now fpeaks of their perceptivity and their feelings, following the fystem in their propagation, &c. not very different from the phyfiology of animals. Indeed he ftrains the analogy to its utmoft bearing—perhaps beyond it. In the animal fystem, we muft notice with refpect, and we truft our annual volume will not fail to recognize the progrefs of fo excellent a work, the fecond volume of Dr. Shaw's *System of Natural History*. He has now concluded the Zoology, and we need not, we cannot, fay more than that he has not difgraced his fpecimen. It was in Dr. Shaw's work that we firft faw an account of the *Platypus*, the aquatic animal with

with the duck's bill, which he introduced with some hesitation, and some marks of suspicion. Mr. Home, in the volume of "Philosophical Transactions," has introduced some observations on the head of the *Ornithorynchus Paradoxus*, the same animal, and there is no longer reason to suspect a deception. The organ of smell is extensive, and apparently acute, and the *Platypus* really possesses an auditory organ, which was at first doubted. Dr. Mavor's "Natural History for the Use of Schools" is a work of great utility, and of great general accuracy; and Mr. Geoffroy's Observations on the Wing of an Ostrich, in the *Ægyptian Memoirs*, singularly illustrate the peculiar contrivance in an animal that so strikingly unites the birds and beasts. A similar wise provision of Providence is conspicuous in the distribution of the arteries, sent to the limbs of slow-moving animals, described in the *Philosophical Transactions* by Mr. Carlisle, seemingly to prevent an injurious stagnation of the circulating fluids in their comparatively torpid state. The few works on Anatomy in this period induce us to mention, as a part of the natural history of man, Mr. Bell's "System of Dissections," and, more strictly within the limits of natural history, Herder's "Philosophy of the History of Man," a work now first translated, and which contains many judicious remarks on the human race, their form, their structure, and their mutual connections.

Though relating, in the subject, to animals, Mr. Hatchett's Chemical Experiments on Zoöphytes are rather of a chemical kind, and the analysis of these intermediate links, between vegetables and animals, fills those lacunæ which, in the explanation of the structure of

the series of created beings, we greatly lamented. They now connect vegetables with the shells of fish and the parts of animals which approach nearest them in structure, the bones. We have no other instance, in this period, of successful analysis. Mr. Henry's Experiments, undertaken "with a View of decomposing the Muriatic Acid," did not succeed; and the short imperfect account of the success of a foreign chemist, in the same investigation, will not, we suspect, be found more satisfactory in the detail. Mr. Kirwan, in his *Essays* repeatedly mentioned, has informed us that the muriatic is the original acid, and we suspect that we see it daily forming under our eyes, probably by the union of gases not yet explained. M. Scherer's "Introduction to the Knowledge of Gaseous Bodies" is an elementary performance of some utility. Dr. Pearson's second edition of his translation of the *Essays on the New Nomenclature* is not confined to merely converting the dress from French to English, but contains numerous observations of peculiar value. Mr. Parkinson's "Chemical Pocket-book," of which we have just received a second edition, is also a valuable assistant for students, and an useful collection of references for more experienced inquirers. M. Jacquin's "Elements of Chemistry," as well as Brissot's "Elements of Natural History and Chemical Analyses of Mineral Substances," may rank among the introductory works of peculiar utility. The first, though necessarily not containing the later discoveries, from the time of its publication, will yet be found to merit considerable praise, as containing the first rudiments of the science, in a form highly comprehensive and conspicuous.

uous. Dr. Babington's "New System of Minerals, in the Form of a Catalogue," is an useful repository also of elementary facts: and Mr. Howard, in his account of a "New fulminating Mercury," in the Philosophical Transactions, adds to the list of these singular substances, without however elucidating the principle by which their surprising effects are produced. Dr. Harrington will not excuse us if we neglect mentioning his "New Observations on Heat;" but, as he allows no merit to his predecessors, they will not of course think highly of him. Perhaps he may less excuse our mentioning him so slightly.

The progress of the arts, immediately connected with chemistry, has not been greatly promoted in the present period; but, as we have before said, the influence is, from interested motives, carefully concealed. We can only mention, from the *Ægyptian Memoirs*, the Eastern method of dyeing cotton and flax by means of carthamus; and the dyeing properties of the henné. As an assistant to medicine, its utility appears of more value. Mr. Kirwan's very excellent "Essay on the Analysis of Mineral Waters," teaches the most successful methods of ascertaining their ingredients; and Dr. Saunders, in his treatise on the same subject, has added to our more particular knowledge of their contents. Dr. Gibbes has published a "Treatise on the Bath Waters;" and as he is seemingly unable to detect any new ingredient, he speaks largely of the effects of the attenuation of the flint and steel, which he has discovered. The controversy respecting the use of different gasses, and of oxygenated remedies, continues in nearly its usual state, though their merit seems "in the fear, the yellow leaf." Mr. Blair has again advanced to the

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charge, and has less exceptionably opposed these remedies in the lues venerea. Mr. Pearson, in his "Observations of the Effects of various Articles of the Materia Medica," in the lues, has equally combated them, and given, with respect to many other boasted remedies, the decisions of experience and judgment.—Of other controversies we cannot give a very pleasing account. The Manchester dispute respecting the Cæsarean Section, begun and continued in a manner disgraceful to some of the parties, is not terminated; and Mr. Perkins has repeatedly returned to the charge in defence of his Tractors. The controversy respecting the Cow-Pox, conducted in a manner highly liberal and proper, approaches to a termination: the weight of evidence has counterbalanced opposition, and the tracts of Mr. Dunning, Dr. Woodville, Mr. Aikin, &c. on this subject, seem to have closed the rear of publications for the present. We believe we forgot to mention, in our last volume, a lively, but severe, perhaps an illiberal, attack on Mr. Bell's *Anatomy of the Heart and Arteries*, which has been followed by an equally smart reply. The "*fraternæ acies alternaque regna*" ought not in this short sketch to detain us; and Dr. Gregory's Memorial, respecting the attendance of the Surgeons in the Royal Infirmary, with the different pamphlets by the Surgeons in reply, (birds of a similar, if not the *same* feather,) must be dismissed with as little ceremony. The bulky memorial on a slight subject, eked out by idle tales, is calculated to defile the nest, which from reason and prudence should have been preserved without contamination.—To return, however, to the works on medicines and remedies. As a preservative from the

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malignant fevers, Dr. C. Smyth, some years since, proposed the fumigation by nitrous gas. This method has been lately opposed, particularly by Dr. Trotter, in his *Medicina Nautica*, supported by Dr. Mitchill's theory of the septic acid. Whatever may be the merit of the theory, the question should be decided by facts alone; and we suspect that, if the fumigation with gas supercedes the ventilation of fresh air, a certain preventive will be forced to yield to one whose powers are at least doubtful. Among the disputed circumstances, we must mention the subject of the "*Phlegmatia Dolens*," or rather the cause of the disease. Dr. Hill, in an extensive treatise, comprehending whatever his predecessors have advanced, differs from Dr. Ferriar and Dr. White. The latter, in an edition of his former work published since the present æra, has defended his doctrines; but this very obscure disease seems not yet fairly explained. Neither are practitioners yet agreed in the source, or in the treatment of the Yellow Fever. Dr. Chisholm has published a short treatise "*on the malignant Yellow Fever imported from Bulam*," which he has since expanded into two large octavos. He considers one kind of it as at least an imported disease; and the remedy, he depends on, is calomel. Dr. Fowle, in his "*Practical Treatise on the different Fevers of the West Indies*," advises bleeding in the beginning only. Dr. Rush, who has repeatedly described the fever which has been the frequent scourge of the citizens of Philadelphia, has, in the fourth volume of his "*Medical Enquiries*," returned also to the defence of his favourite remedy, the lancet: yet he has weakened his cause by resting his arguments on a theoretical

foundation. Dr. Lempriere's "*Practical Observations on the Diseases of the Army in Jamaica*" contain some excellent remarks on this subject. He considers this fatal fever as the endemic of this island, and is cautious in his bleedings, except when the fever is forming, or in the early stages; he afterwards trusts more to mercurials. It seems in general agreed that the yellow fever is not highly contagious, and on the whole probable, that neither in Jamaica nor the American continent it is an imported disease. Dr. Jackson, in his "*Outline of the History and Cure of Fever*," in which he fully supports the promise he gave of future sagacity and judgment, by his former publication on the fevers of Jamaica, endeavours to defend both these positions. In his practice he recommends Dr. Rush's favourite remedy, which he adapts to the different periods, with a singularly judicious discrimination. With respect to the cause, he is supported by a Mr. Webster, who, in his "*Brief History of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases*," considers all epidemics as owing to comets, or the natural convulsions of the globe, volcanos, and earthquakes. Coincidences he adduces in abundance; but that they are causes is highly doubtful, from the irregular periods after which the epidemics are observed to follow, and the distance of the events from the circumstances supposed to occasion them. Dr. Trotter has, we think, shown that the cause of fever may be fixed in the extremities, and form what he calls the malignant ulcer; and, without being indebted to America, "*the malignant and infectious Fever at Uxbridge*," described by "*a Medical Practitioner*," is truly a formidable disease; in this fever, yeast was found

found to be a very useful remedy, probably from its carbonic acid air; and, in our list, we perceive a publication recommending the "use of oil in the Plague." Dr. Wilson's first volume of Febrile Diseases is an abstract of his Lectures on Fevers in general, executed with great, but unequal, diligence and skill.

With respect to particular diseases, we have not received much information. Dr. Bree's treatise "on disordered Respiration" was the work of a former year; but it is recalled to our notice by a second edition, and by a criticism on it by Mr. Lipscombe, entitled, "Observations on the History and Cure of Asthma." Burn's "Anatomy of the Gravid Uterus" might have been arranged among the surgical works, had the few which have appeared merited a distinct department. It is rather a compendium of midwifery, including the physiology and pathology of the womb, executed with ability rather than elegance. Mr. Earle's "Observations on the Cure of the curved Spine" is a work of much greater value, elucidating the disease, and the action of former remedies, as well as adding some new remarks. Mr. Edy's "Plain and useful Rules for the Relief and Cure of Ruptures" is an inferior work of the same class, recommending some secret contrivance. A judicious but slight treatise "on Madness," by Dr. Johnson, and an elegant little tract on the "Medical Properties of the Digitalis Purpurea, in Dropsies," by Dr. Ferrar, must conclude this part of our sketch.

There are a few works of a more general kind, scarcely reducible to any class; these we shall shortly enumerate. Dr. Nisbet's "Clinical Guide" is extended to four

parts. The first comprehends the practice of medicine, which we have formerly mentioned; the second surgery, the third midwifery, and the fourth the diseases of infancy. Another has since this period been added, on the materia medica. We perceive but a moderate share of ability in the execution of these volumes, for each subject included is a distinct one; but these compendia at least show the author's diligence, and nothing very objectionable is admitted. A bulky volume, entitled "the Edinburgh Practice of Physic," relates to the northern university in name only. It is a compend, and not very badly executed, of the whole of the medical science. Mr. Parkinson's "Village Friend and Physician" is more limited in its object, resembling Tissot's *Avis au Peuple*, and chiefly professing to direct in slighter cases, or until a more experienced practitioner can attend. The same author's (we suspect them from the name to be the same) "Hospital Pupil" contains some proper directions for the younger student, but probably a little too refined. Dr. Willich's work on Diet and Regimen contains also some refinements, which we cannot highly commend; yet it is, on the whole, an useful collection of information on these subjects. The translation of Cullen's "Nosology" need only be mentioned: it has the merit of fidelity, and it claims no more.]

On turning to the Historical Productions of the year 1800, we have to announce an English version of a judicious and pleasing French publication, which was noticed among the articles in the Foreign Catalogue of our last year's Register. It is entitled, "A Summary of Uni-

versal History, exhibiting the Rise, Decline, and Revolutions, of the different Nations of the World, from the Creation to the present Time. Translated from the French of M. Anquetil, Member of the National Institute of France, and Correspondent of the Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres," in nine volumes 8vo. The observations which we formerly made on the general character and utility of this work, will sufficiently apprise the English reader of the rank and estimation to which it is entitled. We ought, however, to correct an inaccuracy into which we were led, when we stated that it is a compendium of the French Universal History: for "it is compiled on the plan, and follows the arrangement of the English Universal History, of which it is, in general, an abridgment." And it should be added, that "the Modern History of the Kingdoms and States of Europe has been continued by M. Anquetil to the present time, and exhibits a faithful, though concise, view of the momentous occurrences of which they have lately been the theatre." The translator has executed his task with justice to the sense and spirit of his original.

The next article which offers itself to our notice is another naturalised production, in which the author has entered on a subject of curious and difficult investigation, and endeavoured, from the aids supplied by science, history, sacred and profane literature, and an attention to the origin and progress of Christianity, to throw light on the designation and tendency of his species, and to promote the interests of religion and benevolence. It is entitled, "Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man, translated from the German of John

Godfrey Herder, by T. Churchill." From the mixed nature of the topics which he has discussed, we were for some time at a loss what department we should assign it in our annual catalogue: but the preponderance of historical researches and disquisitions which it contains, determined us to introduce it in this place. That our readers may be able to form some idea of the various matter which it offers to their consideration, we shall lay before them a slight sketch of the heads of the author's outlines, without noticing the particular branches into which they are frequently subdivided. And they comprise a general history of the earth as a planet, and the habitation of animated beings; the structure of vegetables, and the structure of man, whom the author supposes to be a connecting link between the beings of this world and those of a superior and more perfect existence; the physiology of vegetables and animals, with a comparison of their powers and properties with those of man, and the organic difference between man and beast; the organisation of man as a rational creature, capable of attaining arts and language, &c.; the progressive composition of powers and forms, each assuming a more noble nature, and acting a more important part, till the visible series ends in man; the organisation of particular races; reasons to show that man is of one species only, naturalised in every climate, and modified by it; the difference of manners in different climates, and in different sexes, as influenced not only by organisation but by custom; the connexion of tradition and language with religion; the various traditions of the origin of man, and inquiries relative to the original seat of the human

man race; investigations of the ancient and modern races of men in China, Japan, Tartary, Hindostan, and Thibet; traces of the early history of Babylon, Assyria; and Chaldaea, of the Medes, Persians, and Hebrews, of Phœnicia; Carthage, and Egypt; origin, language, mythology, &c. of the Greeks, and a brief history of their revolutions; rise, constitution, decline, and fall of the Roman state; evidence in support of the doctrine of a superintending providence; view of the different races of the northern nations; the origin and progress of the Christian religion in the east, in the Grecian and Roman provinces, and among the barbarous nations; a sketch of the history of the Allemans, Burgundians, Franks, Saxons, Normans, Danes, &c. of the northern kingdoms, and of Germany; the Romish hierarchy, its policy, effects, and influence on political states; the progress and effects of literature, and commerce, and the influence of the taste of chivalry on the human mind; and the effects of modern discoveries, institutions, &c. towards producing the improvement of the human race. Such are the various subjects on which Mr. Herder has treated in the work before us. And they have afforded him the opportunity of laying before his readers much ingenious and curious disquisition, interesting and animated descriptions, and frequent novelty of sentiment and remark, from which they may derive information, improvement, and entertainment, at the same time that they find them not exempt from errors, and exceptionable reasonings and opinions. The translation of these *Outlines* has been performed with ability, and apparent fidelity.

The "*Concise History of Greece*,

from the earliest Times to its becoming a Roman Province, in three volumes, by John Payne, illustrated with maps and copper-plates," vol. I. is a specimen of a judicious and pleasing compilation, from the best authorities, and will prove an useful present to young persons, and that description of readers who do not possess either leisure or opportunity for perusing the labours of our more comprehensive and elaborate writers on the same subject. It is drawn up in a correct, easy, and unembarrassed style, and is not destitute of spirit and animation, in the descriptions and reflexions which it contains. The present volume reaches from the early periods of Grecian history to the thirteenth year of the Peloponnesian war; and concludes with reflexions on the character and manners of the Athenians, a comparative view of the manners of the Greeks with those of other nations their contemporaries, and observations on the state of the arts and sciences among them.

"The true History of the Conquest of Mexico, by Captain Bernard Díaz del Castillo, one of the Conquerors, written in the Year 1568, and translated from the original Spanish by Maurice Keating, Esq." is a work for which the English reader is under considerable obligations to the ingenious gentleman who has undergone the labour of translating it. Of its value and character, the language of Dr. Robertson, in the second volume of his *History of America*, furnishes us with a very concise and accurate idea. "It contains," says that elegant historian and able critic, "a prolix, minute, confused narrative of all Cortez's operations, in such a rude, vulgar style, as might be expected from an illiterate soldier,

soldier. But, as he relates transactions of which he was witness, and in which he performed a considerable part, his account bears all the marks of authenticity, and is accompanied with such a pleasant *naïveté*, with such interesting details, with such amusing vanity, and yet so pardonable in an old soldier who had been (as he boasts) in a hundred and nineteen battles, as renders his book one of the most singular that is to be found in any language." In the version before us, however, it is rendered less tedious and confused than in the original, by the judicious curtailments of the translator. In the form in which it was published by the author it consisted of upwards of two hundred chapters, each of which, excepting the first, containing a recapitulation of the contents of the preceding, and a prospectus of the subject of the following chapter. These unnecessary redundancies have been properly omitted by Mr. Keating, and the whole work distributed into three parts, which are again divided into subordinate chapters. Our limits will not permit us to particularise the subjects of these chapters, which are highly curious and interesting, and give that plain unvarnished account of the celebrated Spanish expedition against Mexico, which, while it will excite admiration at the boldness and address with which a small band of hardy warriors subjected to their yoke an immensely populous and powerful empire, will at the same time excite indignation at the motives that stimulated them to their exploits, and at the base hypocrisy and barbarous cruelties by which they were accompanied.

The "Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries

and Settlements of the Europeans in Northern and Western Africa, at the close of the Eighteenth Century;" is a well written and interesting work, in which the anonymous author has judiciously compressed, within a small compass, the substance of the historical and geographical information respecting that great peninsula which is to be met with in the various productions of our most esteemed modern historians and travellers. And he has interspersed his Sketch with occasional illustrative references to the statements of ancient and classic writers; with delineations of the countries and manners of the different African tribes; with curious and amusing anecdotes; and with sensible liberal remarks. But his work is rendered of less value to those general readers for whose benefit and entertainment it is chiefly designed, by the omission of a map or chart of the countries to which it refers.

The "History of Russia, from the Foundation of the Monarchy by Rurik, to the Accession of Catharine II. by William Tooke, F. R. S." in two volumes, although in order of publication supplementary to the author's "Life of Catharine II," and "View of the Russian Empire during the Reign of that princess," which were noticed in our Registers for the years 1798 and 1799, is properly to be considered in the light of an introductory work, necessary to form, with the preceding, a regular view of Russian history to our own times. With respect to Mr. Tooke's qualifications, and peculiar advantages for undertaking such a work, it is entirely unnecessary to add any thing to the observations which we made in the volumes above referred to. We shall, therefore, chiefly confine

confine ourselves at present to a brief enumeration of the contents of the volumes before us. The first volume presents us with a long introduction, consisting of three chapters: 1. On the nations formerly inhabiting the space now occupied by the Russian empire. 2. On the affinity between the Slavonian and Latin languages, translated from an ingenious and profound dissertation of M. Levesque. 3. On the religion of the ancient Slaves. This introduction forms about one third of the volume, and is followed by a regular and continued narrative of the history of Russia, from the foundation of the monarchy to the accession of Mikhaila Romanof, comprising a period of between seven and eight hundred years. The whole of that narrative constitutes little better than one third more of the volume, and yet appears to contain as much information as will be generally thought at all interesting respecting the state of Russia during that period. The remainder of the volume consists of observations on the state of civilisation in Russia, till the accession of the house of Romanof; a learned antiquarian disquisition, translated from the Russian, relative to the situation of the ancient Russian principality of Tmutarakan; and a copious account of Petersburg, and of several other Russian towns. The second volume continues the history from the accession of Mikhaila Romanof, to that of the late empress, and presents the English reader with a good summary of all the principal and most interesting circumstances and events during a period of 149 years, and with a variety of entertaining anecdotes, many of which are new in this country. Subjoined to this history is a very long and particular description of the city of *Mosco*, and a detail of the manners, customs, amusements, &c. of the Muscovites; and the whole work is ornamented with plates of the Russian monarchs, from medals struck by order of the late empress.

The "Secret Memoirs of the Court of Petersburg, particularly towards the End of the Reign of Catharine II. and the Commencement of that of Paul I. &c. translated from the French," are the production of an anonymous writer, who is stated in the translator's advertisement to have been "well acquainted with the court, and resident in the capital and near the person of the empress during the last ten years of her reign." As far as we may be allowed to judge from their internal evidence, we see no reason to question the author's pretensions to the most favourable opportunities for acquiring information; and we have not heard that the authenticity of his narrative has been disputed, by those who are considered to be best acquainted with the transactions and intrigues of the Russian court. In many points it coincides with and corroborates Mr. Tooke's representations and anecdotes in his *Life of Catharine*, and *View of the Russian Empire during her Reign*; and may be recommended as a proper supplement to those entertaining performances. But it also supplies us with much additional and new matter, particularly respecting the king of Sweden's visit to Petersburg, the sickness, death, and character of Catharine, and the commencement of the reign of the emperor Paul, which is at once curious, instructive, and amusing. And it presents us with portraits of the late empress, and of some of her generals and courtiers, and with

pictures of different classes, serving to illustrate the national character, which are drawn with a masterly pencil.

“The History of the Anglo-Saxons, from their first Appearance above the Elbe, to the Death of Egbert, by Sh. Turner,” is the first part of an attempt to elucidate more satisfactorily than has been done by preceding writers upon the subject, the early periods of Saxon story; which is entitled to commendation, “not only because to contemplate the infancy of celebrated nations is among the most pleasing occupations of human curiosity, but because it is peculiarly important to us, the posterity of the Anglo-Saxons, to know as much as possible of our continental ancestors.” It is divided into two books. The first contains an account of the origin of the Saxons; a description of the country which they possessed before they visited the British shores; the information which the author was able to collect respecting their history to the middle of the fifth century, when they invaded Britain; and an abstract of the history of the Britons, during the æra immediately preceding the Saxon invasion. The second book contains a detail of the transactions of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, from their first arrival to the death of Egbert, in the year 836. This history does certainly afford evidence that Mr. Turner possesses a respectable share of learning and knowledge, but not sufficiently various and correct for engaging in such an undertaking as that which he prescribed to himself. In an acquaintance with the Saxon antiquities, and the Saxon MSS. which are to be met with in our public repositories, he appears to have made but little if any

proficiency; and his selection of the authorities from which he has quoted, does not convince us that a patient investigation of their intrinsic and comparative merits has determined him in the choice of the guides whom he follows. And with respect to the Welsh bardic remains, which he considers to be of high importance in point of testimony, we think that they require farther evidencethan has yet been produced in support of their authenticity and antiquity, before we can be justified in admitting “their facts into history.” The present work, however, gives fair promise, that when the author shall have availed himself of those sources of improvement and more extended information which lie open to him, and exercised more discrimination and judgment in the choice of his vouchers, he may be able to present us with instructive and entertaining productions on the subject of British history and antiquities. His style and language are often vigorous, animated, and elegant, but occasionally deformed by false ornaments and affected expressions, which lead us to suspect the author to be a young and inexperienced writer.

“The History of the Helvetic Confederacy,” in 2 volumes, is the production of Mr. Planta, of the British Museum, who, if we are not misinformed, is a native of the Grison country, and is well qualified for such a work by his respectable literary talents, local knowledge, and the opportunities which he derived from his connexions on the continent for furnishing himself with the best materials and documents. It is the first detached and regular history of Switzerland that has appeared in the English language; and at the present

present moment is rendered peculiarly interesting, by the share which that country has sustained in the late changes and revolutions which have convulsed the continent. In his preface the author gives an account of the principal authorities to which he has had recourse, and appreciates their respective merits. Afterwards he divides his work into two books. The first book is employed in describing the establishment of the confederacy, and consists of eleven chapters, under the titles, 'Origin of the Helvetic nation; Helvetia under the Burgundians, Ostrogoths, and Franks; Helvetia under the Germanic empire; the Swiss; Rudolph of Hapsburg; Albert of Austria; league of the Forest Cantons; revolution of Zurich, and war of Laupen; four cantons added to the confederacy; wars with the nobles; the confederacy prevails throughout Helvetia.' The second book relates the progress, decline, and dissolution of the confederacy, and is divided into ten chapters, entitled, 'Councils of Constance and Basil; war of Zurich; the Burgundian war; the Swabian war; wars of Milan; the reformation; sequel of the reformation; statistical view of the confederacy; disturbances at Geneva in the eighteenth century; dissolution of the confederacy.' Under these heads the author has compressed a vast fund of important and valuable information, relative not only to the history of the Helvetic confederacy, but to that of Europe in general; and has presented us with animated and interesting descriptions of the heroic achievements by which the shepherds of the Alps established and maintained their freedom and independence, and well drawn portraits of the characters who were

most conspicuous in the transactions recorded. And he has also introduced into his narrative, observations and reflexions on the most extraordinary persons and events which occur in it, that do credit both to his judgment and liberality. It should be added, that as he appears to have spared no pains to render himself an accurate and impressive, so he is, in general, an impartial historian. In drawing up his last chapter, indeed, in which he gives an account of the overthrow of the Helvetic confederacy by the French arms, we cannot think that he has shown himself entirely superior to the influence of prejudice. Perhaps, such a relation of the causes and circumstances which contributed to that event, as may be pronounced perfectly dispassionate and unbiassed, is more than can reasonably be expected from any contemporary writer, and more particularly so from one whose friends and connexions were not unaffected by its consequences. On the whole, however, we consider Mr. Planta's work to be a very valuable accession to our stores of English historical literature. It is written in a correct, perspicuous, and pleasing style.

"The History of Scotland, from the Union of the Crowns on the Accession of James VI. to the Throne of England, to the Union of the Kingdoms in the Reign of Queen Anne, by Malcolm Laing, Esq." in 2 volumes, is offered to the public as a continuation of Dr. Robertson's History of Scotland, to the period mentioned in the title, and is deserving of a respectable rank among the instructive and interesting productions of our native writers. It is divided into eleven books; of which six are contained

in the first volume, presenting us with a detail of the principal events in Scottish history, from the accession of James to the restoration of Charles II. At the end of this volume is given an historical dissertation on the Gowrie conspiracy, from the pen of Mr. Pinkerton, who maintains that "Alexander Ruthven, a favourite of queen Anne of Denmark, was the sole author of this attempt, in itself foolish, and weakly conducted, but designed to accomplish some object both had in view—most probably an abdication of the government by James, in favour of prince Henry, and the queen's appointment to the regency." The five remaining books, including the history of Scotland from the Restoration to the Union, constitute the second volume; to which is annexed an historical and critical dissertation on the supposed authenticity of Ossian's poems; in which the author, with equal learning and critical skill, endeavours "to disabuse his countrymen," who have been led to give to those epic productions the credit of a remote antiquity, "and, if possible, to put an end to the controversy and the deception for ever." To each of the volumes are added such notes and illustrations as appeared necessary to explain at length, and to confirm the most doubtful or disputed passages; with references to the labours of preceding historians, or to original MSS. to which the author had access. In preparing his materials for this work, Mr. Laing appears to have made use of great assiduity and care in weighing and comparing the relations of former writers, and in examining a variety of original records, which are enumerated in his prefatory observations; and he merits throughout the whole the

character of faithfulness and impartiality. The reflexions which occur in it are liberal and manly, and breathe the spirit of the old Whig school; but without the most distant allusion to the political discussions of the present times. Mr. Laing's arrangement is methodical and luminous, and his style and language, in general, accurate, elegant, and animated.

In our last year's Register we took brief notice of the purport and spirit of Dr. Sturges's "Reflexions on the Principles and Institutions of Popery, with Reference to Civil Society and Government, &c." occasioned by some of the statements and remarks in Mr. Milner's History of Winchester. During the present year, the last-mentioned gentleman has published a series of "Letters to a Prebendary, being an Answer to Reflexions, &c.;" which are chiefly designed to vindicate the doctrines and institutions of the church of Rome against the remarks of Dr. Sturges, and to weaken the evidence adduced to prove that persecution was a tenet of the Roman-catholic religion, by showing that similar evidence might be brought forwards as a foundation for the same charge against the church of which the doctor is an advocate. We should not have introduced these letters in this department of our work, had not some of the principal of them belonged rather to the province of history than of theology: and, referring to the observations which in our last volume we made, or quoted, with respect to the author's manner and spirit in the application of history, we shall content ourselves with barely apprising our readers of the nature of the subjects discussed in them. One contains an inquiry
into

into the state of literature, the arts, religion, and morality, before and after the Reformation, and Mr. Milner's portraits of the principal characters who were concerned in producing that event. Two others present us with an account of the state and conduct of the Catholics, particularly during the reign of queen Elizabeth, and an attempt to vindicate them from any concern in the plots which were laid to their charge in that of her successor. To these succeed renewed attacks on bishop Hoadly, and those who adopt similar sentiments with that prelate; and an Appendix, containing remarks on various publications in which animadversions have appeared on the author's History of Winchester.

"The History of the Thirty Years War in Germany, translated from the original German of Frederic Schiller, Aulic Counsellor, &c. by Captain Blaquiere, of the Royal Irish Artillery," in 2 volumes, recommends itself to the attention of the English reader, both by the interesting nature of the events and characters which were most prominent in that extended period of ravage and slaughter, and by the high reputation of the author. It is written with conciseness, perspicuity and energy, and presents us with much desirable information, and curious anecdotes, which are new in English literature. But we have little praise to bestow on the translation before us, considered either as intended to convey to us an idea of the sense and spirit of the original, or as an English composition.

The "View of the Origin and Conduct of the War with Tippoo Sultaun, comprising a Narrative of the Operations of the Army under the Command of Lieutenant-Gener-

ral George Harris, and of the Siege of Seringapatam, by Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Beatson, late Aide-de-Camp to the Marquis Wellesley, &c." is a work which will be highly prized by future historians, on account of the opportunities enjoyed by the author, in consequence of being himself engaged in the expedition, for obtaining the most authentic information, and the access which he had, from his official situation, and the confidence reposed in him by the governor-general, to every necessary illustrative document. The body of the work is divided into eighteen chapters, and presents us with an interesting and sufficiently minute detail of the origin, progress, and termination of the contest, together with the proceedings for the final settlement of the conquered countries, and a view of the advantages resulting to the British interests from the acquisitions allotted to the East-India Company by the partition treaty. This detail is followed by a long appendix, consisting of official communications, and original papers, some of which are objects of considerable curiosity, and others valuable and important in point of information. The whole is illustrated with an elegant engraving of Tippoo, different plans of the siege of Seringapatam and of the surrounding country, and an accurate map describing the division of Tippoo's territories after the conquest.

Another work on the same subject, which will also furnish the historian with some useful documents, additional to those contained in the preceding article, is "a Review of the Origin, Progress, and Result of the decisive War with the late Tippoo Sultaun, in Myfore, with

with Notes, by James Salmond, Esq. of the Bengal Military Establishment. To which are added, some Account of Zemaun Shah; the Proceedings of a Jacobin Club formed at Seringapatam; official Advices to India on the Subject of the War, &c.; and an Appendix, containing Translations of the principal State Papers found in the Cabinet of Tippoo Sultaun, &c." Of this work, which is not so regularly digested as colonel Beatson's, a small portion only is occupied by Mr. Salmond's narrative. The remaining articles appear to have been collected together by M. Wood, Esq. M. P. colonel and late chief engineer in Bengal, the editor, who has prefixed a dedication of the whole to Mr. Dundas. The most novel and interesting of them are those which relate to Zemaun Shah, and Tippoo's correspondence with that prince; a letter of the Grand Signior to Tippoo, written after the French invasion of Egypt; and the translations of the documents found in the cabinet at Seringapatam. This review is accompanied with a map of the Mysoor territories, in which is described their partition among the allied powers; and a print of a singular piece of mechanism, found in Tippoo's palace, representing a royal tiger in the act of devouring a prostrate European.

In our Register for the year 1797 we introduced to our readers a "History of the Campaign of 1796, in Germany and Italy," by an anonymous author. That work met with so favourable a reception from the public, that the author was encouraged to continue it to the end of the last year; and it now appears under the title of "the History of the Campaigns of 1796, 1797, 1798, and 1799, in Ger-

many, Italy, and Switzerland, translated from the French," in four volumes. The general character which we formerly gave to the first of these volumes is applicable to the succeeding ones: to which we add, that, as the author proceeds in his plan, the new evidence afforded of the accurate and particular information to which he has had access gives increasing value to his performance, and the additional knowledge of the art of war which he displays renders it still more worthy of the attention and study of those who are occupied in the military department. But when he employs himself in appreciating the merits, whether personal or professional, of individual characters, allowances must still be made for the influence of his political prejudices and prepossessions. These volumes are illustrated with maps, expressly engraved for them, concerning which we do not think that the author assumes too much when he states that "it will be seen from the extent of their scale, from their execution, &c. that neither care nor expence have been spared to render them fit for the purpose for which they were designed;" and with plans of fortresses, that "could not be procured from a common source," but were, most probably, "drawn by active witnesses of the sieges which they represent."

The "Narrative of the Expedition to Holland, in the Autumn of the Year 1799, by E. Walsh, M.D." presents us with an ably written, and apparently faithful and impartial account, by an eye-witness, of the military operations that took place during our late unsuccessful attempt to restore the House of Orange to the power which it recently possessed in the Dutch republic.

public. The author does not discuss the policy of that measure, nor attempt to reconcile the different opinions respecting the causes of its failure. To his remark, however, that "the unbiassed and dispassionate reader may perhaps refer these causes to the unusual severity of the season, singularly co-operating with the physical obstacles of the country—in aid of the formidable military force opposed to us," he adds, "But all these might probably have been surmounted, if the efforts of the allied army had been properly seconded, and spiritedly supported, by the active and hearty co-operation of the inhabitants." The want of such a co-operation, originating in the indisposition of the Dutch towards the old order of things, we consider to have been the principal cause why they preferred French fraternity to that of the English, and why the duke of York was obliged to capitulate for his unmolested retreat to his own country. In the course of his Narrative, Dr. Walsh has taken the opportunity of introducing entertaining descriptions of North Holland, and its inhabitants; and he has illustrated the whole with a map of that country, and seven views of the principal places occupied by the British forces.

The "Political and Military Memoirs of Europe, during the Year 1799, by T. E. Ritchie, Part-I." will furnish general readers with a good comprehensive view of the leading subjects and events which engaged the attention of the European world in the first six months of the last year, interspersed with reflexions and remarks that do credit to the author's good sense and liberality. But the style and language in which they are written are sometimes bombastic and af-

fectcd in a very blameable degree. Prefixed to them is a map of the seat of war in Germany, France, Switzerland, and Italy.

The "Narrative of what passed at Killala, in the County of Mayo, and the Parts adjacent, during the French Invasion in the Summer of the Year 1798, by an Eye-witness," is the production of Dr. Stock, the respectable bishop of Killala, where the French troops under general Humbert effected their landing, and left a body of men for the purpose of organizing the insurgent Irish who resorted to their standard. It contains an unornamented, but interesting account of the character and behaviour of the invaders, whose commanding officers were quartered in the bishop's palace, interspersed with reflexions that are honourable to the candour of the narrator, and to the principles which supported and directed him in that arduous situation. It presents us, likewise, with a striking picture of the ignorance and misery of the lower orders of Irish Catholics who joined the French; on whom the hope of being enabled to satisfy the calls of hunger, and to indulge in pillage, appears to have had more influence than any religious or political considerations.

The "Narrative of the Deportation to Cayenne, and Shipwreck on the Coast of Scotland, of J. J. Job Aimé, written by himself, &c." concurs in similar representations with general Ramel's "Narrative," of which we gave a particular account in our last year's Register, and deserves to be classed with the latter, as a valuable and authentic document for future historians of the transactions that have followed the revolution in France. The author's account of his escape from the place of his banishment,

banishment, of his shipwreck, and of the humane and hospitable assistance which he received from the inhabitants of North Britain, on whose coasts he was cast, is unaffected, interesting, and grateful. Subjoined to the Narrative are some short observations on the present state of the colony of Cayenne, and of the negroes, which merit attention in an æconomical and political point of view.

“*Marengo, or the Campaign of Italy, by the Army of Reserve, under the Command of the Chief-Consul Bonaparte, translated from the French of Joseph Petit, Horse-Grenadier in the Consular Guard,*” after every due allowance is made for French gasconade, appears to contain a faithful, and most certainly a very impressive account of two of the most extraordinary events which have distinguished the present war. One was the passage of the French army over the Alps, of which the particulars will at the same time entertain and astonish the reader. The other was the decisive and sanguinary battle of Marengo, which gave a fatal blow to the power of Austria in Italy, and raised the chief consul to the highest pinnacle of his military glory. It is illustrated with a map of the north-west part of Italy, showing the route of the army; and accompanied with a biographical notice of the life and military actions of general Desaix.

“*The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, an Arabian Traveller of the Tenth Century, translated from a Manuscript in his own possession, collated with one preserved in the Library of Eton College, by Sir William Ouseley, Knt. LL. D.*” is a work for which both antiquaries and geographers are much indebted to the learned translator.

Ebn Haukal may be considered as the father of oriental geography, and is often quoted by Edrissi, Abulfeda, and succeeding writers. His design in the composition of this book, as he himself informs us, was “to describe the various climates and regions of the face of the earth, comprised within the circle of Islam, or Mohamedanism: but, as the particular details seemed unnecessarily prolix, they are here compressed within a small compass.” Accordingly, he carries his readers through Spain, Sicily, Crete, Africa, from the shores of the Atlantic to the Arabian Gulf, and the various countries of the East, to the banks of the Indus, and the sources of the Oxus, with the exception of Arabia. For that exception we know not how to account, if the MSS. which our translator collated, and from which he has given his version, are maintained to be in a complete state. Most of the countries described were visited by the author, and his account of them contains many curious particulars respecting their state, productions, manners of the inhabitants, &c. in his time. It is not, indeed, drawn up in a manner that is calculated for the entertainment of general readers, and is chiefly valuable as a book of reference and authority. Abulfeda justly complains of the great difficulty that there is in accurately ascertaining the names of the places of which he speaks. Sir William Ouseley joins him in the complaint, adding that the difficulty has since been increased by the blunders of ignorant transcribers. He has, however, consulted a great variety of oriental writers for the purpose of illustrating his author. The result of his labours is promised to be laid before the public, and will, doubtless,

doubtless, be found highly instructive and interesting!

“The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, Part I. containing an Account of the Navigation of the Ancients, from the Sea of Suez to the Coast of Zanguebar, with Dissertations, by William Vincent, D.D.,” like the author’s “Voyage of Nearchus,” of which we gave an account in our Register for the year 1797, is replete with proofs of extensive learning, unwearied industry, and critical sagacity, and will be received with pleasure and gratitude by every liberal scholar, on account of the light which it throws on the geography, the commerce, and the manners of ancient times. The work on which it is a comment, as the author justly observes, “contains the best account of the commerce carried on from the Red Sea and the coast of Africa to the East Indies, during the time that Egypt was a province of the Roman empire.” It is uncertain who was the author of it: for, notwithstanding that it has been attributed to Arrian, it sufficiently appears from internal evidence that it could not be the production of the historian of Alexander, and that, most probably, it was written by some Greek, a native of Egypt, or a resident in that country, and a merchant of Alexandria. “The Periplus itself is divided into two distinct parts, one comprehending the coast of Africa from Myos Hormus to Rhapta; the other, commencing from the same point, includes the coast of Arabia, both within the Red Sea and on the Ocean; and then passing over to Guzerat, runs down the coast of Malabar to Ceylon.” It is on the first part that the volume before us is employed. Dr. Vincent has divided this volume into two books,

which are followed by a long appendix. The first book consists entirely of short preliminary disquisitions, in which the author treats of the imperfections of ancient navigation, and his design to fill up the interval between the voyage of Nearchus and the discoveries of the Portuguese; the title, editions, &c. of the Periplus; the faint knowledge of India discoverable in the writings of Homer and Herodotus; the character and writings of Ctesias; the voyage of Iambulus to Ceylon, and the treatise of Agatharchides on the Erythræan Sea, both preserved in Diodorus; Hippalus, and his discovery of a passage to India by means of the monsoon; the age of the Periplus itself; and the intercourse with India antecedent to history. The second book contains a comment on the Periplus, or a description of the actual navigation of the Erythræan Sea, from Myos Hormus, on the western coast of the Arabian Gulf, in lat. 27° N. to Rhapta, on the coast of Africa, in lat. 9° S. It is divided into twenty-eight general heads, which our limits will not permit us to specify, and contains a particular account of the different places resorted to, or passed, in the course of that long navigation; including interesting historical remarks, curious catalogues of articles of commerce, &c. which will afford ample gratification to geographers and historians. Dr. Vincent’s appendix consists of four dissertations: 1. On the articles of commerce mentioned in the Periplus, with an account of their nature and properties. 2. On the Adûlitic inscription found in Abyssinia by Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the sixth century. 3. On a corrupt reading in the manuscript. 4. On the forms of the habitable world,

world, as imagined by Pomponius Mela, Cosmas, and Edrisi. To the observations with which we introduced this article we have only to add, that without subscribing to all the positions and opinions for which the author is an advocate, or being insensible to occasional errors and blemishes from which his work is not exempt, we think it, on the whole, a very valuable and meritorious production, and shall be happy in the opportunity of sitting down to the perusal of the second part, which he promises us as soon as his other engagements and state of health will permit him to complete it. This volume is illustrated with charts of the Red Sea, and of the coast of Africa, and engraved representations of the forms treated of in the fourth dissertation in the appendix.

Another work which comes strongly recommended to the literary world, by the importance of the subjects which it embraces, and the acknowledged reputation of the author in such kind of studies, is "the Geographical System of Herodotus examined and explained, by a Comparison with those of other ancient Authors, and with modern Geography, &c. by James Rennell, F. R. S. &c." In his preface the author informs us, that "several years since he undertook the task of correcting the geography, ancient and modern, throughout that part of Asia situated between India and Europe; in effect, the great theatre of ancient history in Asia, as well as of European commerce and communication in modern times. His first object was to adapt the system so formed to the use of statesmen and travellers: the next, to apply it to the illustration of such parts of ancient military history as were,

in his idea, deficient, from a want of the necessary aids of geography; and which have been, in a degree, supplied in latter times." The volume before us is the first division of that task, which is offered to the public, "as preparing the ground for the remainder of the ancient geography," and as a specimen of the work at large, which shall enable the author to judge, from the reception that it will meet with, of the encouragement which he may hope for to present to the world the whole of his laborious investigations. It is divided into twenty-six sections, under the following titles: preliminary observations; concerning the itinerary state of the Greeks; of Europe, according to Herodotus; of the western, or Euxine Scythia; of the countries bordering on the western Scythia; expedition of Darius Hystaspes to western Scythia; the countries situated beyond western Scythia, to the east and north-east; of Asia, according to Herodotus, in two sections; of eastern Scythia, or the country of the Massagetæ; of the twenty satrapies of Darius Hystaspes, in two sections; examination of the report of Aristagoras, concerning the royal road from Ionia to Susa; concerning the site and remains of the ancient city of Babylon; of the captivity and disposal of the ten tribes of the Jews; of Africa at large, according to Herodotus; concerning the Isthmus of Suez and the ancient canals that united the two seas; general observations on the floods and alluvions of rivers, &c. applied more particularly to the Nile, with an inquiry concerning the site of Memphis; concerning the number, order, and positions of the branches of the Nile, ancient and modern; concerning the Oases of Egypt and Lybia;

Lybia; the subject continued—Oasis and temple of Jupiter Ammon; of the tribes who inhabited the coast and country of Lybia, between Egypt and Carthage; concerning the two Syrtes—the lake Tritonis—the temple and ægis of Minerva—and the antiquity of the manufacture of dyed skins in Africa; concerning the circumnavigation of Africa, by the ships of Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, in two sections; and, an examination of the account of the voyage of Hanno, along the western coast of Africa. In the various discussions under the titles above recited, major Rennell's skill and talents, as a geographer and mathematical calculator, appear to eminent advantage, and contribute to elucidate, in general in the most satisfactory manner, the positions of places, and the boundaries of the world, as they occur or are described in the pages of the father of Grecian history. He has also given an agreeable colouring to his work, by the historical information which he has introduced into it, collected from ancient and modern writers, by ingenious theories, and by his miscellaneous remarks and observations. In his chronology, however, he has, through haste or inattention, frequently laid himself open to animadversion; and in some of his disquisitions, particularly those relating to the Scythian nations, and the dispersion of the ten tribes, he has advanced opinions which show, that his acquaintance with antiquarian and scriptural learning is much less accurate and profound than his scientific knowledge. Eleven excellent maps illustrate this volume.

The "Impartial and Succinct History of the Rise, Declension, 1800.

and Revival of the Church of Christ, from the Birth of our Saviour to the present Time, with faithful Characters of the Principal Personages, ancient and modern, by the Reverend T. Haweis, LL. B. and M. D.," in three volumes, is a work that will prove highly acceptable to that class of christians commonly called Methodists, and to that body of clergy in the church of England who have assumed the discriminating title of Evangelical. The whole history is divided into centuries. The first volume contains the history of the rise and progress of the church during the first four centuries, and an appendix of dissertations, on church establishments, schism, and infidelity. In the second volume we are presented with the history during the succeeding ages of superstition and spiritual tyranny, until the Reformation, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The third volume brings down the history of the church of Christ from the Reformation to the present day, and contains an account of the rise, progress, and effects of Arminianism in England, and the revival of what the author calls true or evangelical religion, under the auspices of Messrs. Whitfield, Wesley, Ingham, Harvey, &c.; which is followed by essays on the present state of evangelical religion, the means of extending the spiritual church of Christ, and on the divine call of captain James Wilton to the command of the vessel engaged in carrying out the first preachers sent by the Missionary Society to the South Sea Islands. On the whole, this work is written with perspicuity, and considerable animation. Many of the observations and remarks which it contains do honour to the author's liberality and candour; but

but others are occasionally introduced which we consider to be totally irreconcilable with those qualities. The leading strain of the sentiments and language which pervade it, however, will only accord with the views and taste of those classes of religionists with whom the author has closely connected himself. And as it furnishes us with an undisguised exhibition of their system, which has of late excited no small degree of alarm among the members of the established church, and is rapidly gaining converts, it is interesting and gratifying to curiosity.

In Biography, we have to announce a work which escaped our notice when we published our catalogue of English productions for the year 1799. It is "Select Eulogies of Members of the French Academy, with Notes, by the late M. D'Alembert; translated from the French, with a Preface and additional Notes, by J. Aikin, M.D.," in two volumes. With the character and value of D'Alembert's Eulogies, none of our readers who are conversant in French literature are unacquainted. In the preface to this translation Dr. Aikin gives a short sketch of the author's life; ingeniously and candidly endeavours to apologize for the great freedom with which, taking his "departure, as it were, from a religious system full of tyranny, absurdity, and superstition," he went "further in a contrary direction than most of those who among us have promoted liberal opinions;" and points out the faults of prolixity, embarrassment, &c. in his style, with which, notwithstanding all his merits as a writer, he is chargeable. These faults he has ventured to correct by moderate

pruning, in the Eulogies. "But with respect to the notes, he has used much greater liberties, both in abridging the language, omitting clauses, and leaving out whole articles, when containing matter which appeared to him either not likely to interest an English reader, or capable of giving just offence." His translation is faithful, spirited, and elegant, and conveys to the English reader a very accurate idea of the energy and beauties of the originals. The notes which he has added are useful and valuable; in point of information and of criticism. In the first volume are given the eulogies of Maffillon, the abbé de St. Pierre, Bossuet, and Despreaux (Boileau); and in the second those of Flechier, La Motte, Charles Perrault, the abbé Fleury, Destouches, and Crebillon.

The next article which we have to introduce to our readers, is a republication, in part, of a work of some interest and curiosity, since, according to the judgment of the late poet laureat Warton, it "discovers many traces of Milton's hand." It is entitled "Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum. Containing the Names and Characters of all the English Poets, from the Reign of Henry III. to the Close of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Edward Phillips, the Nephew of Milton. First published in 1675, and now enlarged by Additions to every Article, &c." Its editor, in an advertisement prefixed, gives some account of Phillips, the original author, and, in a subsequent preface, of his successors in the department of poetical biography, with remarks on the ancient and modern selections of English poetry. He has afterwards arranged the materials of Phillips in chronological order and has added to them "such particulars

particulars as amount to a brief life of each poet, with such lists and dates of their writings, and estimates of their characters and genius, as subsequent biographers and critics and his own reading and observation furnished him with." He has, likewise, more than doubled the number of poets of whom Phillips has given an account, and displayed much industry in collecting the particulars concerning them from a great variety of authorities, some of them scarce and curious, together with a commendable degree of taste in his own observations and remarks. On the whole, this work is an elegant and useful compilation, and will induce the public to expect with pleasure a second volume from the same editor, containing the names and characters of the English poets who flourished from the beginning of the reign of James I. to modern times.

The "Literary and Characteristical Lives of John Gregory, M. D. Henry Home, Lord Kaimes, David Hume, Esq. and Adam Smith, LL. D. by the late William Smellie, Member of the Antiquarian and Royal Societies of Edinburgh," form part of a volume which we took up with considerable expectations, on account of the respectable rank which the author sustained in the republic of letters, and his well known intimacy with the subjects of his biography. But the perusal of it was far from affording us that pleasure which we promised ourselves. The particulars which it details of the lives of those eminent men, with very few exceptions, are such as the public have already been made acquainted with through other channels; and they are needlessly extended by copious extracts from their works, which are in the hands of every person to whom any inti-

mation concerning their authors can be in the least interesting. The remaining part of the volume consists of a juvenile dissertation on public spirit, and three essays on different subjects, which appear to have been academical exercises.

The "Universal, Biographical, and Historical Dictionary, containing a faithful Account of the Lives, Actions, and Characters of the most eminent Men of all Ages and Countries, also the Revolutions of States, &c. by John Watkins, A. M. LL. D." in one large octavo volume, appears, according to the author's statement in the title, to be collected from the best authorities, and is drawn up in a judicious and pleasing manner. To young persons, and those whose libraries and course of reading are on a contracted scale, it will be found an useful book for consultation, and deserves to be recommended as a proper companion to their gazetteers, or geographical dictionaries.

During the present year we have been entertained with the continuation of a periodical work, of which the preceding numbers were noticed in our Registers for the two last years. The account which we gave in those volumes of its general character and merits, renders it unnecessary for us at present to introduce any remarks in addition to the title of this continuation, which is, "Public Characters of the Year 1800-1801, consisting of full and authentic Memoirs of distinguished living Persons," Vol. III.

The "Annual Necrology, for 1797-8, including, also, various Articles of neglected Biography," is the commencement of a work undertaken upon the plans of the French and German annual obituaries, but extended so as to com-

praise several lives of the description mentioned in the latter part of the title. Nearly one-half of the present volume consists of articles which the editor includes under the denomination of neglected biography: not always with strict propriety. For though some of them are in a great measure new in English literature, they are familiar to those who are conversant in the literary productions of the continent. To English readers, however, they will in their present naturalised form prove an acceptable present. The rest of the volume presents us with memoirs of distinguished foreigners and natives who died in the years 1797-8. Together they form an aggregate of thirty-four articles, abounding in important and curious information, entertaining anecdotes, and judicious sensible remarks. Some of them, perhaps, may be thought to occupy a space disproportioned to the merits of the individuals to whose memory they are consecrated, and to discover too much of the influence of friendly partiality. As they are the productions of different authors, some degree of inequality in the execution must naturally be expected; but they are, on the whole, entitled to a considerable share of praise as compositions.

In our Catalogue of French Literature for the year 1798, we inserted as full an account as our limits permitted of the *Memoirs of Mademoiselle Clairon*, who for a long period was the first actress on the Parisian stage, and became her own biographer when nearly in her 80th year. We have now to announce a respectable English translation of that work, under the title of "*Memoirs of Hyppolite Clairon, the celebrated French Actress, with Reflections upon the dramatic Art,*

written by herself," in 2 vols. which will furnish the lovers of theatrical anecdote, and dramatic criticism, with much information and entertainment.

The "*Sketch of the Life and literary Career of Augustus Von Kotzebue, with the Journal of his Tour to Paris, at the Close of the Year 1790, written by himself, and translated from the German by Anne Plumptre,*" will afford amusement to readers in general, and by the warm admirers of that celebrated dramatic writer will be perused with high delight. His account of his visit to Paris is to us the most interesting part; in which his versatile pen is employed in a manner that will sometimes strongly agitate the feelings, and at other times contribute much to the entertainment of his reader, but without impressing him with any respect for the nice delicacy or chaste morals of the writer. Subjoined to this Sketch is an appendix, including a general abstract of Kotzebue's works.

The "*Memoirs of Mark Hildesley, D.D. Lord Bishop of Sodor and Mann, &c. by the Reverend Weeden Butler,*" are a pious and merited tribute of respect to the memory of a good man, who was an ornament to the religion which he professed, and to the communion of which he was a member, and whose talents, in the narrow sphere to which he was confined, were diligently devoted to services of the truest benevolence and utility. They may be divided into two parts. The first part presents us with Dr. Hildesley's history, from his first introduction into the world, as an exemplary clergyman and useful preacher, in various situations; and with an account of the honourable and conscientious manner in which he discharged the duties of the see of

of Sodor and Mann, to which he was nominated by the duke of Athol, because that from the excellence of his character he was thought the fittest person to be appointed successor to the pious and worthy bishop Wilson. In this history few incidents occur that will minister gratification to the curiosity of the reader; but the whole of it will impress him with high respect for Dr. Hildesley's virtues, and particularly for the truly philanthropic zeal and labour which he displayed in completing the translation of the Old and New Testaments, and other books of religious instruction, into the Manks language. The second part of these memoirs consists of a large appendix, containing, among other materials which do not require specific mention, various letters to and from the bishop, that are illustrative of his character, and have afforded us considerable amusement.

By the inhabitants of Aberdeen the following article will be chiefly thought interesting, on account of the connexion between the subject of it and that city, and the useful charitable benefactions which he bestowed on it. The title of it is, "An Enquiry into the Life, Writings, and Character of the Reverend Dr. William Guild, one of the Chaplains in ordinary to his Majesty King Charles I. and Founder of the Trinity Hospital, Aberdeen; with some Strictures upon Spalding's Account of him, and of the Times in which he lived, by James Shirrefs, D. D." &c. To the respectability of Dr. Guild's character, as a man of learning, integrity, and active virtue, this Enquiry bears honourable testimony, while it reflects credit on the motives which engaged Dr. Shirrefs to enter into it, and on the able candid manner in which

it is conducted. Dr. Guild discharged the duties of principal of King's College, Aberdeen, with great reputation, for many years, and was deprived of that office when Cromwell's arms had subjected Scotland to the yoke of the English Commonwealth.

"The Life of George Washington, late President and Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America, with biographical Anecdotes of the most eminent Men who effected the American Revolution, &c. by John Corry," presents us rather with a detail of the circumstances attending the contest between Great Britain and the American colonies, interspersed with anecdotes of general Washington, &c. than a regular biographical account of that patriot and hero, including the circumstances of his early life, and his behaviour in his civil capacity and domestic retirement. Such a work must be expected, in the first instance, from an American pen, and after a longer interval has elapsed for the purpose of obtaining all the requisite materials. Mr. Corry's treatise, however, will furnish young readers with a good abridged narrative of the leading events attending the American revolution, together with various interesting particulars relating to general Washington, &c. written with candour, and in a lively pleasing style.

The last biographical article which we have to notice among the productions of the year 1800, constitutes the greater part of the first volume of "The Works of Robert Burns, with some Account of his Life," &c. in four volumes, which have been collected, and published by subscription, for the benefit of the widow and children of the justly celebrated,

celebrated, but unfortunate Ayrshire ploughman. The care of superintending this edition was committed to Dr. Currie of Liverpool, to whom we are indebted for the biography of our poet, composed of the materials with which the letters of Burns and the communications of his friends supplied him, and his own narrative and illustrative comments. In our preceding pages we have made such large extracts from this biography, both to gratify the curiosity of our readers, and to enable them to form a judgment of its merits, that little more is necessary for us to add concerning it, than that the task of doing justice to the character and extraordinary abilities of Burns, could not have fallen into better hands than those of Dr. Currie. His knowledge of the dialect in which the poet chiefly wrote, his acquaintance with the local circumstances of the country in which he lived, and his own correct taste and judgment, peculiarly qualified him for undertaking it; and his performance is not only a proper and elegant tribute to the memory of our northern bard, but a lasting monument in his own honour. We think it proper, however, to seize the present opportunity of apprising our readers of the various entertainment which they may receive from this complete edition of the works of Burns; which we shall do by a slight notice of the different contents of the respective volumes. The first volume contains a curious and interesting dissertation on the character and condition of the Scottish peasantry; the account of the life of Burns; an elaborate and masterly criticism on his writings; remarks on Scottish literature; and pathetic verses on the death of Burns, by Mr. Roscoe. In the second volume we are pre-

sented with the general correspondence of Burns, in which his talents for epistolary composition are pleasingly displayed, and his strong sense, manly spirit, frankness, and humour appear in a very favourable point of view. The third volume contains his poems formerly published, and wherever read admired, together with a history of them by Gilbert Burns, the poet's brother. The fourth volume is occupied by the correspondence between Burns and Mr. Thompson, the editor of "a Selection of original Scottish Airs for the Voice," whom he supplied with some of his most beautiful productions; a number of songs furnished by Burns for Mr. Johnson's "Scots Musical Museum;" and such others of his poems, not before published, "as seemed not unworthy of seeing the light."

Among the publications of the year belonging to the head of Antiquities and Topography, we find "Additional Remarks on the Topography of Troy, &c. in Answer to Mr. Bryant's late Publication, by J. B. S. Morritt, Esq." Mr. Bryant's publication to which these remarks contain a reply, was announced in our last annual volume, and the author's original work to which they are supplementary, in our Register for the year 1798. With respect to the work now before us it is sufficient to observe, that it ably, and in our judgment satisfactorily, supports the author's former arguments in opposition to Mr. Bryant's hypothesis; while with great calmness, liberality, and politeness, it vindicates the author against the complaints and insinuations of that veteran writer in the publication which gave rise to it.

The general accuracy of Mr. Morritt's investigations is also confirmed

formed by the "Remarks and Observations on the Plain of Troy, made during an Excursion in June 1799, by William Franklin, Captain in the Service of the East India Company, and Author of a Tour to Persia, &c." The time which the author spent on the scenes described by Homer, was only four days: but he was industrious in his inquiries, and has exhibited evidence of much classical knowledge, and acuteness of observation, in his pleasingly written descriptive rather than controversial remarks. For the particulars we must refer to the work itself. The result of his labours was a decided conviction, that "the general view of the plain of Troy, in its actual state at the present hour, does closely correspond with all the leading circumstances detailed in the Iliad, which cannot be questioned by any one who has visited the spot with Homer in his hands."

The "Literary Antiquities of Greece, as developed in an Attempt to ascertain principles for a new Analysis of the Greek Tongue, and to exhibit those Principles as applied to the Elucidation of many Passages in the Ancient History of that Country, &c. by Philip Allwood, A. M.," are replete with classical erudition, and ingenious criticism, but, like the learned labours of Mr. Bryant in his Analysis of ancient Mythology, with which the author generally coincides in opinion, abounds in analogical reasonings and etymologies, which frequently appear to us to be fanciful in a high degree, and sometimes very extravagant, if not ludicrous. The design of Mr. Allwood is, "to illustrate and explain many of those passages in the ancient history of the Greeks, which either have never undergone any particular in-

vestigation, or have been only considered in a partial and imperfect manner." His "investigations proceed upon this principle—that, as the refinement and amplification of the Greek tongue, and a blind attachment to it, have been the means of introducing numberless errors, and the most blameable uncertainty, into the early accounts of that country; it will be necessary, in order to discover the certainty of things, to reduce this language to its elements, to divest it of its ornaments, and represent it in its simple and naked state." The work is divided into eight sections. The first section treats of analytical investigation, its limits and difficulties, the manner in which it ought to be conducted, and the advantages resulting from its application to ancient history. The second section consists of a discussion concerning the Helladians, and the original inhabitants of Greece, as far as their history is necessary to furnish hints for an analysis of the Greek tongue. In the third section we are presented with an illustration of the author's plan, by an appeal to the synonyms of different languages, with the design of proving one common original tongue, and hence of explaining several difficult passages in the ancient history of Greece. In this section the author indulges his taste for etymological excursions and conjectural criticism, in the fullest latitude. The fourth section contains a farther analogical comparison of the Greek language with some European and oriental tongues, in subserviency to the leading design of the work; and the fifth an inquiry into the manners of the native Egyptians, at the most remarkable periods of their history. The three remaining sections, and an appendix which follows them, are de-

voted to a development of the history of the Titans, Taphians, Cadmians, &c. Such are the outlines of the subjects which compose Mr. Allwood's *Literary Antiquities of Greece*, in which the most instructive and entertaining matter is combined with what we consider to be open to weighty objections. Too much praise, however, cannot be bestowed upon the learned industry which the author displays, and his endeavour, from the facts which he illustrates, "to furnish some fresh evidences of the credibility and divine authenticity of the sacred writings."

During the present year Mr. Maurice has published the seventh and final volume of his laborious and ingenious researches, entitled "*Indian Antiquities*," &c. For a short view of the contents of the preceding volumes, together with our opinion of the manner in which the author has conducted his inquiries, we refer our readers to our *Registers* for the years 1793, 1794, and 1795. With respect to the volume now before us, we have to observe that, in point of useful information and entertainment, it comes more strongly recommended to us than any of the former divisions of the author's work. It consists of three dissertations. The first dissertation is on the quantity of bullion and coined money in the ancient world; comprising a short history of the gold and silver mines of Asia, and a survey of the immense treasures possessed by the ancient sovereigns of India. The second dissertation treats of the literature and of the arts and sciences of the ancient Indians. The third is occupied by disquisitions on the ancient government and jurisprudence of India. On these several subjects much curious and interesting matter has been collected by Mr. Maurice,

which will supply European scholars in general with a large field for reflection, and prove particularly acceptable to those who are commercially connected with India. This volume is illustrated with two well executed engravings; one representing the Peacock Royal Throne, encrusted with diamonds, and the other a curious mythological representation of the planet Sani, or Saturn, encircled with a ring formed of serpents.

The "*Report of the Commission of Arts, to the First Consul Bonaparte, on the Antiquities of Upper Egypt, and the present State of all the Temples, Palaces, Obelisks, Statues, Tombs, Pyramids, &c.*" translated from the French of Citizen Ripaud, Librarian to the Institute of Egypt," will certainly afford to antiquarians and architects some curious and interesting information respecting "the celebrated remains of ancient Egypt, of which we have heard so much and know so little." According to this report, five immense palaces and thirty-four temples still remain in that country. The descriptions which it contains of some of the principal of them, of the sepulchres of Thebes, of the pyramids of Sakkara, and of the pictures with which the above erections and excavations are decorated, discover a considerable share of scientific learning, judgment, and taste. Most probably, however, this treatise is only the harbinger of a larger and more important work on the same subject, which we may hope to receive from the learned men who accompanied the Egyptian expedition. When characterising the productions of preceding travellers into Egypt, this Report pronounces our countryman Pococke "the most learned of them all, and his descriptions the nearest to the truth:" adding,

ing, "almost every thing that he himself wrote is good; but the drawings, which he caused others to execute, are very inaccurate."

In the "Memoirs relative to Egypt, written in that Country during the Campaigns of General Bonaparte, in the Years 1798 and 1799, by the Learned and Scientific Men who accompanied the French Expedition, translated from the French," some few articles will be found which belong to the department of antiquities and topography, but not sufficiently important to demand particular notice. The greater part of the papers contained in this volume relate to natural history, the arts, geography, and the manners of the modern Egyptians and neighbouring Arabs; some of which are valuable and interesting, and have been already noticed by us; and others assist us in forming more accurate ideas than we before possessed of the present state, peculiarities, and, if we may be allowed the expression, capabilities of that extraordinary country. But the perusal of them did not, on the whole, afford us that degree of gratification which we promised to ourselves, when we took them up as the selected first fruits of the labours of the able men who accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt, and which are announced in the title "to be published in Paris by authority."

In our Register for the year 1798, we announced the appearance of Mr. Salmon's "Description of the Works of Art of ancient and modern Rome, &c." vol. I. During the present year that author has published a second volume of his work, which is of a similar character with the preceding, and embellished in the same manner with numerous engravings from original

designs. Some of these engravings are beautiful, and the rest, we doubt not, possess the merit of accuracy which the author claims for them.

During the present year the Society of Antiquaries of London have published the eighth volume of "Archæologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity;" which, if it do not furnish so rich a treat as some of their preceding collections, is not destitute of papers which add to our stock of information, or serve to gratify our curiosity. The principal of them are, some observations upon the life of Cecily, duchess of York, daughter of Ralph de Nevil, earl of Westmoreland and of Richmond, by Joan, natural daughter of John duke of Lancaster, communicated by the reverend Mark Noble; a complete list of the royal navy of England in 1599, extracted from an original MS. in the possession of Dr. Leith of Greenwich; a dissertation on the life and writings of Mary, an Anglo-Norman poetess of the thirteenth century, by Monsieur la Rue; an examination of an inscription on a barn in Kent, &c. with queries and remarks on the general use of Arabic numerals in England, by the reverend Samuel Denne; additional remarks on the same subjects, by the same author; observations on stone pillars, crosses, and crucifixes, by Thomas Astle, Esq.; a dissertation on the lives and works of several Anglo-Norman poets in the thirteenth century, by Monsieur de la Rue; a short chronological account of the religious establishments made by the English catholics on the continent, by the abbé Mann; and a description of the church of Melbourne in Derbyshire, with an attempt to explain from

from it the real situation of the *porticus* in the ancient churches, by William Wilkins, Esq.

In our Register for the year 1786, we announced the publication of the first part of a splendid and expensive work, in large folio, illustrated with numerous plates, and entitled "Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain, applied to illustrate the History of Families, Manners, Habits, and Arts, at different Periods, from the Norman Conquest to the seventeenth Century, with introductory Observations." It is but lately that we have had the opportunity of cursorily inspecting "Part II." of that work, and "An Introduction and Indexes" to Part II, separately published. This introduction "embraces a large field—the modes and rites of sepulture in general from the earliest periods of history, more particularly among the Greeks and Romans, to the primitive Christians, deducing the several conformities;" and it is embellished with forty elegant plates, besides several vignettes. Part II contains an account of nearly six hundred monuments of persons who lived in the fifteenth century, commencing with that of Chaucer, the father of English poetry, who died in the year 1400, and finishing with that of the abbess Harvey, who died in the year 1500; and is illustrated with 131 beautiful engravings, executed by Mr. James Basire. With respect to the merits of the literary part of these publications we cannot express any opinion of our own, because we had them not for a sufficient time in our possession to enable us to peruse them. That circumstance, however, does not preclude us from observing, that the established celebrity of

their author, Mr. Gough, in the antiquarian school, will, in the estimation of those who are attached to such studies, stamp a high value on the vast mass of information which they contain. The excellence of their illustrative and ornamental decorations will also insure them a place in the library of every opulent man of taste.

In our Registers for the years 1781 and 1782, we noticed the appearance of the first and second volumes of Dr. Nash's "Collections for the History of Worcestershire." During the last year, a "Supplement" to those volumes was published by the author, consisting of corrections and amendments, and numerous addenda, which will be received with pleasure by the possessors of Dr. Nash's valuable and entertaining work.

"The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, by John Nichols, F. S. A. &c. Vol. III. Part. I. containing East Goscote Hundred," is not in any point of view inferior to the former portions of this extensive undertaking, which were noticed in our Registers of the years 1795 and 1798. The author, indeed, enjoyed advantages for rendering it in some respects more complete than the preceding, and for supplying their deficiencies, from having the good fortune to recover the long lost volume of Burton's History of Leicestershire, which had been "copiously interleaved and enlarged with various marginal notes, &c. for a new edition, by the author, and a long second preface." In the present volume, Mr. Nichols has given us that preface at large, together with all Burton's intended Prolegomena, and "all his additions to the hundreds of Fremland, Gartre, and East-

East-Goscote." His own industrious collections, likewise, increase rather than diminish in interest and entertainment; and more especially the biographical articles, and the relics of the epistolary correspondence of distinguished characters.

"The History of Framlingham, in the county of Suffolk, &c. begun by the late Robert Hawes, Gent. Steward of the Manors of Framlingham and Saxted, with considerable Additions and Notes, by Robert Loder," presents us with a minute and apparently accurate account of every thing important or interesting relative to the history, antiquities, and local customs of Framlingham, intermixed with records of several ancient families, and curious and entertaining anecdotes. It is in part extracted from a MS. of Mr. Hawes, and amplified and illustrated with materials collected by the industry of Mr. Loder, the editor and printer. It, likewise, includes brief notices of the master and fellows of Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge, from the foundation to the present times, originally begun by Matthew Wren, president of that house, afterwards lord bishop of Ely, continued by Mr. Hawes, and the reverend Richard Atwood, and brought down to the year 1795, by the reverend Dr. Turner, the present master.

The "Historical Account of those Parishes in the County of Middlesex, which are not described in the Environs of London, by the Reverend Daniel Lysons, M. A. F. R. S. &c." may properly be considered in the light of a continuation of the author's former labours, noticed in our Register for the year 1797, and in some preceding volumes therein referred to. It

exhibits similar proofs of the author's industry and accuracy with the work to which it is supplementary, and has been conducted on the same plan: for "he has not been induced to alter it by any arguments which he has seen among the strictures which it has occasioned." Twenty-two parishes are described in this volume: of which "the antiquities of the honour and palace of Hampton-Court form one of the most prominent features." It is illustrated with seventeen engravings.

Among the collections of Travels and Voyages published during the year 1800, is "An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet, containing a Narrative of a Journey through Bootan, and Part of Tibet, by Captain Samuel Turner." This embassy was undertaken in the year 1783, under the auspices of Mr. Hastings, then governor-general of Bengal, for the purpose of reviving the friendly intercourse between that country and Tibet, which had commenced in the year 1774, when Mr. Bogle was sent with letters and presents to the Lama, but was interrupted by the death of that sovereign pontiff in the year 1780. On the receipt of intelligence from Tibet of the re-appearance of the Lama, according to the doctrines of the Tibetan creed, captain Turner was nominated to the mission of which he has given the particulars in the volume before us. His account is divided into six parts, which are followed by an Appendix. The first part consists of eight chapters, in which are detailed the circumstances attendant on the author's journey from Calcutta to Tassifudon, the capital of Bootan; the particulars of his inter-

views

views with the Daeb Rajah; the religious principles, manners, and customs of the Booteans; accounts of the various scenery and productions of the country; the incidents which took place during his stay at the court of the Rajah, &c. The second part, which is divided into ten chapters, describes the author's journey from Tassifudon to Teshoo Loomboo, the religious metropolis of Tibet; the mode of his reception by the guardian regent of the infant Teshoo Lama; the first public tribute of acknowledgment and allegiance to the regenerated Lama; the gorgeous temples, religious ceremonies, superstitions, festivals, manners, science, &c. of the Tibetians; the author's interview with the Teshoo Lama; the aspect of the country, course of the seasons, &c; and the return of the embassy to Bengal. The third part contains a report delivered to Mr. Hastings, upon the result of the author's mission to the court of Teshoo Loomboo, and a list of the usual articles of commerce between Tibet and the surrounding countries; the fourth, some account of the vegetable and mineral productions of Bootan and Tibet, by Mr. Robert Saunders, surgeon, who accompanied captain Turner; the fifth, particulars relating to the journey of Poorungeer to Teshoo Loomboo, the inauguration of Teshoo Lama, and the state of Tibet from 1783 to 1785; and the sixth, some account of the situation of affairs in Tibet from 1785 to 1793. In perusing the appendix, the curiosity of the reader will be highly gratified by translations of a letter from Kienlong, emperor of China, to Dalai Lama, the grand Lama of Tibet; translations of letters from the regent of Teshoo Loomboo, and the minister of the

late Teshoo Lama, to Mr. Hastings; and the narrative of the journey of Teshoo Lama, and his suite, from Tibet to China, from the verbal report of Poorungeer Gosein. From the mass of materials, of which we have given a very imperfect outline, much interesting information may be extracted concerning a part of the eastern world, almost unknown to Europeans before the late visits of the British ambassadors. And it comes recommended to us not only by its "novelty and curiosity," but by a dress best fitted for it to appear in, or, in other words, by a style and language that are perspicuous, correct, and elegant. This narrative is ornamented with several beautiful engravings from views taken on the spot, by lieutenant Samuel Davis, and others from drawings by captain Turner.

Another well written work, highly interesting to curiosity, and which serves considerably to extend our acquaintance with the geography of the east, as well as to introduce us to the knowledge of a people "indisputably pre-eminent among the nations inhabiting the peninsula which separates the British dominions in India from the Chinese Empire," is "An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava, sent by the Governor-General of India, in the Year 1795, by Michael Symes, Esq. Major in his Majesty's Seventy-sixth Regiment." In his preface major Symes justly observes that, "of Ava, or the Birman empire, so little is known to the European world, that many persons of liberal education, when the name of the country has been mentioned, were at a loss on what quarter of the globe to seek for its position; and some were even unacquainted with the existence of such

such a nation." Occasional commerce had, indeed, been maintained for some years between individuals in the British settlements and the dependencies of that empire in the river of Pegue; but no intercourse had been established between the governments of the respective countries, until, in the year 1794, an army of Birmans entered the company's territories for the purpose of apprehending persons who had been guilty of piratical practices on the coasts of Arracan. The negotiations which took place in consequence of this apparently hostile irruption, but which was terminated in an amicable manner, seemed to offer to the governor-general a favourable opening for commencing a regular friendly correspondence with the Birman empire, and attempting the establishment of commercial regulations, mutually beneficial to the Birmans and the inhabitants of Bengal. With these views an embassy to the court of Ava was projected, and major Symes was appointed ambassador. His narrative of the embassy is preceded by an historical memoir of the Ava empire, in which we are presented with well authenticated accounts of events which "supply a short but highly interesting period of oriental history." The rest of the work is divided into twenty chapters. In the first seven chapters major Symes describes his voyage from Calcutta to the great Andaman Island, with its present state, the condition of the natives, and its natural products; his voyage thence to Rangoon, the principal sea-port in the Birman dominions, and the unpleasant circumstances in which he was at first placed through the jealousy of the government; his progress to Pegue, and his recep-

tion by the maywoon or viceroy; the ceremonies and entertainments of the Birmans at the annual festival on the close of the year; the present state of the city of Pegue, the celebrated temple of Shoemadoo, the manufactures, provincial government, administration of justice, &c.; and his return to Rangoon, with an account of that place, of the Rhahaans, or ecclesiastical orders, and of particular institutions, customs, and superstitions. The four following chapters are employed in reciting the particulars of the inland voyage of the embassy, from Rangoon to the great river Irrawaddy, and afterwards along its course, through the extent of nearly five degrees of latitude, to the city of Ummerrapoora, the capital of the present Birman empire; with an account of the principal places, objects of curiosity, population, manufactures, &c. which engaged their notice during their progress. In the remaining chapters major Symes presents us with a relation of the circumstances and transactions which took place during his residence at the Birman court; of the magnificent temples, religion, literature, laws, royal and military establishments, character, &c. of the Birmans; and of the return of the embassy. In our preceding pages we have given such liberal extracts from these chapters, that it is unnecessary for us to make any farther mention of their contents. Subjoined to the author's narrative are descriptions of rare and curious plants, selected by the president of the Royal Society from a valuable collection made by Dr. Buchanan, surgeon to the mission; an appendix of illustrative papers; and a glossary. The plates which accompany this work are numerous, and

and executed both with spirit and delicacy. On the whole, we would observe, that every European reader will receive much information and entertainment from this account of what may almost be termed a newly discovered country, the inhabitants of which "have an undeniable claim to the character of a civilised and well instructed people, and are certainly rising fast in the scale of oriental nations."

The "Voyage in Search of La Pérouse, performed by Order of the Constituent Assembly, during the Years 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, &c." and "An Account of a Voyage in Search of La Pérouse, undertaken by Order of the Constituent Assembly of France, and performed in the Years 1791, &c." are the titles of different translations from the French original of M. Labillardiere, who was one of the naturalists attached to the expedition under the command of rear admiral Bruni D'Entrecasteaux, for the purpose indicated above, and who has published his Narrative during the present year at Paris. The former of these translations is in quarto, and the latter in two volumes octavo, and both are illustrated with numerous charts and other plates. With respect to their comparative merits we have to remark, that the former is the best executed version, in point of ease and perspicuity, but that the engravings which accompany the latter are, indisputably, the most accurate and beautiful. The tracks pursued in this expedition, with very trifling exceptions, have been rendered familiar to English readers by the successive voyages of their own navigators, as will appear from the following outline of them. From France admiral D'Entrecasteaux proceeded to Teneriffe, the

Cape of Good Hope, the island of St. Paul, and Van Diemen's Land, at the southern extremity of the continent of New Holland. After quitting Van Diemen's Land, he visited the shores of New Caledonia, Bougainville's Island, the Admiralty Islands, and others in the Archipelago to the north of New Guinea, from which he passed, through Pitt's Strait, to the island of Amboyna. From Amboyna the expedition was conducted along the south-west coast of New Holland to Cape Diemen, and thence to the north part of New Zealand, the Friendly Islands, New Caledonia, Solomon's Islands, the northern coasts of New Britain, the Molucca Islands, Samarang, and Batavia, at which place it terminated. For, D'Entrecasteaux having died before the arrival of the ships at the island of Java, his successor, in league with the principal officers of the expedition, hoisted the white flag, and sold the ships to the Dutch, after having caused our author and the other officers, who he knew were faithful to the French Republic, to be seized, stripped of their collections, and treated as prisoners of war. From Batavia M. Labillardiere was permitted to sail for the isle of France, whence, in the year 1796, he obtained a passage to his native country. In his narrative of the voyage, few circumstances occur that have much novelty to recommend them to our notice, and little addition is made to our stores of geographical or nautical knowledge. But as a natural historian the author appears to considerable advantage, and has enriched his favourite science with numerous important articles, which had not before fallen under the observation of any naturalist. Of his collections we have already stated that

that he was stripped at Batavia. It was their fortune afterwards, when conveying to Europe, to fall into the possession of an English cruiser, and to be taken to England. In consequence, however, of an application made from the French to the English government, which was powerfully seconded by sir Joseph Banks, they were liberally restored to M. Labillardiere; by which means he was enabled to publish the account of them that appears in the volumes before us.

Much useful information relative to the topography of the southern districts of India, and the domestic economy of the inhabitants, may be obtained from "A Voyage to the East-Indies, containing an Account of the Manners, Customs, &c. of the Natives, with a Geographical Description of the Country, collected from Observations made during a Residence for thirteen Years, between 1776 and 1789, in Districts little frequented by the Europeans; by Fra Paolino da San Bartolomeo, Member of the Academy at Velitri, &c. with Notes and Illustrations by John Reinhold Forster, LL.D. &c. Translated from the German by William Johnston." This work is distributed into two books, which are divided into subordinate chapters. The chapters of which the first book consists, present us with a relation of the author's voyage to India; historical, geographical, and æconomical remarks on various provinces and cities in that country; and a minute account of the natural, civil, and ecclesiastical history of Malayala, or Malabar, which is the most valuable and novel part of this book. Among our extracts relative to the manners of nations, we have given our readers a specimen of the information and entertain-

ment which it conveys. The second book treats of the birth and education of children; the ceremonies practised at marriages; the laws of the Indians; the Indian casts; the Sanscrit language and its derivatives; the religion and deities of the Indians; the marks of distinction painted on their foreheads, by which the three sects of Hindus are discriminated; the division of time, the calendar, and the festivals; Indian music, poetry, architecture, medicine, and botany; and the author's return to Europe; including short accounts of Ceylon, Mauritius, the Isle of Bourbon, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Island of Ascension. While perusing this work, the well-informed reader will perceive that Fra. Bartolomeo is by no means exempt from errors, when he has depended upon the information which he has received from others, or has ventured into the regions of antiquarian learning, which he does not appear to have been qualified to explore. But when he delivers the result of his own inquiries and observations, we see no reason to question his general accuracy, and readily acknowledge him entitled to a high share of praise, for the instructive and curious matter which his industry has collected.

To those gentlemen whom business or curiosity may induce to traverse that part of the continent of Asia which extends from the Mediterranean sea to the Persian gulph, the article next mentioned will afford desirable information, and useful hints of instruction. It is entitled, "A Journey from India, towards England, in the Year 1797; by a Route commonly called Overland, through Countries not much frequented, and many of them hitherto unknown to Europeans, particularly

ticularly between the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, through Curdistan, Diarbek, Armenia and Nattolia, in Asia; and through Rometia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Transylvania, in Europe: illustrated by a Map and other Engravings. By John Jackson, Esq." This itinerary presents us with a plain and unornamented narrative of the circumstances which fell under the author's own observation, "from day to day," while on his voyage from Bombay to Bassora; from Bassora, in Arab passage-boats, to Bagdad; and in travelling from that city, on horseback, through Mosul, Diarbekir, &c. to Scutari; and from Constantinople, chiefly by the mode of conveyance last mentioned, through the different provinces of Turkey in Europe, and Transylvania and Hungary to Germany. Notwithstanding that, by the expedition with which Mr. Jackson passed over the scenes which he has enumerated, he was precluded from entering into minute inquiries concerning them, their inhabitants, and productions, yet his journal sufficiently proves that he was not an unobservant traveller. And we have perused it, not without receiving a portion of information and entertainment that repaid us for the time which we devoted to it.

The "Journal of a Route to Nagpore, by the Way of Cuttae, Burdumbar, and the Southern Bunjare Ghaut, in the Year 1790, with an Account of Nagpore, and a Journal from that Place to Benares, by the Soohagee Pass, by Daniel Robinson Leckie, Esq. illustrated with a Map," is chiefly valuable on account of the addition which it supplies to our stores of geographical knowledge. In this respect it brings us acquainted with a part of Hin-

dustan little known to Europeans, and will be found useful in filling up the blank spaces in major Rennell's excellent map. The notices which it contains relative to the government, present state, customs and manners, &c. at Nagpore, which is in the heart of the Marhatta states, and the capital of one of the principal members of that confederacy, and the commander in chief of their armies, although very concise, are not unworthy of attention.

The science of geography will also derive some accession from "A Journal of a Voyage performed in the Lion Extra Indiaman, from Madras to Columbo, and Da Lagoa Bay on the Eastern Coast of Africa, (where the Ship was condemned) in the Year 1798, &c. by William White, Esq. Captain in the Seventy-third Highland Regiment of Foot." The author's observations relate to a part of the coast of Africa that is likely to be distinguished by an increasing resort of European and American navigators, on account of the advantages which it possesses for carrying on the whale fishery, the excellence of its harbours, and the abundance of refreshments which may be procured on easy terms from the natives. Captain White's description is accompanied with some useful nautical remarks, communicated to him by the commander of a British whaler; a short but interesting account of the manners and customs of the inhabitants; and a vocabulary of the language. It is also embellished with two plates of the inhabitants on the north and south sides of the river Mafumo, or English River, where the cargo of the Lion was discharged into other vessels, and whence the author took his passage on

on board one of them to the Cape of Good Hope.

The curiosity of readers in general will be considerably gratified, and the pious feelings of certain classes of Christians greatly interested, by the perusal of the next article inserted in our Catalogue, the ample title of which will abundantly indicate the nature of its contents. It is "a visible Display of Divine Providence; or, a Journal of a captured Missionary designated to the Southern Pacific Ocean, in the second Voyage of the Ship *Duff*, Captain Thomas Robson, captured by *Le Grand Bonaparte*, off Cape Frio; including every remarkable Occurrence which took place on board the *Duff*, the *Grand Bonaparte*, &c. in the Province of Paraguay, Spanish South America, and Portugal, on the Return Home, in 1798 and 1799. By William Gregory, one of the Missionaries; with Extracts from the Journals of the Reverend Peter Levesque, Reverend John Hill, James Jones, John Levesque, and other Missionaries captured in the *Duff*."

The "Memoirs of the Life and Travels of the late Charles Macpherson, Esq. in Asia, Africa, and America, illustrative of Manners, Customs, and Characters, &c." are announced by the editor as containing an account of real adventures, written by the traveller himself between the years 1773 and 1790. The volume before us contains only a small portion of the whole, being confined to Mr. Macpherson's first voyage to the West Indies. We rather suspect, however, that it is a work of invention, which more properly belongs to the class of novels, than of voyages and travels. Be that as it may, it is not ill-written, and contains

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some interesting adventures, and well-drawn delineations of character, which will afford amusement to the reader. And it is made the vehicle for introducing some just and important observations on different topics; particularly on the nature, treatment, and possible improvement of the negro, in the British and French West-India islands.

The "Observations on the Authenticity of Bruce's Travels in Abyssinia, in Reply to some Passages in Browne's Travels through Egypt, Africa, and Syria, &c. by Richard Wharton, Esq." are distinguished throughout by a strain of irony and captious remark, which, though it may sometimes excite the smile of the reader, will more frequently appear unworthy of the liberal scholar and dispassionate inquirer after truth. The object of them is, partly, to decry the value of Mr. Browne's travels into Africa, by exposing its supposed errors; and, partly, to defend Mr. Bruce against observations in Mr. Browne's work, which Mr. Wharton construes into an attack on the character of the Abyssinian traveller. In endeavouring to execute the former part of his design, he may have shown that, in particular instances, Mr. Browne's account of his travels, and the sentiments which he delivers, are fairly open to the attacks of criticism; but we can by no means admit that he has succeeded in his attempt to undermine the general credit due to that work, or to diminish the importance of Mr. Browne's discoveries. And in this judgment we are supported by the opinion of those scholars and critics, who, from the nature of their studies and inquiries, are most capable of deciding upon the subject. In his

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defence.

defence of Mr. Bruce, Mr. Wharton does not always do justice to the nature and spirit of Mr. Browne's remarks upon that traveller; and, when he criticises on the points concerning which there is a decided contrariety in their statements, we cannot say that the proofs of his own knowledge or argumentative talents appear to any eminent advantage. To these observations. Mr. Wharton has added "a comparative View of Life and Happiness in Europe and Caffraria," which is conducted in the same strain with the rest of his work, and is distinguished by fair and merited ridicule of some of the peculiar sentiments in Mr. Browne's concluding chapter.

During the present year were published two rival translations, from the German, of a literary forgery, which, from the artful simplicity of its construction, for a short time proved successful in interesting the curiosity of the public, and rewarding the dishonourable ingenuity of its inventors. It is entitled, "Travels through the Interior of Africa, from the Cape of Good Hope to Morocco, &c. between the Years 1781 and 1797, by Christian Frederick Damberger." The above notice of it we insert merely to preserve the correctness of our annual catalogue.

To the perusal of Dr. Hager's "Picture of Palermo, translated from the German by Mrs. Mary Robinson," we were attracted by the celebrity of the learned author, who, as we are informed in the advertisement, "having resided for two years in that city, at the request of his Sicilian majesty, for the purpose of examining the Arabic MSS. of the abbaté Vella, supposed to contain the history of the island under the dominion of the Sara-

cens and Normans, availed himself of the opportunity to draw up a short account of its climate, customs, buildings, antiquities, &c." We have every reason to be satisfied with the accuracy of the information with which Dr. Hager has presented us: but we must confess our disappointment at scarcely meeting with any thing at all interesting in his work, excepting on the subjects of antiquities, the impostures of Cagliostro and the abbaté Vella, and a slight notice of the present political state of Palermo, but what we had before repeatedly found in the writings of British and foreign tourists, none of whom "had resided more than a few days or weeks in the capital."

Mrs. Robinson's translation is a pleasing one, and, we doubt not, does justice to the original. In our last year's Register, among the historical articles in German literature, we announced a treatise by Dr. Hager, in which he has given a particular account of the literary imposture of Vella, referred to above.

The "Letters from Italy, between the Years 1792 and 1798, &c. by Mariana Starke," in two volumes, are partly historical, and partly descriptive. Under the former class we may include several letters in the first volume, which present us with "a view of the revolutions in that country, from the capture of Nice by the French republic, to the expulsion of Pius VI. from the ecclesiastical state." Mrs. Starke was a witness of the capture of Nice, by general Anselm, and of the first entrance of the French into Italy; resided in Tuscany when they seized Leghorn, and endeavoured to revolutionise Florence; and was at Rome in 1797, when they threatened to overthrow the papal government;

vernment; and in 1798, when that threat was realised. The advantages which these situations afforded her for obtaining an accurate knowledge of the circumstances which took place induced her "to give such a short account of these transactions as persons on the spot only are capable of detailing." And we must acknowledge that her relation is highly interesting, and presents us with a variety of information, and curious anecdotes, that are new to English readers. The remaining letters in these volumes are employed on descriptions of the principal cities which the author visited in her tour through Italy, and on her return home through Germany, and "the matchless works of art which still embellish Pisa, Florence, Sienna, Rome, Naples, Bologna, Venice, &c.;" interspersed with remarks on the manners, character, &c. of the respective inhabitants, and followed by accounts of routes, inns, prices of provisions, carriages, fees for seeing places, directions for travellers, &c. &c. This part of the volume before us will be chiefly acceptable to persons intending to become visitants of that country, to whom it will prove an useful *vade mecum*. With the exception, however, of such of the letters as are composed of minute and dry catalogues of works of art, and collections of curiosities, they are calculated to afford considerable entertainment to readers in general.

The next article which calls for our notice is a highly splendid work, both with respect to its typography and decorations, and has been offered to the public in consequence of the flattering reception given to the author's former Alpine observations, which were announced in our Registers for the

years 1792 and 1794. It is entitled, "Travels from France to Italy, through the Lepontine Alps; or, an Itinerary of the Road from Lyons to Turin, by the Way of the Pays-de-Vaud, the Vallais, and across the Monts Great St. Bernard, Simplon, and St. Gothard; with Topographical and Historical Descriptions of the principal Places which lie contiguous to the Route; including some Philosophical Observations on the Natural History and Elevation of that Part of the Alps, &c. By Albanis Beaumont." In the narrative part of this work Mr. Beaumont appears in the character of a naturalist, a describer of beautiful and romantic scenery, an historian, and a delineator of the simple manners of rural life. As a naturalist, he is more frequently superficial than profound, or strictly philosophical, as we have hinted in a preceding article: but his descriptions of beautiful and picturesque scenery are highly pleasing and animated. The historical notices which are introduced into his work occupy at least their full proportion of space; and, if they do not come recommended by any great novelty of information, will afford to general readers both instruction and amusement. So will, likewise, the æconomical observations, and the anecdotes with which they are interspersed. The author's pictures of rural life, however, and of the virtuous simplicity of manners which distinguishes the inhabitants of the Alpine regions, form some of the most interesting and entertaining parts of his narrative. The decorations of this volume consist of twenty-seven folio plates, exhibiting, besides a chart of the places connected with the route, a plan of Lyons, &c.; numerous beautiful and highly diversified views,

views, engraved in acqua-tinta. To the cabinet of every man of taste such a publication must prove a welcome accession.

The "Observations on a Tour through the Highlands and Part of the Western Isles of Scotland, particularly Staffa and Icolmkill, &c. by T. Garnett, M.D. Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry in the Royal Institution of Great Britain," in two volumes, although chiefly relating to scenes and objects which have been repeatedly and fully described by preceding travellers, and, consequently, seldom interesting us by their novelty, are, nevertheless, written in an agreeable and pleasing manner; and to those readers who are unacquainted with the publications from which they are in a great measure borrowed, will furnish much useful information and amusement. It would be injustice to the author, however, not to observe, that he has made an open and ingenuous acknowledgement of his obligations. "These volumes contain a description of the country, manners, and customs of the inhabitants, natural curiosities, antiquities, mineralogy, botany, natural advantages, proposed improvements, and an account of the state of manufactures, agriculture, fisheries, and political œconomy, with local history and biography." The author's tour comprises the most interesting and beautiful scenes in Scotland, as will appear from the following outline. Dr. Garnett commenced his route at Glasgow, whence he proceeded to Dunbarton, Loch Lomond, Ben Lomond, Loch Fyne, Inverary, Loch Aw, Loch Etive, the Isles of Mull, Staffa, and Icolmkill. From the Isle of Mull he advanced northward along the banks of Loch

Linhe, Loch Lochy, and Loch Ness, to Inverness; and thence, in a south-easterly direction, after diverging from it to visit Loch Tay, to Perth. From Perth he proceeded to Loch Leven, Stirling, the banks of the Forth, &c. and returned in a southerly direction to Glasgow. He afterwards ascended the banks of the Clyde, to view its celebrated falls, and visited the country about Moffat, which he has particularly described, and given an analysis of the mineral waters at that place. To the lovers of the fine arts, however, these volumes come peculiarly recommended by their ornamental illustrations, consisting of fifty-two beautiful and expressive plates, "engraved in the manner of acqua-tinta, from drawings taken on the spot by W. H. Watts, miniature and landscape painter, who accompanied the author in his tour."

The "Tour round North Wales, performed during the Summer of 1798, by the Rev. W. Bingley, B. A. illustrated with Views in Acqua-tinta, by Alken," in two volumes, will prove an useful and agreeable companion to future travellers in that romantic country, on account of the particular notice that is taken of every object that is interesting to curiosity, and the judicious pleasing manner in which it is communicated. Like Dr. Garnett, Mr. Bingley has availed himself of the labours of preceding writers, particularly of the works of Mr. Pennant. But he has also discovered much originality in his descriptions, in his remarks, and in his pictures of men and manners, and much industry in his botanical researches. His tour commenced at Chester, when he proceeded to Flint, Holywell, St. Asaph, Conwy, and Carnarvon; from which place

place he made several excursions to Snowden, and the interesting spots in its vicinity, and to the Island of Anglesea, which he has particularly described, bestowing due attention on the celebrated coppermine of Parry's Mountain. On finally quitting Carnarvon he bent his course towards Merionethshire, visiting the towns of Harlech and Dolgelle in that county, and in Montgomeryshire those of Machynlleth, Montgomery, and Welsh Pool, whence he proceeded to Oswestry, in Shropshire. From Oswestry he again directed his steps towards the principality, and visited Chirk Castle, Ruabon, Wrexham, Mold, Ruthin, Denbigh, Llangollen, Corwen, and Bala; from which place he returned to Shrewsbury, where his tour concluded. To his narrative Mr. Bingley has added an entertaining account of the druids and bards; an ingenious dissertation on the Welsh language; and fifteen engraved specimens of Welsh songs, adapted for keyed instruments.

The "Remarks on a Tour to North and South Wales, in the Year 1797, by Henry Wigstead, with Plates, &c." will afford little pleasure in the perusal, on account of the perpetual recurrence of spleetic remarks, and ill-tempered complaints, occasioned by the greatly exaggerated inconveniences which he experienced in the articles of provisions and accommodation at the Welsh public-houses. Some parts of them, however, will be useful in explaining the numerous, pleasing, and well-executed plates which illustrate this work, from Rowlandson, Pugh, Howitt, &c. and aqua-tinted by J. Hill. Some of them our personal knowledge enables us to pronounce correct as well as spirited representations of

the charming scenes of which they are intended to convey an idea.

The "Walk through some of the Western Counties of England, by the Reverend Richard Warner, of Bath," like the author's "Walks through Wales," noticed in our last two volumes, is written in the form of "Letters to a Friend." It presents us with lively descriptions of the picturesque scenery which offered itself during the author's route; concise and pleasing accounts of the principal towns, and places of public resort through which he passed; occasional notices of antiquarian remains; some just æconomical remarks; and an interesting episodic narrative. To each letter is prefixed a small wooden vignette, representing the track pursued by the author; and the whole is adorned with two pleasing aquatinta views. Mr. Warner's Walk occupied the space of seventeen days, and extended from Bath to Wells and Glastonbury, the Cheddar Cliffs, Axbridge, Minehead, Ilfracombe, Barnstable, Tarrington, and Launceston; at which place his farther progress westward was impeded by unfavourable weather. On his return home, his course lay through Okehampton, Chudleigh, Totness, Teignmouth, Exmouth, Honiton, Chard, Ilminster, Glastonbury, and Wells. Those who are acquainted with the counties of Somerset and Devon will perceive from the above enumeration, that Mr. Warner's route comprehended some of the most interesting and pleasing districts in the west of England.

The "Descriptive Tour and Guide to the Lakes, Caves, Mountains, and other Curiosities in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and a Part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, by John Houseman," is

stated in the advertisement to "form a part of a more extensive topographical work by the same author;" which, if published, has not yet fallen into our hands. "Besides his own observations, made in the course of his different tours," Mr. Houseman observes, that he "has had recourse to the works of several popular writers, from which he has extracted such passages as appeared to him the most interesting; and, upon the whole, has endeavoured to digest and arrange a concise and correct *Guide to the Lakes*, &c. which he humbly hopes will be found an useful companion to the "visitors of the many scenes and uncommon works of nature within the district." His pretensions are modest; and we do not think that any person who peruses his work, or who takes it along with him as a companion to the scenes which it describes, will find the least reason to complain that, when the author committed it to the press, he could possibly be influenced by "any design of passing a deception upon the public." This descriptive tour is illustrated by plans of the lakes, a map of the districts to which it refers, and a view of Furness abbey.

Of the Political publications of the year 1800, a considerable number consisted of speeches delivered by different members of the English and Irish parliaments, which have called for our notice in a preceding department of the present volume. The other treatises of this description which are entitled to insertion in our catalogue we shall enumerate according to the following order of their subjects: 1, such as relate to the state of France, and our contest with that country; 2, such as belong to general and domestic politics; 3, such as treat of

Irish politics, and the question of union between the two kingdoms.

To the first class belong two publications by French royalists; who, finding that their hopes of re-establishing the old order of things, either by the means of foreign force, or intestine commotions, have proved wholly delusive, condescend to pray and beseech the chief consul to gratify their ruling wish. The first is written in the French language, and entitled, "*Examen de la Constitution de France de 1799*," or "an Examination of the Constitution of France of 1799, and a Comparison of it with the Monarchical Constitution of that State." After endeavouring to expose and vilify the new system, and to prove that Frenchmen are less free under it than they were under their monarchs, the author makes use of his rhetoric to persuade Bonaparte, from a regard to his own fame, to the gratitude of France and of Europe, and to his personal safety and happiness, to employ his power for the restoration of the Bourbon race to the seat of royalty; most kindly assuring him that, in reward for such a service, what has passed shall be forgotten, and buried in oblivion. Such also is the purport of the other treatise, entitled, "France, after the Revolution of Bonaparte on the 8th of November 1799; hastily translated from a French pamphlet entitled, *les Adieux à Bonaparte*." But with his ardent supplicatory appeals to the chief consul's glory and interest, the author mixes much of that resentful and threatening language which is little calculated to influence such a character as Bonaparte to listen to his prayers.

"The History of the Politics of Great Britain and France, from the Time of the Conference at Pilnitz to the Declaration of War against Great

Great Britain, &c. by Herbert Marsh, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge," in 2 volumes, is a well written and ingenious attempt to prove, from a comparison of the public documents relative to the conduct of the two countries at the period referred to, with the language, correspondence, and actions of the principal agents in them, that the war, on the part of France, both in the motives which gave rise to, and the declaration of it, is a "war of aggression, of injury, and of insult," and, on the part of Great Britain, "just and necessary, as being strictly a war of self-defence." In none of the publications, on the ministerial side of the question, have these points been so fully and ably discussed as in the treatise before us.

Mr. Marsh's reasonings, however, have met with a powerful and acute opponent in Mr. William Belsham, who has published, "Remarks on a late Publication, styled the History of the Politics," &c. In this treatise Mr. Belsham closely investigates the leading points of Mr. Marsh's justificatory memorial on behalf of the British government, and maintains that the war was an act of aggression on the part of Great Britain, at once "unjust and unnecessary, into which the nation was, against all rules of political wisdom, precipitated, by the pride and rashness of ministers." The above rival treatises comprehend every argument of importance which has been brought forwards on the subject of the origin of the present war, both on the part of ministry and of opposition.

The next subject under this head, which occupied the attention of political writers, related to the question of terminating the war, and the wisdom and policy of entering into immediate negotiations

for that purpose, in compliance with the invitation of the chief consul of France. The few treatises in favour of an immediate peace, and which maintained the competency of France to support the relations of peace and amity, were entitled, "Considerations concerning Peace, by a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge;" "the Question stated, as it respects Peace and War;" "a Letter to the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, and the other Members in Opposition, on the present State of Europe, the Restoration of the House of Bourbon, and Peace with the French Republic, by Count Zenobio, translated from the French;" and, "Reasons against refusing to negotiate with France, by an Approver of the Measures of Administration, during the former Periods of the War."—The publications in defence of the prolongation of the war, and intended to show the impolicy of entering into any immediate negotiations for peace with the French republic, were entitled, "Forethoughts on the general Pacification of Europe;" "Peace or War! which is the best Policy? by Peter Bradry Cross, Esq.;" "Observations on the Danger of a premature Peace, by Alexander Annesley;" "Thoughts on the late Overture of the French Government to this Country, in a Letter to the Right Honourable William Pitt," &c.; "Thoughts on the Letter of Bonaparte, on the pacific Principles of the last Speech of Mr. Fox, by a Suffolk Freeholder;" "a Letter to *****, Esq. on Bonaparte's Proposal for opening a Negotiation for Peace, in which the British Guarantee of the Crown of France to the House of Bourbon, contained in the Triple and Quadruple Alliances, and renewed by the

the Treaty of the Year 1783, is considered, together with the Conduct of our National Parties with regard to it, by J. Brand, Cl. M. A." &c.; and "Reflexions on the Political State of Society, at the Commencement of the Year 1800, by John Bowles, Esq."

Among the publications of the year belonging to the class of general and domestic politics, are, "Political Essays on Popular Subjects;" in which the author descants on the topics of liberty, democracy, the British constitution, whigs, tories, and the French revolution, quite in the spirit of the Burkean school, and in a pompous turgid style.

The "Thoughts on the English Government, addressed to the quiet good Sense of the People of England, Letter IV." are written in support of the same unconstitutional doctrines respecting the regal power and prerogatives which were propagated in the author's former letters, noticed in our Registers for the years 1796 and 1799. On the opinions of Blackstone and Locke his present strictures are principally employed.

"The Progress of the Pilgrim Good-Intent in Jacobinical Times" is written in tolerable imitation of the manner of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, and is partly of a political, and partly of a religious tendency. Its object is to expose all attempts at innovation in matters of government or orthodox theology, and, particularly, to combat the principles of what is called modern philosophy.

"The Rise and Dissolution of Infidel Societies in this Metropolis, including the Origin of modern Deism and Atheism, &c. with general Reflexions on the Influence of Infidelity on Society, by William Hamilton Reid," is a miscellaneous

production, in which political reflexions and representations, much in the spirit and manner, and of a similar tendency with the wonderful productions of the abbé Barruel and professor Robinson, occupy a considerable space.

The "Facts of Importance relative to the present State of Great Britain" present us with a very flattering picture of the prosperity, the credit, and the resources of this country, to support and cheer us under the heavy and increasing burthen of our public taxes, and the enormous price of every convenience and necessary of life.

The "Short Strictures on a brief Examination into the Increase of the Revenue, Commerce, and Manufactures of Great Britain, from the Year 1792 to 1799, lately published by George Rose, Esq. by a Merchant," detect some inconsistencies in Mr. Rose's account, which merit the attention of that gentleman and the public, and require explanation, before his political conclusions can be entitled to any credit.

The remaining articles which belong to this class are entitled, "Observations upon the Introduction to the third Part of the Copies of the original Letters from the French Army in Egypt;" "Further Thoughts on the present State of public Opinion, being a Continuation of a Timely Appeal to the Common Sense of the People of Great Britain in general, and of the Inhabitants of Buckinghamshire in particular, on the present Situation of Affairs, by J. Penn, Esq.;" "Observations on the Income Tax, with Regulations suggested for the Security of the Revenue, and preventing the Waste of public Money, &c. by Joseph Burchell;" "Pandora's Box, and the Evils of Britain, with effectual, just, and equitable

equitable Means of their Annihilation, &c. by John Broadley, Merchant;" "Letters of Cursitor, addressed to many of the principal Characters of the present Day;" "Mr. Pitt's Democracy manifested, in a Letter to him, containing Praises of, and Strictures on, the Income Tax, by Thomas Clio Rickman;" "a Review of the political Conduct of the Honourable Charles James Fox, addressed to the Celebrators of his Birth Day," &c. "Strictures upon the political Parties in the City of Edinburgh, together with a Statement of authentic Circumstances and Facts, which merit the particular and immediate Attention both of the honourable Magistrates, and all the Inhabitants of that City;" and "an Address to the People of England on Inequality, the main Source of their Happiness, by Lieutenant Cronhelm."

On the subjects of Irish politics, and the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, the publications of the year 1800 were neither so numerous, nor, in general, so important as during the preceding year. In the following short list we believe the whole of them to be comprehended.

The "Observation on Dr. Duigenan's 'Fair Representation of the present political State of Ireland,' &c. by Patrick Lattin, Esq." are chiefly designed to controvert Dr. Duigenan's strictures on "the Case of Ireland re-considered," noticed in our last year's Register, and to offer a further defence of the author's brethren of the Catholic persuasion against the intemperate and illiberal remarks of his opponent. They are written with great acuteness and spirit, and much felicity of historical illustration, and ably vindicate the claims of the Irish

Catholics to the full participation of the common rights of subjects.

The account which Dr. Duigenan gave in his work, of the strength, views, and interests of the different classes of the inhabitants of Ireland, has also been closely scrutinized, and in many respects satisfactorily shown to be erroneous, by the anonymous author of the temperate "Refutation of Dr. Duigenan's Appendix; or, an Attempt to ascertain the Extent, Population, and Wealth of Ireland, and the relative Numbers, as well as Property, of its Protestant and Roman-catholic Inhabitants."

"Ireland.—The Catholic Question considered, in a Letter addressed to the Editor of the Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine," is the title of a pamphlet which discusses the question relative to the justice and policy of the repeal of the laws against the Catholics, and their admission to all the civil rights and honour of the state, in a judicious dispassionate manner, and equitably decides in favour of that proscribed part of the community. No measure, we are persuaded, could have so happy an effect, in exterminating the jealousies which the Protestants and Catholics mutually entertain of each other, and in leading them cordially to unite in promoting the interests, and increasing the strength and respectability of the British empire.

"The Story of an injured Gentleman, in a Letter from John Bull to a Person in the North," is written in defence of the Irish union, on the model of the celebrated allegorical history of John Bull. It does not come recommended, however, by any powerful attractions, either in point of argument, wit, or decency.

The "Proposal for uniting the Kingdoms

Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland," was first sent into the world in the year 1751, when an union of the two kingdoms was in contemplation, and became a temporary subject of discussion among politicians. But after the perusal of the treatises which, during the last year, issued from the press, in which the policy of the measure has been more fully and particularly investigated, we have not been able to find in it any thing sufficiently important or novel to warrant its re-publication.

"Union, Prosperity, and Aggrandisement," is the title of a pamphlet in which the advantages to be derived to Ireland from an union with Great Britain are pictured in very warm and glowing colours. We hope and trust that though the author is highly enthusiastic, he is not fanciful in the long catalogue of blessings which he connects with such a measure. His treatise, however, would have been read by us with more pleasure, and more confidence in the speedy accomplishment of his hopes, if he had not given us so unfavourable a character of the great mass of his countrymen.

"Protestant Ascendancy and Catholic Emancipation reconciled by a legislative Union," &c. is a sensible and temperate production, intended to show that nothing less than the important measure of an union can contribute to the effectual relief of Ireland, or to preserve for any long period her connexion with great Britain. But this treatise also includes in it the consideration of numerous other topics, connected with that leading one, and which respect the security of property in Ireland, that are entitled to serious notice. We learn from it, that the three counties in which the late rebellion raged

form "not a tenth of the kingdom, in which the Roman-catholics resident were not a fifteenth part of that persuasion."

The "Observations on the Union, the Orange Associations, and other Subjects of domestic Policy, with Reflexions on the late Events on the Continent, by George Moore, Esq." are written in favour of the union, but are more declamatory than argumentative, and contain much extraneous matter, which might have been spared without any injury to the author's main design. His observations on the pernicious tendency of the Orange clubs, however, are deserving of attention.

The "Practical Observations on the proposed Treaty of Union between the Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland, showing, in some Particulars, how that Treaty may be rendered acceptable to the People of Ireland, and beneficial to the British Empire in general, by John Gray, LL. D." suggest several legislative and commercial regulations, which deserve the particular consideration of those to whom the guardianship of the interests of both countries is delegated. Among other measures he recommends a land tax for the whole empire, in proportion to the value of the land; from which, in his opinion, a revenue may be expected that shall in time supersede all the duties on imports and exports, and on home consumption, and enable us to maintain "the defensive and offensive strength of the empire without a single exciseman, or a single custom-house officer."

The "Letter to the Farmers and Traders of Ireland, on the Subject of Union, by a Farmer and Trader," is written in a manner adapted to make impression on the classes of men

men for whom it is designed, and offers some strong reasons to convince them, that the union is proposed to them on fair terms; that it is their true interest to accept of it; and that they cannot be otherwise than gainers by it.

The “Examination of the Principles contained in a Pamphlet, entitled, ‘The Speech of Lord Minto, with some Remarks on a Pamphlet entitled Observations on that Part of the Speaker’s Speech which relates to Trade,’ by the Right Honourable Barry, Earl Farnham,” reflects great credit on the abilities of the noble author, and on the candid liberal spirit which pervades it. It attacks the leading positions laid down by lord Minto, with considerable force, and urges, as powerfully as cool argumentation will admit, the objections against an union, which he considers to be “a ruinous measure,” that will rob Ireland of her free constitution, and reduce her to the situation of a province of Great Britain.

The “Answer to a Pamphlet entitled ‘The Speech of the Earl of Clare on the Subject of a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland,’ by Henry Grattan, Esq.” is a powerful attack on the reasoning and statements of the Irish chancellor, in which the well-known abilities and eloquence of the author are exerted in their full force, and the objections to an union brought forwards in every point of view that can render them weighty and impressive. His opinion of the effects of an union perfectly corresponds with that of lord Farnham.—On the same side of the question have also appeared “Observations on the Commercial Principles of the projected Union; or, a free Examination of the Sixth Re-

solution, being the only one that touches upon Commerce; and carrying a direct Commission to appropriate Ireland, and for ever, as a consuming Colony to the British Manufacturer;” and “a Protest from one of the People of Ireland against an Union with Great Britain.”

In the department of Critical, Classical, and Polite Literature, the first work which calls for our notice is “ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΦΟΙΝΙΣΣΑΙ. Euripidis Phœnissæ, ad Fidem Manuscriptorum emendata, et brevibus Notis Emendationum potissimum Rationes reddentibus Instructa. In Usum studiosæ Juventutis.” This is the third play of Euripides for which the learned world is under considerable obligations to professor Porson, on account of the critical sagacity, erudition, and diligence which he has bestowed upon it. In our Registers for the years 1797 and 1798, we announced the appearance of the Hecuba, and Orestes, by the same editor. To the general remarks in those volumes on the admirable manner in which he has performed the task which he has undertaken, we have only to add in this place, that the present play affords satisfactory evidence of equal, if not superior, exertion in the learned editor, with the preceding, and will abundantly gratify those who are competent to judge of its merits, for their labour in the perusal of it.

The “Remarks upon the Cassandra of Lycophron, a Monody, by the Rev. H. Meen, B. D.” are intended to rescue that ancient poem from the oblivion to which it has been consigned, owing to its obscurity, which the present editor considers to be artificial and designed, and endeavours to elucidate by investigating its causes, and by
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his own criticisms and conjectures. The causes of its obscurity he resolves into the choice of the author's subject, which being "oracular and prophetic, must conform to that style in which prophecy and oracles have been delivered." In order to explain its design, he endeavours to show how it "may be divided into parts, and those parts into sections, and to each section may be prefixed its contents." In the work before us he has pursued the plan which he recommends through eight of such sections, in Latin, and annexed specimens of translations of ten sections more, with notes, in Latin and English. Mr. Meen is certainly entitled to credit for the learning and ingenuity which he has displayed in these remarks: but, notwithstanding his labour, we think that his original still presents "to the understanding a chaos without form, a labyrinth without a clue, a wilderness wild and waste." His translations exhibit specimens of as faithful an English version of the language of Lycophron as, perhaps, we have any reason to expect; and are delivered in poetic numbers, which are, in general, correct and harmonious.

The "Select Essays of Dio Chrysostom, translated into English from the Greek, with Notes, critical and illustrative, by Gilbert Wakefield, B. A." will prove an acceptable present to the liberal English scholar, on account of the celebrity both of their author, and of their translator and commentator. The former was an orator and philosopher highly esteemed by the emperors Nerva and Trajan, whose discourses were embellished with all the graces of eloquence, and who was himself distinguished for the excellence of his moral character, his ardent love of liberty, his frankness and honesty

in delivering his sentiments, and the boldness with which he re-proved vice, by whomsoever it was practised. The latter is too well known for his eminence as a scholar and critic, and as an able, spirited, and instructive writer, to render it necessary for us to make any observations on those points. In the volume before us he has given a faithful and pleasing version of some of Dio's best compositions on moral, political, and critical subjects, accompanied with such notes as serve either to elucidate obscurities in his original, or to give additional force to the liberal and enlightened sentiments which it inculcates. This version seems to have been undertaken by Mr. Wakefield in order to beguile some of the hours of confinement to which he was sentenced, for the freedom which he used in writing and publishing his political opinions; and has prefixed to it an appropriate motto from 2 Cor. iv. 9, in which we may consider an allusion to be made at the same time to his situation, to the spirited exertions that were made on his behalf, and to the firmness and fortitude with which he met and sustained his sufferings.

The "Bahar-Danush, or Garden of Knowledge, an Oriental Romance, translated from the Persian of Einaut Oollah, by Jonathan Scott, of the East-India Company's Service, Persian Secretary to the late Governor-General of Bengal," &c. in 3 volumes, will prove interesting and entertaining to English readers, as furnishing them with a faithful version of a very popular Eastern romance, describing the adventures of Jehaunder Sultan and the lovely Bherawir Banou, drawn up in a highly ornamented and florid style. It comes powerfully recommended, likewise, by the number of valuable

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and curious notes with which the translator has illustrated it. We understand that the original is usually recommended to English gentlemen by their tutors in India, after they have made some progress in the study of the Persian tongue, on account of its presenting them with numerous examples of the greatest beauties as well as difficulties in Persian prose composition.

The volume of "Tales, Anecdotes, and Letters, translated from the Arabic and Persian," by the same gentleman, will also be received with pleasure by English readers, on account of the stores both of amusement and information which it presents to them. The tales consist of literal translations from a curious fragment of the Arabian Night's Entertainments, lately obtained from Bengal. The anecdotes are translated from two Persian MSS; and, among many that will interest and please from their novelty, supply us with some that bear so striking a resemblance to European stories and jests, that either the Orientals must have borrowed them from the Europeans, or the latter from the former. We leave the decision of the question respecting their original source, to those who may deem it of sufficient importance to engage their attention and inquiries. The letters are selected from a MS. collection of epistles by the celebrated emperor Aurungzebe; which serve to throw considerable light on his character, and assist in illustrating the history of Hindustan during the middle of the seventeenth century.

The "Hebrew Grammar, for the Use of the Students in the University of Dublin, by the Reverend Gerald Fitzgerald, D. D. Hebrew Professor in said University," is drawn up on the Masoretical plan,

but without that strict adherence to the *minutiæ* of points and accents which has been observed by the greater number of grammarians who have adopted it. Conceiving such an adherence likely to discourage the student by throwing needless embarrassments in his way, and yet disapproving of the opposite system of Masclaf, who rejects altogether the Masoretic punctuation, the author has pursued a middle course. "To avoid the inconveniences of both methods," says he, "I have adopted an intermediate one, by retaining the vowel points, and such of the accents as are most distinguishable and useful: all the other accents, of which the number is considerable, appear to me wholly unnecessary, in the present state of the language." Without entering into the question, which of the methods is attended with the fewest inconveniences? we readily acknowledge that, on the plan which the author has embraced, his work is entitled to considerable praise, and deserves to be recommended as the most concise, simple, and perspicuous introduction to the Hebrew tongue which has yet been published in the English language.

The "Grammar of the Malay Tongue, as spoken in the Peninsula of Malacca, the Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Pulo Pinang, &c. compiled from Bowrey's Dictionary, and other authentic Documents, Manuscript and printed," is the republication of a very scarce work, of which the most competent judges have, during the course of a century, expressed a decided approbation; with such improvements as the editor's residence in India for many years has qualified him to introduce. At the present moment its appearance is peculiarly

arly seasonable, when our intercourse with the numerous countries in which the Malay tongue is spoken is considerably extended, by means of the conquests and increasing commerce of our East-India Company; and when a resolution has passed the council-board, "that after the commencement of the year 1801, no servant whatever shall be advanced to a situation of trust or responsibility, who is not conversant in the language and jurisdiction of the settlement." A specimen accompanies this grammar of an intended new edition of Bowrey's dictionary, by the same editor, in which the Malay words are printed not only in Roman letters, as in that publication, but also in the Oriental characters.

The "German Grammar, adapted to the Use of Englishmen, by George Henry Noehden, Phil. D." is the most comprehensive work of the kind that we remember to have seen published in this country, and appears, from the knowledge, judgment, and accuracy which it displays, well adapted not only for the instruction of young students, but for the improvement of those who have made a considerable proficiency in the German tongue. To persons of the latter description, who may be desirous of writing and speaking it in the strictest purity, and according to the manner now followed by all Germans of a polite education, his account of the different dialects, in the introduction, and his chapters on pronunciation, and the arrangement of words, will prove of material service; and to learners in general the whole work comes recommended by the precision and perspicuity of its rules, and the usefulness of the author's numerous illustrative observations. In an Ap-

pendix, Dr. Noehden has given some extracts for the practice of reading; and a collection of words and phrases to assist beginners in speaking the German language. We have been given to understand, that a German dictionary may be expected from the same author.

During the present year, Mr. Crabb has published a second edition of his "Complete Introduction to the Knowledge of the German Language, &c." noticed in our last year's Register as a very incorrect and faulty performance. In its present form it appears so greatly amended, and has received so many judicious alterations, that it may safely be announced as a useful elementary work for young students in the German tongue.

Of the contents of the following work, its ample title will convey a sufficient idea. It is "Latin Prosody made easy, in Rules and Authorities for the Quantity of final Syllables in general, and of the Increments of Nouns and Verbs, interspersed with occasional Observations and Conjectures on the Pronunciation of the ancient Greeks and Romans; to which are added, Directions for scanning and composing different kinds of Verse, followed by analytic Remarks on the harmonious Structure of the Hexameter, together with synoptic Tables of Quantity for every Declension and Conjugation, by J. Carey." On this work the author has bestowed much industry, learning, and judgment, and produced a comprehensive, accurate, and perspicuous treatise on the subject of prosody, which, we doubt not, will prove generally acceptable to the learned world. To the use of school-boys, however, it would be better adapted, were it reduced within a narrower compass; which might

might easily be done, without affecting the real value of Mr. Carey's labours, by some judicious omissions, and by lessening the number of examples with which his rules are illustrated,

The next work which we have to insert in our list merits the encouragement of the public, both on account of the numerous improvements which the author's known judgment and experience in labours of a similar nature have enabled him to introduce into it, and the convenient portable form of a 12mo. volume in which it makes its appearance. It is "Sheridan's Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary, in which are ascertained both the Sound and the Meaning of every Word in the English Language. Corrected and improved by Nicholas Salmon, Author of *Stemmata Latinitatis*, the *First Principles of English Grammar*, and several other Works on the English and French Languages."

The "New Essay on Punctuation, being an Attempt to reduce the Practice of pointing to the Government of distinct and explicit Rules, by which every Point may be accounted for after the Manner of Parsing, by Thomas Stackhouse," contains several just and useful precepts for punctuation, but not delivered in language sufficiently simple and intelligible for the instruction and guidance of young students, to whom such works are of chief value. Nor can we say that the author has rendered it better adapted to their use by his "appendix and key" to it, notwithstanding his very modest assertions in the title, that "every apparent intricacy in the essay is removed by the simplicity and perspicuity of this valuable appendix. The original intent of the charac-

ters used in pronunciation is clearly demonstrated, by an analytical view of their construction and mutual reference; and a system founded thereon, which is at once facile, correct, and practical."

The "Considerations on Milton's early Reading, &c. in a Letter to William Falconer, M.D. from Charles Dunster, M.A." are employed in an attempt to prove, that for many of the sentiments and peculiar expressions in his immortal poems, Milton was indebted to his early acquaintance with Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas's *Divine Week*, and that the perusal of that work "led to his great poem, not only by awakening his passion for sacred poesy, but by absolutely furnishing what Dr. Johnson in his preface to Lauder's pamphlet terms the *prima flamina* of *Paradise Lost*." For this purpose he has selected a number of extracts from Sylvester's work, and compared them with those passages in Milton which he considers to be obvious imitations of the former poet. And it must be acknowledged that he has produced several instances of coincidence and resemblance, which show that Milton was well acquainted with the translation of Sylvester, and that in his terms of expression he was sometimes influenced by the impression which that work had made upon his memory. But many of the instances which he adduces appear to us by no means sufficient to warrant the conclusion that he would draw from them, and to relate to expressions which were in common use among the popular writers of Milton's age. None of these resemblances, however, tend in our opinion to render it in the least degree probable, that the *prima flamina* of the *Paradise Lost* can be traced to the poem
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of Du Bartas. Mr. Dunster's criticisms are conducted with taste and liberality, and will be perused with pleasure by those who may essentially differ from him with respect to his favourite hypothesis.

In our Register for the year 1793, we announced the appearance of a volume of "Letters from a Father to his Son, on various Topics relative to Literature and the Conduct of Life, by J. Aikin, M. D." The reception which those letters met with from liberal scholars, and judges of truly rational entertainment, was such as justified the opinion which we expressed of their merits, in very brief and inadequate terms. During the present year Dr. Aikin has published a second volume of his epistolary essays under the same title, which will be found equally instructive and interesting with the preceding, and equally deserving of praise, as specimens of chaste English composition. To young persons both volumes cannot be too strongly recommended, as valuable and pleasing auxiliaries to their best guides in the formation of their intellectual, moral, and social characters.

The volume of "Miscellanies, by James Hay Beattie, A. M. with an Account of his Life and Character, by James Beattie, LL. D." consists of various compositions, in verse and prose, which, considering that the greater part were composed in the author's "seventeenth or eighteenth year, and some at a still earlier period," will impress the reader with very favourable ideas of his abilities and acquirements, and excite regret that he was snatched away from the world when only twenty-two years of age. The account of his life and character is an interesting tribute of respect from an affectionate father

to the memory of a promising and amiable son, which will be perused with particular pleasure by his friends and acquaintance.

The celebrity of the great author whose remains form a considerable part of the next article which we have to announce, will ensure it a favourable reception from the public, notwithstanding that the editorial accompaniments to the original papers may not appear in a very fascinating garb. It is entitled, "the Critical and Miscellaneous Works of John Dryden, now first collected: with Notes and Illustrations; an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author, grounded on original and authentic Documents; and a Collection of his Letters, the greater Part of which has never before been published: By Edmund Malone, Esq." in four volumes. The charms of Dryden's prose compositions, which have materially contributed to the refinement and improvement of the English language, have been too often the subjects of panegyric in the writings of our ablest critics, and are too well known to require any character of them to be inserted in our pages. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a statement of the order in which they are to be found in the volumes before us; and then revert to a short notice of the biography of the author, which fills nearly the whole of the first volume. In the second volume we are presented with a collection of Dryden's letters, some of which are interesting and amusing, but the greater part not very important, and scarcely worthy of preservation, excepting as specimens of the author's easy manner of writing. The third and fourth volumes contain a collection of Dryden's critical and miscellaneous works, consisting of essays respect-

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ing the stage, dramatic dedications and prefaces, and other critical prefaces, dedications, lives, and miscellaneous essays, chronologically arranged. Many of these pieces, before Mr. Malone had collected them in the order above enumerated, were scattered in a great variety of publications, some of which are become exceedingly rare. The account of the life and writings of Dryden, of which the first volume consists, presents us with a vast mass of materials, evidently collected and appreciated with much care and industry, abounding in valuable information, and anecdotes highly gratifying to curiosity; but encumbered with so many uninteresting details, and tedious and uncouth digressions in the body of the work, and in long notes, that the whole forms a very confused and wearisome production. An author of taste, however, might from these materials compose a much more interesting life of Dryden than any which has hitherto been offered to the public.

Some of the most prominent faults in Mr. Malone's Life of Dryden have been keenly satirized in a publication entitled "*the Essence of Malone, or, the Beauties of that fascinating Writer, extracted from his immortal Work, in Five-hundred Sixty-nine Pages and a Quarter, just published, and (with his accustomed felicity) entitled 'Some Account of the Life and Writings of John Dryden!'*" The author of this *jeux d'esprit* has made his attack on Mr. Malone, by accumulating extracts from his life of Dryden, in illustration of certain biographical canons, the original idea of which was evidently borrowed from Edwards's canons of criticism, levelled against Warburton's notes to his edition of Shakspeare.

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The author, however, while in general pleasantly, and sometimes caustically severe on Mr. Malone, has laid himself open to animadversion by his own tediousness and prolixity, which have the effect of blunting the point of his irony.

"The Miscellaneous Works of Hugh Boyd, the Author of the Letters of Junius (as the Editor is most unwarrantably pleased to style him), with an Account of his Life and Writings, by Lawrence Dundas Campbell," in two volumes, consist of various fugitive pieces, on literary and political topics, including the Freeholder, a periodical work which was published in Ireland in the year 1776; an account of the author's embassy to the king of Ceylon; and the Indian Observer, which was noticed in our Register for the year 1798. In our remarks on the article last mentioned, we have sufficiently expressed our opinion of the literary merits of the author. Mr. Campbell's account of the life and writings of Mr. Boyd may be considered as an enlarged edition of the biographical notice prefixed to the Observer, in which he has brought forwards the arguments which he has to adduce in favour of his bold assertion in the title, that Hugh Boyd was the author of the Letters of Junius. After the most dispassionate examination, we could not discover in them any thing that wore the semblance of direct evidence; but a variety of conjectures, and reasonings founded on those conjectures, which we cannot compliment so highly as to admit that they amount even to presumptive evidence. A comparative view, however, of the language of Junius with that of the most select of Mr. Boyd's publications will, we are satisfied, convince

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vince those who sit in judgment on the question with unbiassed minds, and who possess a moderate share of critical sagacity, that the letters of the former and the publications of the latter could not have been written by the same author.

The same point for which Mr. Campbell contends has been maintained with that species of logic for which the author has lately rendered himself celebrated, and in that lively modest style which peculiarly characterizes his productions, in "an Appendix to the Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the supposititious Shakspeare Papers; being the Documents for the Opinion that Hugh M'Auley Boyd wrote Junius's Letters: by George Chalmers, F.R.S. S.A." These documents have produced no more conviction in our minds than the arguments of Mr. Campbell.

Under the head of Poetical Translation and Poetry we meet with "Odes of Anacreon, translated into English Verse, with Notes, by Thomas Moore, Esq." This version of the Teian bard supplies us with a desideratum in English literature, and reflects great credit both on the classical knowledge and poetic taste of the author. It shows that he possesses that intimate acquaintance with the language of his original which has enabled him to comprehend its most delicate graces; and presents us with a perspicuous, spirited, elegant, and yet simple translation of Anacreon, in easy and pleasing versification. Prefixed to it is a dissertation, containing the few and uncertain particulars that are on record concerning the life of Anacreon, with a beautiful sketch of the character "of that elegant voluptuary;" a judicious criticism on his writings; no-

tices of his different imitators; and an account of the different editions of his works. The critical and illustrative notes which accompany it are both instructive and entertaining.

Mr. Sotheby's translation of "the Georgics of Virgil" is a work to which our curiosity was strongly attracted, both by the reputation which the author acquired by his former poetical productions, and by the celebrity of preceding poets, particularly Dryden and Warton, who have employed themselves in endeavouring to transfuse the beauties of this charming work into the English language. During the perusal of it we were soon satisfied that the author's fame will suffer no injury by the boldness which led him to venture on so difficult an undertaking. His version is, in general, strictly faithful to the original; animated, elegant, and delivered in smooth and harmonious numbers: and though we do not think that, on the whole, its claims to excellence are equal to those of Dryden's or Warton's translation, yet it is marked by particular passages, in which Mr. Sotheby has caught more happily than either of those poets the spirit, and better expressed the exquisite beauties of the Roman bard. This version is not accompanied with any notes, the author contenting himself with referring the "scholar to Heyne's Latin Commentary, and the English reader to the ample and judicious remarks in professor Martyn's edition of the Georgics." We are persuaded, however, that he would have rendered it more generally acceptable and useful, if he had exercised his judgment in selecting some of the most important commentaries in the publications to which he has referred, and added them to his own pages.

"Leander

“Leander and Hero, translated from the Heroic Epistles of Ovid; with other Poems, original and translated,” form a pleasing little miscellany, which is ushered into the world with very modest pretensions, but discovers proofs, nevertheless, that the author possesses true classical taste, and poetic genius. The translations, besides the epistles of Leander, consist of Ovid’s epistle to Græcinus, and some versions from Horace. They are faithful and spirited, and written in harmonious and polished versification. The author’s original pieces, likewise, though not equal in merit to his translations, are entitled to a considerable share of praise.

The “Persian Lyrics, or scattered Poems from the Divani Hafiz, &c.” are the productions of Mr. Hindley, and present us with translations of eleven of the gazels or lyric odes of the sweet poet of Shiraz, in verse and prose. Of these eleven gazels, eight are not new to English readers; and some of them have been introduced to their acquaintance in the exquisite numbers of the late Sir William Jones. We cannot pay Mr. Hindley the compliment of saying, that in beauty and harmony his verses are equally attractive with those of that admirable poet; and we presume that his own modesty will prevent him from claiming for them greater fidelity to the originals. They are, however, spirited and elegant; but paraphrastic, rather than literal. Prefixed to them are some valuable observations on the Persian language, and the expediency of encouraging its study in Great Britain, in the present circumstances of the political and commercial connexion of this country with the East; and they are accompanied with “a catalogue of the gazels, as arranged in a

manuscript of the works of Hafiz, in the Chetham library at Manchester, and other illustrations.”

Mr. Warren’s “Parish Priest, a Poem,” is a translation from a Latin poem, entitled *Sacerdos Parœcialis Rusticus*, written by the Rev. John Burton, and printed at Oxford in 1757. The design of it is to describe the conduct and behaviour of the virtuous and useful parish priest, in the discharge of his own professional duties, in his private character, and in the hour of death. Mr. Warren’s translation, with the exception of a few unharmonious and prosaic lines, is executed with ability, and has been perused by us with pleasure. This poem is ornamented with two very neat engravings.

“Cecco’s Complaint, translated from *Il Lamento de Cecco da Varlungo*, of Francisco Baldovini, by John Hunter, Esq.” is a successful and pleasing version of a playful and admired Italian poem, in the dialect of the Tuscan peasants, and intended to exhibit a specimen of a rustic pastoral. It is written in easy and flowing lines, and appears to present us with a just idea of the sentiments of the original, and a close imitation of its familiar language, without the introduction of any of its provincialisms.

The translation of the “Hymn to the Earth, &c. from the German of Count Frederic Leopold Stolberg, by the Rev. John Whitehouse,” is written in blank verse, which is, in general, dignified and melodious, and impresses us with favourable ideas of the translator’s poetic powers. Some parts of it are highly finished and beautiful.

The second volume of “*Fabliaux, or Tales*, abridged from French MSS. of the Twelfth and Thirteenth

teenth Centuries, by M. le Grand, selected and translated into English Verse by the late Gregory Lewis Way, Esq., with a Preface, Notes, and Appendix, by G. Ellis, Esq." is the completion of a work, of which the former part escaped our notice at the time of its appearance, and the present volume is known to us only by the extracts which we have seen from it in some of our periodical journals. As far as we can judge from these, it appears to contain a spirited and pleasing translation of some obsolete Norman stories, which are humorous and entertaining, in language that is perfectly simple, and in a style that is peculiarly the author's own, antiquated in its form and turns of expression, but not obscure or unmusical.

"Alfred, an Epic Poem, in Twenty-four Books, by Joseph Cottle," is chiefly formed on the circumstances which preceded or were connected with the battle of Edington, by which the Danish invaders were destroyed or subdued, and Alfred restored to the peaceable possession of the Saxon throne. In the contrivance and conduct of this poem, the author appears "to have been more solicitous to find an avenue to the heart than to invent systems of machinery, or to wander in tracks, however luxuriant, where the effect is less legitimate and durable, in proportion as the events are less assimilated to human life and manners." But he has not excluded machinery entirely from his work; the first book consisting of terrific scenery borrowed from the Northern mythology, and the twenty-third presenting with a vision, in which Alfred receives instructions from his guardian angel. Both books, however, might be cut off from the

poem, without the least injury to its reputation and interest as a consistent and impressive whole. The rest of the work affords proof that Mr. Cottle has well studied the Saxon history, of which it details the events in the period referred to, interwoven with not improbable circumstances of invention respecting Alfred's domestic distresses; and occasional episodes, that are well calculated to engage the attention, and interest the feelings of the reader. The author's descriptions seldom approach to sublimity, and his ornaments are very sparingly introduced. Nevertheless his poem is not destitute of dignity, and of passages which display the genuine hand of a master; and the sentiments which it inculcates are uniformly adapted to serve the causes of patriotism, virtue, and religion. It is written in blank verse, which is, in general, correct and well modulated, but sometimes, from the author's great care to maintain a simplicity of diction, bears too near a resemblance to measured prose.

"The Sovereign, addressed to his Imperial Majesty Paul, Emperor of all the Russias, by Charles Small Pybus, M. P. one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury," is whimsically enough dedicated to our own king, whom most certainly the author does not compliment, when he attributes to him a similarity of character with the Russian autocrat. This poetical attempt consists of lavish praises of Paul, of Peter I. of Peter II. and of Catharine, whom, by a bold licence, he calls *one Peter more*; and expressions of the ardent hopes that were entertained, among the wise statesmen with whom the author is connected, of the deliverance of Europe through the magnanimous exertions

exertions of the emperor to whom it is addressed. It is followed, however, by a dolorous prose postscript, in which Mr. Pybus laments the unfortunate change in the emperor's politics, owing to which those hopes have been blasted, and the continent of Europe overshadowed by a *species* of gloomy regret. The lines which fill his 'space of song' seldom rise to mediocrity, and are sometimes bald and tasteless in the extreme. In splendid typography, the Sovereign, perhaps, is an unrivalled production; and it is also ornamented with a very beautiful engraving of the imperial crown of Russia hovering over the name of Paul, and a highly-finished portrait of the author.

Mr. Hayley's "Essay on Sculpture, in a Series of Epistles to John Flaxman, Esq. B. A." traces the progress of the art from the earliest times to its decline under the baneful influence of Roman despotism, and presents us with descriptions of the works of the most celebrated artists, taken from the page of history, or suggested by the exquisite remains which have reached the present day. It is divided into six epistles, the first of which relates chiefly to the studies and situation of the author and his friend; and calls for our sympathy with the former, under interruptions which he met with in his work from the attacks of sickness, and the severe affliction occasioned by the loss of a beloved and most promising son. In the three following epistles the author describes the progress of sculpture in Asia, Egypt, and the early ages of Greece; the works of the principal Grecian sculptors of later times; the remains of Etruscan art; and the Roman ravages, which from Etruria spread to Sicily, and thence to Greece, terminating in the

ruin of the art of sculpture, notwithstanding its temporary revival in the reign of Adrian. The fifth epistle inquires into the moral influence of sculpture on the pagan world, and panegyrises the most eminent writers on ancient art. The concluding epistle is an eulogium on the talents and amiable qualities of the author's son, whose death he feelingly laments. To these epistles are added numerous and copious notes, abounding in classical and elegant illustrations of the work, and curious and entertaining anecdotes. The poetry of this essay possesses, in general, the author's well-known characteristics of ease and harmony; but we cannot add that the spirit of his muse has increased with the progress of time.

The volume of "Poems, Epistolary, Lyric, and Elegiacal, in three Parts, by the Rev. Thomas Maurice, A. M." contains a collection of pieces, of various merit, some of which have already been separately published, and met with that favourable reception which was due to the author's genuine poetic talents. Many of the others, which are now first offered to the public, are juvenile productions, and exhibit pleasing specimens of the author's early genius and taste. Among the larger pieces in the present volume are two charming descriptive poems; in one of which Mr. Maurice paints, in the best manner of his masterly pencil, the beauties of Netherby in Cumberland, the seat of sir James Graham, bart.; and in the other, the classical scenery of Hagley in Worcestershire. In the preface he informs us, that, "if the public shall smile on this volume, a second, containing his dramatic productions," will be committed to the press, which "will be the final

limit of his poetical excursions." We shall be glad to receive that work, not entertaining the least doubt of the fulfilment of the condition on which it has been promised: but we hope that the author will not be able to adhere to the resolution intimated in the concluding part of the above quotation.

Of Mr. Polwhele's "*Grecian Prospects, a Poem, in two Cantos*," the following is the subject:—A Welsh bard, travelling over Greece, indulges in the reflexions which the view of that classical country will naturally excite in the cultured mind, and, after lamenting over the ruins of its former greatness, and the insults and barbarities to which, according to the poet, the inhabitants have been subjected by the French conquests of the former Venetian isles, sinks into a slumber. In this state the guardian genius of Greece appears before him, and represents the people of that country awakened to revolt against their "savage masters," over whom they prove triumphant through the aid of a British fleet; and afterwards predicts the revival of their ancient glory, under the auspices of their new allies. In a postscript he has added an heroic tale, which "was detached from the poem, from a suspicion of its being defective in the unities." To the whole he has annexed several valuable notes, containing interesting information respecting the present state of Greece and the Grecian isles. His poem is conducted in the stanza of Spencer; and, as might be expected from an author of Mr. Polwhele's well-known poetic powers and classical taste, presents us with many lofty and brilliant passages, and appropriate pleasing images: but it is too frequently rendered obscure by the needless inversion of its construc-

tion, and the author's fondness for obsolete words and dark allusions. The political sentiments which occur in it show the author to be an ardent hater of the French, which, in the estimation of some of his readers, will be considered as a satisfactory testimony to his own patriotism and loyalty.

The second volume of "*the Annual Anthology*" is of a similar description, and chiefly written by the same authors with the first, which was noticed in our last year's Register. With many of the pieces of which it consists—of the descriptive, pathetic, and humourous kind—we have been highly pleased. The principal contributors to our entertainment were Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Opie, and Messrs. Southey, Coleridge, Cottle, and one or two anonymous authors. Other pieces, however, have been admitted into this miscellany, which are unworthy of being united in the same collection with their more chaste and polished productions.

"*The Holy Land, a Poem, by Francis Wrangham, M. A.*" obtained the Seatonian prize for the best poem by a master of arts of the university of Cambridge, for the year 1800, and is not undeserving of the honour which was decreed to it. The author commences his poem by adverting to the conquest of Palestine by Joshua; whence he is led to consider it as the scene of the nativity of Christ, his miracles, crucifixion, and resurrection. Afterwards he proceeds to expatiate on the siege, destruction, and pollution of Jerusalem by pagans and Mahomedans; the crusades to deliver Palestine from infidels; the pilgrimages to Jerusalem; the present unpeopled and barren state of Judea; and what he considers to be its predicted future restoration to fertility and

and dominion. On these subjects he descants, with much energy, and a considerable share of poetic enthusiasm, in blank verse, which is dignified and harmonious, and formed on the model of the excellent Cowper, whose genius the author invokes towards the beginning of his poem. In the course of his work he ingeniously avails himself of opportunities to pay an elegant tribute of respect to the memory of the late Mr. Tweddell, and to pass a warm encomium on the gallantry of Sir Sidney Smith, for his defence of Acre against Bonaparte.

“ St. Paul at Athens, a Seatonian Prize-Poem, by William Bolland, M. A.” is another academic exercise, in blank verse, that reflects credit on the talents which the author displays, and affords fair promise of excellence in his future poetical undertakings. It opens with an invocation to the martyrs whose blood was shed in the cause of religious truth; and, after dwelling on the sufferings of St. Paul, represents him delivering his admirable discourse before the court of the areopagus at Athens, in which he took advantage of their superstition to inculcate on them the true doctrine concerning the nature of God, and the service that alone is acceptable to him. In the next place, the author, in an apostrophe, reproves the members of that court for the contemptuous manner in which they treated the apostle’s address, and then proceeds to draw a comparison between him and the philosophers and orators of Greece. Modern infidelity is afterwards the subject of his lamentation and rebuke; which he concludes with an address to Britain, and exhortations to his countrymen, in adversity to trust in God, and in prosperity not to be forgetful of the goodness of his pro-

vidence. Mr. Bolland’s versification is correct and smooth, his language, in general, chaste and animated, and the sentiments which he inculcates rational and edifying.

The two volumes of “ Poems on various Occasions, with Translations from Authors in different Languages, by the Reverend W. Collier, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge,” were written “ in times of affluence and happiness, but are published in those of a far different condition, to alleviate the burthens which were the causes of their having been committed to the press.” From his list of subscribers we are led to hope that the design of the author in sending them into the world has been fully accomplished. Many of them, however, possess that intrinsic excellence which entitles them to a favourable reception from the public, independently of any regard to the motive for their appearance. Some are distinguished by a vein of tenderness and pathos, and others by lively and animated strains, which evince that the author is not destitute of respectable poetic talents; and they are interspersed with occasional notes, which prove that he possesses considerable erudition as well as taste.

The volume of “ Poems by Anne Bannerman” consists of odes, sonnets, and miscellaneous pieces, which have afforded us much pleasure in the perusal. They exhibit satisfactory evidence, that the author’s imagination is lively and bold, that her taste is correct, that her ear is musical, and that she possesses much tenderness of feeling.

“ The Farmer’s Boy, a Rural Poem, in Four Books, by Robert Bloomfield,” is the production of a journeyman shoe-maker, which has been ushered into notice by the ingenious and benevolent Mr. Capel

Lofft, who has prefixed to it some interesting particulars of the humble life of the author. Its design is to describe the various occupations of a farmer's boy (which was the original condition of Robert Bloomfield) during the four seasons of the year. In reading it, we were much pleased with the whole, considered as an effort of unlettered and unassisted genius, and particularly so with many passages and lines which would reflect credit on a poet of cultured taste. Mr. Lofft has not bestowed upon it exaggerated praise, when he states that it is distinguished by "flowing numbers, feeling, piety, poetical imagery and animation, a taste for the picturesque, a true sense of the natural and pathetic, force of thought, and liveliness of imagination." This poem is ornamented with neat prints from engravings on wood.

"The Favourite Village, a Poem, by James Hurdis, D. D. Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford," is the production of an instructed and practised votary of the Muses, who has frequently repaid us with true pleasure for the attention which we have bestowed on the effusions of his genius. It is divided into four books, in which the author describes the scenes, incidents, and delights of rural life and retirement, in the four seasons of the year. In pursuing his plan, notwithstanding that he ventures on ground which some of our ablest poets have trodden before him, yet he has, in general, chosen such subjects as preclude him from any charge of imitating their admired works. Many of the pictures which he has drawn are original and beautiful copies from nature, and display true poetic taste and animation. They are also accompanied with sentiments

and reflexions appropriate to the objects described, and calculated to produce useful effects on the reader. But by sometimes aiming at the sublime, Dr. Hurdis has produced more than one striking example of the genuine bathos; and he has occasionally descended to the introduction of mean images, and barbarous vulgar expressions, which would have been reprobated in the productions of a Robert Bloomfield, and will be much more so in the compositions of an university professor of poetry.

Mr. Bidlake's "Summer's Eve, a Poem," like the former poetical productions of the author which have been noticed by us in the order of their appearance, is written in correct and flowing numbers, and presents to the reader many beautiful passages, of the descriptive and narrative kind, which entitle the author to a respectable, if we cannot say an exalted, station on the Parnassian hill. The just reflexions, however, and lessons of virtue which it inculcates, stamp on it a higher value than the most select of its poetical charms.

"The Millennium, a Poem in Three Cantos, Canto I." is written in correct, animated, and harmonious verse, and has supplied us with much genuine entertainment. The author assumes for a truth the doctrine of a millennium, or golden age, "when the faculties of man shall be prodigiously enlarged and enlightened, when virtue shall triumph over vice; when Nature herself shall assume a dress of perpetual flowers and sunshine, and the misery of past ages be forgotten in the overflowing felicity of the present." Instead, however, of expecting its arrival at some distant future period, he maintains that it has already commenced in this country, under the
glorious

glorious reign of George the Third. The proofs of this position constitute the subjects of the present canto, and afford the author opportunity, in a strain of forcible but delicate satire, to expose many of the foibles, ridiculous practices, absurd or hurtful opinions, and gross immoralities of the times. His poem is illustrated with a variety of notes, the offspring of good sense, extensive reading, and respectable learning.

"The Mince Pye, an Heroic Epistle, humbly addressed to the Sovereign Dainty of a British Feast, by Carolina Petty Pasty," is a good-humoured, and not ill-written trifle, intended to ridicule Mr. Pybus's magnificent publication. Besides parodying many of his verses, the author has burlesqued his decorations, presenting us with the print of a mince-pye, hovering amidst clouds of culinary smoke; and the portrait of Mrs. Petty Pasty, in the act of comforting herself with a remedy against stomachic complaints.

In Sappho Search's "Poetical Review of Miss Hannah More's 'Strictures on Female Education,' in a Series of anapæstic Epistles," with high commendations of some parts of that work, will be found satirical and spirited censures, and good argumentative refutations of several of the sentiments which occur in it, written in very passable Ansteyan verse.

The "Epistle to Peter Pindar, by the Author of the Baviad," in spirited and correct lines, but with much foul language, endeavours to hold out that satirical bard as an object of contempt and odium, on account of the mischievous disposition, and the low sensualities, which the author attributes to him. In a postscript to the Epistle, which

appeared with the second edition, a charge was insinuated against Peter of the most infamous nature.

The charge alluded to in the last article so highly exasperated Peter Pindar, that a personal contest between himself and the author took place in a bookseller's shop, in which blows were received on both sides, before the interference of persons present put an end to the fray. This unpoetic conflict soon became the object of celebration with the wits of the day. The first piece to which it gave rise was entitled, "the Battle of the Bards, an heroic Poem, in two Cantos: the Author, Mauritius Moonshine, F. R. S. &c." This satire describes the combat in laughable mock heroics, embellished with suitable machinery, and other poetical decorations. Another piece was entitled "Peter and Æsop, a St. Giles's Eclogue;" in which is detailed a burlesque poetical dialogue between the militant parties, animated with the choicest rhetorical flowers selected from their respective works. But the most playful and entertaining productions which appeared on this occasion were, "Bardomachia, Poema Macaronico-Latinum;" and an English version of the same, entitled, "Bardomachia, or the Battle of the Bards; translated from the original Latin." These publications, which display no small share of learning, genius, and humour, carry with them strong internal evidence of having been written by a pen which has often entertained us with its pleasantry, and instructed us by its labours in defence of civil and religious freedom, and in the highest department of biblical criticism.

We can only find room for the titles of the following articles: "Verses to the Memory of Joseph Warton,

Warton, D.D. late head Master of Winchester College, by Richard Mant, A.B.;" "Epistle from the Marquis de la Fayette to General Washington;" "Beaumaris Bay, a Poem, with Notes descriptive and explanatory, &c.;" "the Pleasures of Solitude, a Poem, by P. Courtier;" "Tintern Abbey, with other Poems, by Clericus;" "Poems, moral and descriptive, by Thomas Dermody;" "Equanimity, a Poem, by Mason Chamberlin;" "the Harvest, a Poem," by the same author;" "Poetical Attempts, by Mrs. Hale;" "Eliza, an Elegy;" "an Elegy supposed to be written in the Gardens of Ispahan, &c. by Merwan Ebn Abdallah Malek;" "Reflexion, an Elegy, occasioned by a Visit to Colley, &c. with Colin, a Dirge;" "Original Poems, by Thomas Saunderson;" "Poems, by William Rowland Wake;" "Mary Queen of Scots, an historical Ballad, with other Poems, by a Lady;" "Sir Hubert, an heroic Ballad, by John Westbrooke Chandler;" "Britannia's Tears, a Vision, by A. Peterkin;" "Britain Preserved, a Poem, in Seven Books;" "the Revolution, or Britain Delivered, a Poem, in Ten Cantos;" "the Fate of Bertha, a Poem, by William Lucas;" "Suspiria Oceani, a Monody, on the Death of Richard Earl Howe, K. G. &c. by Dr. Trotter;" "an Ode on the Victory of the Nile, &c.;" "Poems on several Occasions, by William Pinn;" "the British Oak, a Poem;" "Britons United, or Britannia roused, by John Stewart, late of Mr. Secretary Dundas's Office;" "ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΑ ΨΕΥΔΟΜΑΝΤΙΣ; by (Fra Gli Arcadi) Aurisico Geresteo;" "Lord Auckland's Triumph, or the Death of Crim. Con. a Pair of Prophetic Odes, &c. &c. by Peter Pindar, Esq.;" "the Wise Man of the East, or the Apparition of Zoroaster the Son of Oromazes to the Theatrical Midwife of Leicester-Fields, a satirical Poem, by Thomas Dutton, M. A.;" "Paul's First and Second Epistles to the dearly beloved the Female Disciples, or Female Students of Natural Philosophy in Anderson's Institution, Glasgow, by a Student of Divinity in the University;" "Pandolfo Attonito, or Lord Galloway's Poetical Lamentation on the Removal of the Arm-Chairs from the Pit at the Opera-House;" "Pindarics, or an Ode of Lamentation, addressed to P. Pindar, Esq. on his Nil Admirari, &c.;" and "Convivialia et Saltatoria, or a few Thoughts upon Feasting and Dancing, a Poem, in two Parts, &c. by G. Orchesticos."

In our list of the Dramatic productions of the year, we shall first insert the titles of such as have been translated from, or are founded on, the labours of foreign authors, and afterwards those which we owe to our native dramatic writers. This list comprizes "Piccolomini, or the first Part of Wallenstein, a Drama, in Five Acts, translated from the German of Frederick Schiller, by S. T. Coleridge;" "the Death of Wallenstein, a Tragedy, in Five Acts, translated from the German of F. Schiller," by the same gentleman;" "Stella, translated from the German of M. Goethe;" "the Nephews, a Play, in Five Acts, translated from the German of W. Aug. Iffland, by Hannibal Evans Lloyd, Esq.;" "Crimes from Ambition, a Play, in Five Acts, translated from the German of W. A. Iffland, by Maria Geisweiller;" "Igne de Castro, a Portuguese Tragedy, in Three Acts, translated from the Original of Don Domingo Quita, by Benjamin Thompson, Esq.;" "the Point of Honour, a Play,

Play, in Three Acts, taken from the French, by Charles Kemble;" "the Birth-Day, a Tragedy, in Three Acts, altered from the German of Kotzebue, by Thomas Dibdin;" "the Tournament, a Tragedy, imitated from the celebrated German Drama, entitled Agnez Bernaver, &c. by Mariana Starke;" "Joanna of Montfaucon, a Dramatic Romance of the Fourteenth Century, formed upon the plan of the German Drama of Kotzebue, by Richard Cumberland, Esq.;" "Edmund, Orphan of the Castle, a Tragedy, in Five Acts, founded on 'the Old English Baron, a Gothic Story;" "the Siege of Cuzco, a Tragedy, in Five Acts, by William Sotheby, Esq. F. R. S. &c.;" "Adelaide, a Tragedy, in Five Acts, by Henry James Pye, Esq. Poet-Laureat;" "Theodora, or the Spanish Daughter, a Tragedy;" "Virginia, or the Fall of the Decemvirs, a Tragedy, by John Bidlake, M. A.;" "Marie Antoinette, Tragedie en Trois Actes, et en Vers, par le Vicomte D*****;" "Streatshall Abbey, or the Danish Invasion, a Play of Five Acts, by Francis Gibson, Esq.;" "Speed the Plough, a Comedy, in Five Acts, by Thomas Morton, Esq.;" "the East Indian, a Comedy, in Five Acts, by M. G. Lewis, Esq. M. P.;" "Indiscretion, a Comedy, in Five Acts, by Prince Hoare;" "the Systematic, or Imaginary Philosopher, a Comedy, in Five Acts;" "True Patriotism, or Poverty ennobled by Virtue, a Drama;" "the Egyptian Festival, an Opera, in Three Acts, by Andrew Franklin;" "Ramah Droog, a Comic Opera, in Three Acts, by James Cobb, Esq.;" "the Orphans, or Generous-Lovers, an Opera, in Three Acts, published for the Benefit of the Widows and Orphans of the Soldiers who fell in Holland, by Henry Shepherd,

Esq.;" "What a Blunder! a Comic Opera, in Three Acts, by Joseph George Holman;" and "the Jew and the Doctor, a Farce, by Thomas Dibdin."

Among the few articles that remain to be inserted in our Miscellaneous list is the fourth volume of the "Asiatic Researches," which has been imported from Calcutta during the present year, but was not in our possession when the articles in the department under which we have been accustomed to introduce it were printed; on which account we have reserved our notice of it for this place: and that notice now, when the general nature and merits of the labours of the Oriental society are sufficiently understood in this country, it is not necessary to extend any farther than to a short summary of the contents of the volume before us. Of the papers of which it consists, some are scientific, and others relate to the manners of nations, geography, and antiquities. In the former number will be found observations on the theory of walls, wherein some particulars are investigated which have not been considered by writers on fortification, by William Lambton, lieutenant in his majesty's 33d regiment of foot; effects of machines when in motion, by the same gentleman; inquiries into the nature of the poison of serpents, &c. by William Boag, esq.; an account of the Petroleum wells in the Burmah dominions, by captain Hiram Cox, resident at Ranghong; and an enumeration of plants noticed in a tour to Serinagur, mentioned before.—The articles which relate to the manners of nations and geography, are, an account of the inhabitants of the Pogy Islands, lying off Sumatra, by John Crisp, esq.; a very minute and interesting

ing account of the religion and literature of the Burmahs, by Francis Buchanan, M. D.; a narrative of a journey from Agra to Oujein, by William Hunter, esq.; a narrative of a journey to Serinagur, by captain Thomas Hardwicke; and a very able and learned memoir on Mount Caucasus, by captain Francis Milford, which belongs partly to this department, and partly to that of antiquities. Under the latter head we meet with a description of the caves or excavations on a mountain to the eastward of the town of Ellore, by sir Charles Malet; remarks on some antiquities on the west and south-west coasts of Ceylon, written in the year 1796, by captain Colin Mackenzie; and observations on the antiquity of the Suryá Sidhānta, the most ancient Hindu astronomical treatise, and on the formation of the astronomical cycles therein contained, by Mr. J. Bentley. To this volume is prefixed, with the title of *Defiderata*, a list of such Oriental subjects as require farther illustration, distributed under regular heads, and particularly specifying such as are considered to be objects of primary inquiry.

The next article which we have to introduce in this place is entitled, “Sketches of the State of Manners and Opinions in the French Republic, towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century, in a Series of Letters, by Helen Maria Williams,” in two volumes. These volumes belong to the literature of the year 1801; but we had sent them to our printer, and the extract from them was committed to the press before we detected our error in admitting them prematurely into our annual catalogue. These letters “were written at different periods during

the course of the last two years. The subjects in general relate to the events of the day, and the discussions, opinions, and sentiments to which they gave rise. They may therefore be considered as sketches of manners, characters, and incidents in the French republic towards the close of the eighteenth century, and in some sort as forming notes to the most stupendous page in the volume of human history.” Among such letters as relate to the history and politics of the times, besides details illustrative of the state of things in France, will be found many interesting particulars respecting the revolution in Switzerland, and the revolution and counter-revolution at Naples, which, we hope, for the honour of the English name, are not precisely accurate when describing the events which took place in the last-mentioned city. Of the miscellaneous letters, the most important or entertaining are those which contain an account of the present state of women in the French republic; the state of religion and reflexions on atheism, and the observations on the present state of literature in France. An original story, likewise, is introduced into them, which, if it be not the creature of invention, exhibits a curious distance of the strange vicissitudes which have attended the fortunes of individuals in the course of the revolutionary career. With Miss Williams’s characteristics as a writer our readers are too well acquainted to render it necessary for us to make any remarks on them in this place; and we can assure them, that, if they have derived information and pleasure from her former productions, they will not rise from the perusal of the volumes before us without acknowledging themselves indebted to the author for a considerable portion

tion of the same species of gratification.

The "Letters on the State of the Irish Nation, written during a Visit to that Kingdom in the Autumn of the Year 1799, by George Cooper, Esq." with the exceptions of occasional stiffness in his style, and the too frequent introduction of classical allusions and brilliant rhetorical flourishes, are written in a lively and pleasing manner, and have afforded us both information and entertainment. The subjects of them are, the moral character of the Irish; their government; religious distinctions; agriculture and commerce; the causes of the late rebellion; the causes which led to the Irish constitution of 1782; and the causes which led to the legislative union with Great Britain. They abound in just and important sentiments, philosophic remarks, and accurate discrimination, and offer numerous political and æconomical hints which merit the attention of liberal and enlightened statesmen. The author is a decided friend to an union between Great Britain and Ireland.

Of the two volumes of "Letters from the Rev. Mr. Job Orton and the Rev. Sir James Stonehouse, Bart. M. D. to the Rev. Thomas Stedman, M. A." the first is a republication of a collection which was announced in this department of our Register for the year 1791. The second volume presents us with the letters of Sir James Stonehouse to the editor, and exhibits the sentiments, views, and practice, of a pious clergyman and popular preacher in the church of England; who was serious without being an enthusiast, and, excepting that he approached too nearly to the extreme of rigour and formality, a commendable example of truly Christian conduct and useful benevolence. Without

an entire acquiescence in the opinions inculcated in them, we recommend them to the careful perusal of all young clergymen, to whom they offer instructive remarks, appropriate to their profession, and much important valuable advice.

The following article, at the same time that it serves to throw light on the character and beneficial employments of the author when unbending from the cares of government, will prove an object of some curiosity to those who have been accustomed to venerate him as a statesman, and the hero of the western world: It is entitled, "Letters from his Excellency George Washington, President of the United States of America, to Sir John Sinclair, Bart. M. P. on Agricultural, and other interesting Topics. Engraved from the Original Letters, so as to be an exact Fac-Simile of the Hand-Writing of that celebrated Character."

Mrs. Wakefield's "Reflections on the present Condition of the Female Sex, with Suggestions for its Improvement," contain some just and striking observations respecting the erroneous systems of female education that are generally prevalent, the tendency of which is rather to endow their pupils with "showy superficial accomplishments, and polished manners," than to furnish them with those qualifications that alone "can preserve lasting esteem and confidence," and fit them for the proper discharge of the duties belonging to the domestic and social relations. The hints which she offers for correcting the evil, and the plans which she suggests for training up young females in such a manner as shall best contribute to render them at the same time amiable and useful members of society, show that she possesses a well informed

ed and reflecting mind, and are entitled to respectful and serious attention.

The advocates for a private, in preference to a public, education have a new auxiliary to their cause in Mr. Thomas Northmore, who has written a treatise "of Education founded upon Principles. Part the First. Time, previous to the Age of Puberty." Many of his remarks are sensible and just, and much of the advice which he delivers for the management of the boy in his nursery, and from that state to the approaching years of manhood, judicious and useful. But we do not think that they are exclusively applicable to the system of private education. Some parts of his plan are only practicable in particular circumstances, where the situation of individuals can command that minuteness of attention which can never be bestowed on the great mass of children in any state of active society.

To parents and instructors of youth the following will prove an acceptable present: "The Elements of a Polite Education, carefully selected from the Letters of the late Right Hon. Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to his Son. By G. Gregory, D. D." Notwithstanding that the original letters from which the present elements are extracted abound in exceptionable passages, which render them very unfit to be placed in the hands of young persons, yet they contain, at the same time, a vast fund of useful practical knowledge, which cannot be too extensively diffused. That knowledge Dr. Gregory has judiciously separated from the baneful matter, and, in presenting it to the public, has properly sanctioned it with his name, giving thereby an assurance, which no one will doubt, that, to use his own words,

"it contains nothing but what is strictly moral, and, I trust I may add, instructive."

With much pleasure have we perused the two volumes of "Scientific Dialogues, intended for the Instruction and Entertainment of Young People: in which the First Principles of Natural and Experimental Philosophy are fully explained." These Dialogues are drawn up in the form of easy and familiar conversations between a father and two of his children, and between a tutor and two pupils, and are judiciously "adapted to the capacities of young people of ten or eleven years of age, a period of life which, from the author's own experience, he is confident is by no means too early to induce in children habits of scientific reasoning." Their language is perspicuous and intelligible, and the illustrations which the author introduces such as are suited to convey just and clear ideas of the different subjects on which they treat. The first volume is devoted to mechanics, and the second to astronomy; and to each volume are annexed four plates, containing accurate and neat engravings of illustrative figures. Should these volumes meet with a favourable reception, of which we do not entertain any doubt, the author proposes "to pursue the same plan in four others, for which he has ample materials, and which will comprize optics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, chemistry, electricity, and magnetism."

"The Contemplative Philosopher, or Short Essays on the various Objects of Nature throughout the Year, with Poetical Illustrations and Moral Reflections on each Subject," in two volumes, is another work that deserves to be recommended to young persons as an useful and pleasing companion. Besides tending to increase their knowledge of the works
of

of nature, it suggests much valuable moral and religious instruction, accompanied with such poetical quotations as are at the same time calculated to infix on their memories just sentiments and useful precepts, and to improve their taste. They originally appeared in a detached form in the *Universal Magazine*.

The following list comprizes the Tales, Novels, and Romances of the year:—"Castle Rackrent, an Hibernian Tale, taken from Facts, and from the Manners of the Irish Squires before the Year 1782;" "Memoirs of Modern Philosophers, in three volumes;" "Romulus, a Tale of ancient Times, translated from the German of Augustus la Fontaine, by the Rev. P. Will, in two volumes;" "the Sufferings of the Family of Ortenburg, a Novel, translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue, by the same, in three volumes;" "the History of Amstrath Gutman, written by himself, published by Adolphus Baron Knigge, translated from the German;" "the History of Rinaldo Rinaldini, Captain of Banditti, translated from the German of Vulvius, by J. Hinkley, Esq. in three volumes;" "Ankerwick Castle, a Novel, by Mrs. Crofts, in four volumes;" "Tales of the Abbey, founded on Historical Facts, by A. Kendal, in three volumes;" "Eliza, a Novel, by Mrs. Yeates, in two volumes;" "Rimualdo, or the Castle of Badajos, a Romance, by W. H. Ireland, in four volumes;" "the Runaway, or the Seat of Benevolence, by Mr. Smith, in four volumes;" "a Natural Story, by the same, in three volumes;" "Constantia Neville, or the West Indian, by Helena Wells, in three volumes;" "the Mystery,

by Francis Lathom, in two volumes;" "the Neighbourhood, a Tale, in two volumes;" "Filial Indiscretion, or the Female Chevalier, in three volumes;" "the Batavians, or Virtue and Valour crowned by Perseverance, from the French of C. Bitaubé, in two volumes;" "a Northumbrian Tale, written by a Lady;" "Horatio of Holstein, in three volumes;" "Fitzmaurice, by William Frederic Williams, in two volumes;" "Frederic Latimer, or the History of a young Man of Fashion, in three volumes;" "De Valancourt, in two volumes;" "Exhibitions of the Heart, dedicated, by Permission, to the Queen, by Miss Hutchinson, in four volumes;" "the Force of Prejudice, a Moral Tale, by Mr. Wildman, in two volumes;" "Selima, founded on Facts, by a Lady;" "Evelina Montrose, or the Cottage of the Vale, with Characters from Life, by Emily Clarke, Granddaughter of the late Colonel Frederic, in three volumes;" "Elliott, or the Vicissitudes of early Life, by Mrs. Burke, in two volumes;" "Edwardina, a Novel, by Catherine Harris, in two volumes;" "the Mistake, or something beyond a Joke, by P. Littlejohn, in three volumes;" "the Cavern of Strozzi, a Novel;" "Jeannette, a Novel, by the Author of Melbourne; in four volumes;" "Tourville, or the Mysterious Lover, a sentimental Novel, in two volumes;" "the Daughter of Adoption, a Tale of Modern Times, by John Beaufort. LL.D. in four volumes;" "the Sailors, a Novel, by the Authoress of Count de Santerre, in four volumes;" "Mary Jones, a Novel, by Richard Sicklemore, in two volumes;" "Monkwood Priory, by F. J. Thomas, in two volumes;" "Humbert Castle, or the Romance of the Rhone, a Novel,

Novel, in four volumes;" "the Picture of the Age, a Novel, in two volumes;" "Fashionable Involvements, a Novel, by Mrs. Gunning, in three volumes;" "the Lord of Hardivyle, an Historical Legend of the 14th Century;" "Tales of Truth, by a Lady, in four volumes;" "Andrew Stewart, or the Northern Wanderer, a Novel, by Mary Ann Hanway, in four volumes;" "Forbidden Apartments, a Tale, by William Lindley, in two volumes;" "Douglas, or the Highlander, a Novel, by Robert Bisset, LL.D. in four volumes;" "the Spirit of Turretville, or the

Mysterious Resemblance, a Romance of the 12th Century, in two volumes;" "the Child of Hope, or Infidelity punished, a Novel, by a Lady, in three volumes;" "the Miser and his Family, a Novel, by Mrs. Parsons, in four volumes;" "Miriam, a Novel, in two volumes;" "Midsummer Eve, or the Country Wake, a Tale of the 16th Century, in two vols." "Jacqueline of Olzeburg, or final Retribution, a Romance;" and "a Short Story, interspersed with Poetry, by a young Lady, in two volumes."

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1800.

WHEN we peruse the imperfect list which our materials have enabled us to form of the foreign productions of the year, we find only three articles which properly belong to the head of Russian literature. The first is entitled, "Observations on the Religious Liberty of Foreigners in the Russian Empire, relative to Churches, Ecclesiastical Institutions, Usages, and Rites," published at Petersburg. This work is the production of Mr. Grot, a German clergyman, who has resided during thirty years in Russia, and furnishes us with much curious and interesting information on the subjects mentioned in the title. In evidence of the unbounded toleration, supported both by the laws of the empire and the spirit which pervades all the classes of the inhabitants, it states some facts, which, while they reflect honour on the just and liberal policy of the Russian government, are a reproach to other countries, where before a man can be intrusted even with some of the lowest offices in the services of the state he must become a conformist to the predominant religious sect. We learn from them, that, in Russia, to obtain dignities in the state, and places under government, it is not necessary that the candidate should profess the Greek religion. In the

1800.

year 1794, the two physicians of the empress were protestants, as well as five other physicians, and all the surgeons of the court. Protestants and catholics are found among the chamberlains, the knights of orders, admirals, generals, governors of provinces, and the presidents of the highest tribunals.—The next article is a treatise "On Pedagogic Punishments and Rewards, by A. Albanus," published at Riga. This work, which is represented to be highly creditable to the heart and judgment of the author, and to furnish instructors of youth with much judicious advice and useful practical hints, the result of considerable experience, is divided into two parts. The first treats of improper punishments, judicious punishments, and on the particular intentions which are to be kept in view when inflicting punishments. The second part treats on improper and judicious rewards. To the whole is added an appendix, containing some smaller tracts on the same subject, and a collection of pedagogic sentences, enforcing important and useful truths in the aphoristic form.—The last article in Russian literature of which we have seen any account is entitled "On the Trade, Agricultural Cultivation, Industry, and Produce of Russia; together with some Physical and Statistical Observations,

by

by W. C. Friebe, Member of the Free Œconomical Society of Petersburg," in three volumes. This work contains a vast fund of information, collected from numerous publications little known out of the limits of the Russian dominions, and from manuscript accounts, concentrated with much ability and judgment, and offering to us interesting pictures of what Russia formerly was, what she now is, and what she might be. The first volume is employed in treating of the provinces that border on the Black Sea; the second, of the interior and northern provinces; and the third, of those that border on the Caspian Sea and Siberia. Each of these volumes is divided into two sections, in the first of which are described the trade of the provinces from the most ancient times, the rivers, lakes, ports, trading towns, &c.; and in the second, the agricultural improvements, the industry of the inhabitants, the physical condition and produce of the soil, the rural occupations of the inhabitants, their mineral resources, manufactures, &c. &c.

Among the few articles in Swedish literature, of which we have seen any account, is "an Historical and Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of the Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body, and whether it be asserted in the Book of Job, by J. Hallenberg," published at Stockholm. The author of this Inquiry concurs in opinion with those critics who maintain that the passage in Job, ch. xix. ver. 25, 26, and 27, has no reference to the doctrine of the resurrection; but he contends that it expresses Job's belief in a future state, and supports his opinion by a new translation of the original, which is

more ingenious than satisfactory. The hypothesis, that the words solely refer to Job's deliverance from his afflictions, and the disease which corrupted and destroyed his flesh, so that he should again be happy in this life, removes all difficulty from the passage, and seems best reconcileable with the design of the book of Job, which was to inculcate the principle, that suffering virtue will ultimately triumph in this world, and that the practice of righteousness leads to temporal happiness.—At the same place have appeared the "New Transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences, for the Year 1798," published, as usual, in quarterly numbers, of which we have not met with any notice, excepting a short abstract of the contents of the last number. The papers of which it consists are, Observations tending to illustrate the situation and climate of the city of Umea, a sea port and emporium in West Bothnia, together with extracts from meteorological journals kept in that place in the years 1796 and 1797, by D. A. Näzen; mineralogical remarks on Gottland, with a petrographic map, by W. Hisinger; different articles in natural history, by P. C. Lindroth, Dr. Haggerström, and A. Sparrman; and extracts from the meteorological journal kept in the observatory at Upsal, in 1798, by D. E. Holmquist.—At Abo, professor Gadolin has published "an Introduction to Chemistry," which is on the plan, and in part a translation, of Fourcroy's Philosophy of Chemistry, but with additions and various alterations, particularly in the nomenclature.—At Stockholm an anonymous author has published a short treatise "on the remarkable Influence and Effect of the Electric Power

Power in the Year 1797, and the probable Causes of that Epidemic which then prevailed among the Cats at Stockholm, &c." This treatise is curious and interesting, and ascribes the disorder mentioned in the title to violent changes in the electricity of the atmosphere, which produced such nervous symptoms in the cats as gradually deprived them of the digestive faculty, and by that means proved fatal.—At Lindköping, Dr. Eric Acharius, well known for the diligence and accuracy of his botanical researches, has published "*Lichenographiæ Suecicæ Prodromus*," which cannot but prove highly acceptable to the students and amateurs of natural history. In this work the author has given descriptions of every species of Swedish Lichens, to the number of 345; to which are added the synonyms of all principal authors; references to almost every figure extant; and notes designed to point out either some striking peculiarity, or to separate the plant more effectually from its congeners. Subjoined to the end of every tribe, are the foreign species mentioned by authors of credit, with their characters.—At the same place has appeared a curious dissertation, which to learned etymologists will at least afford some entertainment, if it do not serve to increase their knowledge in their favourite science. It is entitled "*Ex Occasione Nummi Cusici, de Nominis Dei GUD, in Suio-Gothica cognatisque Linguis Origine, Disquisitio Historica et Philologica*," J. Hallenberg." The author's object is to prove, that the very names given by different nations to the deity denote *unity*; and his process must be allowed to be plausible, even by those who may not think it convincing.—At the same place two periodical works

are regularly published in numbers. The first is entitled "*The Swedish Literary Journal*," edited by G. A. Silverstolpe, and contains reviews of foreign and Swedish productions; and the second is entitled "*Miscellaneous Readings*," and consists partly of translations, from works of merit in the Danish, French, English, and German languages, and partly of original essays, on a variety of useful and entertaining subjects.

Among the literary productions of the Danish dominions, we find "a Manual of Modern Astronomy, designed for the Use of Pupils and Amateurs; extracted from the Danish Astronomical Catechism of Soeburg; newly revised, with Additions, and a Preface, by T. Bugge, Professor of Mathematics, &c. Translated, corrected, and accompanied with additional Remarks, by C. G. Zahlen," with plates, published at Copenhagen. This work contains a concise and generally plain explanation of the most interesting phænomena in the heavens, in which the latest discoveries and observations are not overlooked, accompanied with pious and devout reflexions; on which account it is well adapted to the use of popular readers. But it is debased by the introduction of weak and superstitious notions, particularly on the subject of eclipses, which it represents to be attended with various calamities both to the natural and moral world, such as diseases, misfortunes, &c. as is believed by ignorant old women in most countries. Before we saw this work announced, we could not imagine that any persons in Europe, possessing even moderate pretensions to science, entertained such silly and unphilosophical ideas.—At the same place have appeared

two decades of a work, which must prove acceptable to naturalists, on account of its presenting them with such plants as have never been delineated before: It is entitled, "*Icones Illustrationi Plantarum Americanarum in Eclogis descriptionum inservientes*. Edidit M. Vahl, Prof. Reg. &c." folio, twenty plates, without text, excepting a short explanation of the plates, and references to that part of the editor's *Eclogæ Americanæ* in which they have been already characterised.—At the same place have been published "*Outlines of a Physiology of Plants, founded upon the Modern Theories of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, translated from the Danish (into German), with many Additions and Alterations, by J. A. Markuffen*." This work contains a summary of what relates to the œconomy of plants, collected from the publications of Malpighi, Grew, Hales, Du Hamel, Bonnet, Ingenhousz, Sennebier, Humboldt, Van Marum, Brugmans, Ussler, and Grill; on which account it will be useful to such readers as are not acquainted with the works of those authors.—At Altona, an anonymous author has published "*Accounts and Observations relative to the Algerine State*," vol. I. with a map, and coloured plates. In the composition of this work the author has not only made use of that information which he was enabled to collect during four years' residence at Algiers, and occasional visits to the western provinces, but has also availed himself of the preceding labours of Laugier de Tassy, Shaw, Poilet, &c. With their aid he has drawn up a minute and particular account of every object interesting to curiosity, relative to the geography, government, classes of peo-

ple, the city of Algiers, manners, customs, and dress of the inhabitants, &c. &c. The ornamental decorations are executed with elegance and taste.—At the same place C. D. Vosz has published "*a Gallery of Historical Pictures*," in two volumes, written in continuation of a similar work by Dr. Stöver of Hamburg, and presenting us with an account of the most remarkable events that occurred in the southern countries of Europe in the beginning of the present century, and with characters of the most celebrated princes, generals, statesmen, &c. involved in them. The famous Spanish succession war occupies the greatest part of these volumes. The manner in which they are compiled is not discreditable to the author's long established character as a judicious and classical historian.—At the same place M. F. C. Wolff has published "*Plato's Republic, in Ten Books, translated into German*," in two volumes; which is represented to be performed with fidelity, and to exhibit a very successful imitation of Plato's style. It is accompanied with but very few annotations.—At the same place M. J. Heinrich Voss has published "*Publii Virgilii Maronis Georgicon Libri Quatuor*," together with a German poetic version, which is extolled in the highest terms of praise by the foreign journalists. The author has also given the text of the original in a revised state, after a sedulous examination of the best editions, and some valuable MSS. and has illustrated it with a very learned commentary.—At Copenhagen, M. J. L. Mansa, royal gardener at Fredericksburg, has published "*Designs for planting Gardens in the English Taste, together with Instructions for dividing them*" and

and forming small Plantations," folio, with plates executed with great accuracy and elegance. Their utility, however, must in a great measure depend upon a number of local circumstances, which will not be very often found combined in different spots.

With respect to the literary productions of the Batavian Republic, our information still continues exceedingly scanty and imperfect. At Amsterdam, and at the Hague, have appeared the "Memoirs of the Society for defending Christianity, at the Hague, for the Year 1797;" which are represented not to contain any treatises of such merit as to render a particular account of their contents deserving of the attention of the public. At the same place has appeared, "a Collection of the Reports and Transactions relative to the Intersections and Water-works which have been carried into Effect since the Year 1771, for the Promotion of internal Navigation, as well as to prevent the Inundations of open Rivers, by a better regulated Distribution of their Waters. Published at the Expence of the Provincial Committee of Holland, in 2 Volumes, Folio, with Plates." This is a splendid national production, which contains an account of Byland's labours in intersecting and draining the rivers Waal and Yssel, and will be found interesting and useful to hydrotechnical architects.—At Utrecht, the literary veteran Christopher Sax has published, in Latin, "an Honorary Oration respecting the Favourers of absolute Monarchy, delivered in an Assembly of the Academical Senate, on the Abdication of his public Functions;" in which his erudition and ingenuity are employed in representing monarchical

forms of government in odious colours, and in endeavouring to show the superior advantages to mankind which must arise from adopting republican constitutions.—At the same place, M. S. Van Emdre has published the second volume of his "Travels through Palestine, in a Series of entertaining Letters," &c. of which the first was noticed in our last year's Register.—At Leyden have appeared "*Σχολία ες Πλατωνά*. Scholia in Platonem. Ex Codicibus MSS. multarum Bibliothecarum primum colligit David Ruhnkenius." Many of these Scholia had already been communicated to the public by Siebenkees. But the latter, in forming his collection, had consulted only two Venetian MSS. and one in the Bibliotheca Angelica at Rome. Ruhnkenius, however, was enabled to render his collection more complete, by the aid which he drew from the MSS. in the Florentine library, that at Vienna, and others in different parts of Europe; in obtaining which he was assisted by numerous literary friends, and particularly by Villoison.—At Utrecht has appeared a republication of the "*Anthologia Græca, cum Versione Latinâ Hugonis Grotii, &c.*" edited by H. de Bosch, in 3 volumes quarto. The copy of Grotius's translation employed by the editor, and now published for the first time, was that of the younger Burmann, collated with the original copy sent to Holland to be printed just before the death of Grotius.—At Amsterdam, M. Hier. de Bolch, who occupies an honourable rank among the Latin poets of his country, has attempted to give a representation of the Kantian system of morality, in a poem entitled, "*Ethica Philosophiæ Criticæ, ad Virum amicissimum Paulum van Hemert,*" which is said to be

distinguished by perspicuity, energy, and precision of diction.

In enumerating the literary productions of Germany, of which we have seen any notice, we shall follow our usual practice of introducing, in the first place, those that belong to the department of Biblical Criticism and Theology. In this number is "*Codicis Uffenbachiani, qui Epistolæ ad Hebræos Fragmenta continet, recensio et Specimen Ære sculptum, Auct. H. P. Conr. Henke,*" published at Helmstadt. This MS. which is preserved in the library at Hamburg, is in general so free from errors, that it has very properly had a high degree of value attached to it. According to the judgment of Bengelius, "*si integer hic extaret codex, hodie vix parem haberet.*" It has, however, been hitherto so imperfectly described, that M. Henke has rendered an important service to Biblical scholars by paying the attention to it which this publication displays. He considers it to belong, at least, to the ninth century.—In the following article we have a re-publication, in a collected form, and with considerable additions and improvements, of some valuable critical dissertations, which have deservedly met with a very favourable reception in the theological world. Their present title is, "*Introductionis in Nov. Test. Capita selectiora, quibus in Originem, Scopum, et Argumentum Evangeliorum, et Actuum Apostolorum de Novo inquiritur. Scripsit N. E. Paulus, Theol. D. et Prof. Ord.*" published at Jena.—At Lubec, the author last mentioned has commenced the publication of a new work, entitled, "*a Philologico-critical and Historical Commentary on the New Testament,*" of which the first volume

only has yet made its appearance. It consists of a selection from the works of preceding commentators, with new remarks supplied by the author's learning and judgment, and cannot fail to be a desirable acquisition to theological students.—At Erfurt, Prof. J. J. Bellarmann has published the fourth volume of his valuable "*Manual of Biblical Literature, containing Biblical Archæology, Geography, Chronology, Genealogy, History, Natural Philosophy, and Natural History, Mythology, and the History of Idolatry, Antiquities, the History of the Arts, and Accounts of the Biblical Writers.*"—At Leipzig has appeared an interesting and instructive work, replete with erudition and historical knowledge, intended to represent the progressive origin of the five principal religions prevailing in the world, with remarks on their leading principles and moral influence. It is entitled "*a Theory of the collective Kinds of Religion; viz. of Fetichism, of Urano-theism, of Anthro-po- or Hero-theism, of Monotheism, and of Moral Deism, or Christianity; concisely represented by Dr. Heynig.*" We except, however, against an opinion which the author advances, that religion and philosophy ought ever to be cultivated as objects which have no connexion with each other; and also against the advice which he inculcates on the subject of religious innovation, which would preclude all free inquiry, and tend only to support the cause of error and prejudice.—At Vienna, F. C. Wiedermann, a Roman-catholic clergyman, has published "*a Catechism of Natural Religion, designed for Youth in the Country,*" which is represented to be a sensible, liberal, and useful practical work, drawn up in a plain and popular style,

style, and deserving of recommendation, from its excellent tendency, not only within the pale of which the author is a member, but to serious and enlightened Christians of all communions and opinions.—At Gottingen, M. Ammon has published “a new Elementary Book of Religions, and in particular of Christian Morality,” which is also highly spoken of as a judicious and pleasing manual of liberal sentiments and useful Christian practice.—At Jena, M. Schuderoff has published a volume of elegant sermons, in which he endeavours to apply the principles of the Kantian philosophy to theological subjects. It is entitled “Sermons for Friends of pure Morality,” volume I.—At Berlin, M. C. G. Glörfeld has published “a Collection of Sermons delivered on particular Occasions, and composed from select Texts,” in 2 volumes; which are represented to be sensible, liberal, replete with happy illustrations of obscure passages of Scripture, and to be in their construction uncommonly plain and familiar, without being disgraced by any offensive vulgarisms of expression.

Under the head of Philosophy and Ethics, we find “the Ethics of Aristotle, translated and illustrated by C. Garve,” volume I. published at Breslau. This volume contains the first two books of the Ethics, translated with great perspicuity, but rather in the form of a paraphrase than of a literal version. Prefixed to it is a treatise on the different principles of morality, from Aristotle to the present times, one half of which, at least, is employed in an elucidation of Kant’s system.—At Göttingen M. J. Gotl. Buhle has published the fifth volume of his important and interesting

work, entitled, “the Elements of the History of Philosophy,” which brings down his plan from the period of the Alexandrine-Eclectic school to the ages when barbarism and ignorance overspread the European world. At the same place the same author has published the first volume of a “History of Modern Philosophy, from the Time of the Revival of Letters to the Close of the Eighteenth Century;” which is introductory to what is intended to follow, and presents us with a compressed and perspicuous view of the history of philosophy, from the æra of the Ionic school to the restoration of letters in the fifteenth century, abridged from the works of Bouker, Meiners, Tiedemann, &c.—At Züllichau, M. Fullborn has published the eleventh and twelfth numbers of his “Contributions towards the History of Philosophy,” which merit the same character for erudition and discrimination with the preceding.—At Göttingen, M. J. J. Wagener has published “a Dictionary of the Platonic Philosophy,” which, though far from being complete, is an useful commentarius perpetuus to the works of Plato. The author’s attention to the writings of the Grecian sage was more particularly engaged by the perusal of Tennemann’s system of the Platonic philosophy.—At Leipzig, M. Plattner has published a second volume of his “Moral Philosophy, or Philosophical Aphorisms,” in which his learning and judgment are respectably displayed. The author is a disciple of the school of Leibnitz and Wolff.—At Gießen, professors J. E. C. Schmidt and F. W. B. Schell have commenced the publication of a work, entitled “an Exposition of the leading Principles of the transcendental Philosophy,”

of which the first number only has yet appeared. Its object is to explain the principles of the Kantian school; to obviate the prejudices which exist respecting their tendency, and to answer the objections which have been preferred against them. The authors have the merit of writing with calmness and good temper, and without betraying any symptoms of a dogmatical spirit.—The same principles have met with support in “an Examination of Kant’s Philosophy of Religion, with an Introduction by Kant, by J. Jachmann,” published at Königsberg; the “Letters on the Metaphysics of Nature, by M. Porchke,” published at the same place; “the Religion of Adults, &c. by Tieftrunk,” published at Berlin; “the German Socrates, with original Ideas, relative to the unalterable necessary Fate of Man, his Prospects and Expectations both here and beyond the Grave,” published at Leipzig; the “Miscellaneous Contributions towards the History of the Metacritical Invasion; together with a Fragment of a Metacriticism of an older Date, by J. G. Hamann, called the Magus of the North; and several Tracts relative to the Kantian Philosophy,” published at Königsberg.—At Leipzig, an anonymous author has published a sensible and well-written philosophical discourse, entitled, “Theocles, a Dialogue on the Belief in God, intended to promote a more general Knowledge of the Ideas entertained by the latest Philosophers on that Subject.” It ably exposes the dogmatism and false reasoning of some pretended philosophers.—At Zerbst, M. K. H. Sintenis has published a very excellent treatise on the same subject, entitled, “Theophron, or, There must be a God;” chiefly designed for un-

learned readers, and admirably adapted to instruct them in the leading arguments for the Great Truth which it is intended to support, and to assist them in repelling the most plausible objections of the atheistical school.—At the same place have appeared, “Philosophical Essays on the Prevalence of Irreligion, together with Proposals for a rational Religious Education, by T. Gutman;” volume 1. of his posthumous works; which, among many just and liberal remarks, that cannot be too highly commended, contains an intermixture of sentiments which appear to us to approach very nearly to the confines of scepticism.—At Leipzig, M. F. W. Wedag has published “Concise Elements of Ethics, or an Introduction to Morals, calculated for Youth, by leading them to Reflexion on the different Relations, Concerns, Rights, and Duties of Man.” This is an useful little work, in which the author, in a manner judiciously adapted to the capacities of those for whose benefit it was intended, explains the foundation and leading principles of morality, as preliminary to their initiation into the principles of religion. Those principles are the intended subject of a second volume.—At Breslau, a work has appeared with the title of “New Cards dedicated to thinking Players,” which is partly philosophical, and partly miscellaneous. The philosophical part consists of short disquisitions, essays, hints, &c. on a variety of subjects, which are the result of extensive knowledge and careful reflexion, and calculated to enlighten and humanise the mind. The miscellaneous pieces will furnish the reader with much rational entertainment.

Among the articles in German literature belonging to the head of Government, Jurisprudence, and Political

Political Economy, we have seen announced, but without any account of its character, a translation into German of "the Politics of Aristotle," published at Züllichau, from the papers of the late learned C. Garve, by professor Fulleborn, who has added to it numerous notes, and illustrative dissertations.—At Leipzig, M. G. Faehse has published "Plato's Republic, translated and illustrated," volume I. in a diffuse and pompous style, and accompanied with a profusion of annotations, grammatical, critical, antiquarian, and philosophical. Prefixed to it is an introduction, the design of which is to show, that the object of Plato's Republic is to represent Virtue in its purity; to trace its sources, and point out its consequences; as well as to delineate a picture of the most excellent and perfect constitution, the most propitious to the promotion of virtue.—At Frankfort, M. W. Le Febure has published a work entitled "a Republic founded on the physical and moral Nature of Man;" which the reader will find to be a compound of wild extravagant notions, and exceptionable principles, offered to the world by an avowed disciple of the noted Babœuf.—At Brunswick, M. Bonnaire de Pronville has published "a Review of the legislative Power under Charlemagne," in 2 volumes. This is a very elaborate work, evidently intended to favour the high claims of absolute monarchy, by showing, that in the reign of Charles the Great the commons were excluded from all concern in legislation, and that the nobles and ecclesiastics, who composed the national council, had no controul over the sovereign, but were the passive instruments of his legislative will. These points he labours to establish, with great industry and acuteness, and often with great plausibility. His work, however, is of little importance, excepting so far as it may serve to gratify curiosity; for, whether Charlemagne was an absolute despot, or otherwise, will not in the present day be considered of any moment in determining the great question, in what hands the legislative functions of a country ought to be lodged.—At Gießen, the chancellor Koch, whose eminent abilities well qualified him for undertaking such a task, has published "the Emperor Charles the Fifth's Constitution relative to capital Punishments, with Annotations."—At Hamburg, M. Fred. Gentz has published "an Essay on the present State of the Administration of the Finances, and on the National Riches, of Great Britain," which shows him to be well acquainted with the publications in this country, and the speeches which have of late been delivered in parliament on the subject of his treatise. To foreigners it conveys much information, which they will not easily obtain from any publications not of British growth; and it exhibits such a flattering picture of the strength and resources of this country, that it might almost be suspected to be the production of a sanguine adherent to the British ministry, or, at least, of one who is not a stranger to their connexions.—At Berlin, professor A. F. Luder has published a work "on National Industry and Political Economy, after Adam Smith," volume I. In this work the author proposes to advance the principles of Smith in a more perspicuous and complete manner than in the original work, to correct its errors and defects, and to connect, in a more close manner, the different parts of which the whole is composed. From what has hitherto been stated respecting it in the foreign

foreign journals, we have not been enabled to form a sufficient judgment of the manner in which the author has completed the task which he undertook.—At Leipzig, M. H. A. V. Steindel has published “Observations on Thaer’s Work on the Agriculture of England, intended to promote the Agriculture of Germany,” noticed in our last year’s Register; which are intended to recommend it to the attention of the German public, and to render it more generally useful, by pointing out alterations and improvements that have taken place since Mr. Thaer wrote, which still more strikingly evince the eminent superiority of the English farming system.—We have room only for the titles of the following: “A Manual of the Practice of Rural Economy, by C. A. H. Bosc,” volumes II. and III. published at Leipzig; “The History of Rural Economy in Germany, by M. Anton,” in two volumes, published at Gorlitz; “General Contributions towards the Improvement of Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures, &c. by J. Geissler,” volume I. published at Zittau; “A Plan for Statistical and Political Education,” published at Vienna; “An Attempt towards a Systematic Description of the different Species of Stone Fruit growing in Germany, by Dr. A. F. A. Diel,” in periodical numbers, published at Frankfurt; “Experimental Observations relative to the Production of Sugar from the Beet Root, &c. by Prof. W. A. Lampadius,” published at Freyberg; “The Art of Knitting, or Complete Instructions for Knitting, both in the common Way, and after Drawings, arranged in Systematical Order; by Netto and Lehmann, with Thirty Coloured Plates,” published at Leipzig; “An Account of the most Ancient Modes

of Manufacturing Paper; together with a Proposal relative to the Introduction of a New Material for making Paper; by G. A. Senger,” published at Dortmund and Leipzig; “Practical Instructions in the Composition of Letters, for Merchants, by Professor Busch of Hamburg,” in two volumes; published at Hamburg; and “A Collection of Original English Mercantile Letters, with German Notes; by J. G. Cleminius,” in two volumes; published at Erlangen.

In the list of German productions in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, &c. we meet with a new edition, being the eleventh, carefully revised and augmented, of “Elements of all Mathematical Sciences, &c. by C. Baron de Woeff,” in four volumes; published at Halle. This work is principally designed to furnish those who have not leisure or capacity for making themselves masters of the abstruser part of the mathematics, with a general knowledge of their leading principles, and their practical application to purposes of civil life. And, notwithstanding that, from the time of the appearance of the last edition of it in 1775, many larger and smaller works of a similar nature have been published in Germany, it still maintains its reputation as a very comprehensive, familiar, and useful performance.—At Leipzig, M. A. Wagner has published “A Manual of Algebra, for the Use of Teachers and Learners,” in which the author’s principal design is to furnish beginners with various propositions for private practice, and distinctly to point out to them the best methods of finding out the requisite equations, and of forming the reduction of them. In this point of view it is spoken of as a
respectable

respectable and useful little work.—At Halle has appeared a new edition of Gren's "Principles of Modern Chemistry, systematically arranged, for the Use of Academical Lectures," vol. I.; in which the latest discoveries in chemistry have been added, and various important alterations made by the learned editor, M. Karsten of Berlin.—At Jena, M. Schelling has published the "First Sketch of a System of Natural Philosophy," intended to apply the principles of the new philosophy to chemistry; but drawn up in a manner so abstracted and obscure, as greatly to detract from its merit and utility.—At Berlin, M. Hermstadt has published "Systematical Outlines of Experimental Chemistry," vol. I. which is represented to afford an uncommonly clear and comprehensive view of the connexion of the different parts of the science; and at Tübingen M. Scherer has published "a Manual of Chemistry," to which similar merit is ascribed.—At Jena have been published "the latest Inquiries into, and Observations upon, the different Kinds of Milk, relative to Chemistry, Medicine, and Rural Economy, by Parmentier and Deyeux, translated and enriched with judicious Annotations and interesting useful Additions," by Professor Scherer.—At the same place M. Ritter is publishing, in numbers, "Contributions towards a more accurate Knowledge of Galvanism," a science to which the experimental philosophers of our own country are at present paying particular attention.—At Leipzig, MM. Rosenmüller and Tilesius have published "a Description of the most remarkable Caverns, to illustrate the Natural History of the Earth, with Plates;" which is rather a

work entertaining to curiosity, than of much importance in relation to the science of géology.—At Göttingen, M. L. C. Lichtenberg, counsellor of legation, and professor F. Kries, of Gotha, have published a very ingenious and spirited "Defence of the Hygrometer, and De Luc's Theory of Rain," in opposition to the attack of M. Zylius, whose essay, written with the design of refuting the whole system of hygrometry, received the prize from the Academy of Sciences at Berlin in the year 1795.—At Leipzig, M. J. Hedwig has published a new edition of his "Theoria Generationis et Fructificationis Plantarum Cryptogamicarum Linnæi," considerably enlarged; to which he has prefixed some valuable reflexions on the art of observing in general, and the qualities necessary to an observer; and others equally important on microscopical observations, as well as the best construction of microscopes and other instruments. It is illustrated with plates, beautifully coloured.—At Nuremberg, Dr. J. J. Römer has published the fifth fasciculus of his "Flora Europæa Inchoata," which proceeds slowly towards its completion, but appears to be conducted with a due attention to the best botanical productions that have appeared in this country and on the continent; and to include their latest discoveries and improvements.—At Vienna, three decades have appeared of an interesting and instructive work, illustrated with fifty plates, engraved in a masterly manner, and equally well coloured, entitled "Plantæ rariores Hungariæ indigenæ, Descriptionibus et Iconibus illustratæ, à Comite Fr. Wadstein, Cæs. Reg. Camerario et Ord. Melit. Eq. et P. Kitaibel, M.D.Chem. et Bot. Prof. Pesthini." To the lovers of botany its completion

pletion must prove very desirable.—At the same place another work has appeared, which is spoken of as well calculated for the use of those who have not the means of purchasing voluminous and expensive works of the kind, both on account of the accurate and perspicuous manner in which the descriptions are given, and the neatness and correctness of the accompanying delineations. It is entitled, “F. B. Vietz Med. D. Icones Plantarum Medico-Œconomico-Technologicarum, cum earum Fructus Ususque Descriptione,” vol. I. with one hundred and ten coloured plates.—To the articles already enumerated we add the titles of the following: “An Essay on the Harmony of Buildings, corresponding with the Landscape, by J. G. Kliniski,” published at Dresden; “Œconomico-Technical Flora of Wetteravia, by G. Gartner, D. B. and Dr. J. Scherbius,” vol. II. published at Frankfort; “A Botanical Pocket Book, for beginning the Study of Botany and Pharmacy, by Dr. H. Hoppe,” published at Ratisbon; “An Entomological Pocket Book, for Collectors of Butterflies, by L. C. Von Muller,” published at Breslau; “Contributions and Sketches towards a Pragmatic History of the three Kingdoms of Nature, &c. by M. Batsch,” published at Weimar; “Mineralogical Tables, by J. C. Karsten,” published at Berlin; “The Natural History of all known Insects, being intended for a Continuation of Buffon’s Natural History of Papilios, by M. Herbst,” vol. I. published at Berlin; “A View of the Physiology of the Human Body, calculated for the Use of the lower as well as higher Schools, &c. by C. W. Lehmann,” published at Leipzig; “An Attempt to reduce the Literary History of Medicine

to Chronological Order, with a View to facilitate and promote its Study, by J. G. Knebel,” published at Breslau; “On the Medical Use of Phosphorus, by F. Boutatz, M. and Ch. D.” published at Göttingen; to which we might add a long list of medical articles, original or translated, if it were consistent either with our plan or limits.

The next articles which we have to announce in German Literature belong to the head of History, Geography, Biography, and Travels. The accounts which we have seen of the greater part of the publications which fall within this class have scarcely amounted to any thing more than an enumeration of their titles; which will necessarily confine us in our notice of them, within still narrower limits than we have been accustomed to allow ourselves in this department of our work.—At Nuremberg, M. Bauer has published the first volume of a judicious and useful “Compendium of the History of the Hebrew Nation, from its Origin to the Dissolution of its Political Constitution.”—At Freyberg, Dr. J. G. Hübler has published the third volume of his “Manual of Universal History, &c.” of which the first and second were noticed in our last year’s Register.—At Lübeck, M. G. Merkel has published “A Collection of Picturesque Descriptions of Nations, together with an Attempt towards an History of Mankind,” vol. I. partly extracted from the works of celebrated authors, and partly original, and drawn up in a correct and animated style.—At Erfurt, professor Jac. Dominicus has published the third volume of his “Introduction to General History,” which is represented to be judicious, philosophic, and entertaining.—At Jena, professor

professor C. L. Woltmann has published a work entitled "Historical Views, &c." vol. I. containing a well-written and interesting history of the Reformation in Germany, down to the death of Luther.—At Königsberg, M. Georgi has published the third volume of his "Geographical, Physical, and Physiological Description of the Russian Empire," first noticed by us in our Register for the year 1797.—At Berlin, professor Woltmann has published two volumes of a well-written "History of Great Britain," deduced not only from the labours of the most esteemed English historians, but also from original sources.—At Leipzig, M. C. G. Heinrich has published the eighth volume of his "History of the German Empire," which completes the work, and fills up an important chasm in the annals of that country. Very high commendations are bestowed in the foreign journals on the judgment and impartiality which it displays, and the classical purity and simplicity of its style.—At Berlin, M. Manfo has published a work, entitled "Sparta; an Essay towards elucidating the History and Constitution of that State," vol. I.—At Gera, M. Pörgel has published "the History of the House of Austria from its Origin to the Close of the Eighteenth Century;" and at Vienna, M. Von Liechtenstern, "a Sketch of a Statistic Description" of the States which belong to it.—At Berlin has appeared a translation from an Italian MS. by Denina, of "a History of the Sardinian States down to the Year 1796."—At Leipzig, professor G. Wolfg Panzer has published the seventh volume of his splendid and classical work, entitled "Annales Typographici ab Artis inventæ Origine, ad

Annum MDXXXVI. continuati."—At Magdeburg M. J. F. Aug. Kinderling has published his "History of the Lower Saxon Language," which obtained the prize from the Göttingen Academy of Sciences, and furnishes us with much important information respecting the various Teutonic dialects, and highly useful in acquiring a knowledge of the German language.—At Altenburg the same author has published a learned, curious, and entertaining treatise "On the Antiquity and Use of Butter and Cheese among the ancient Germans; from a Comparison of the English and German Languages."—At Hanover, M. C. Meiners has published the second volume of his interesting and entertaining collection of anecdotes, entitled, "A History of the Female Sex," which is confined to their history in France till the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV.—At Weimar, M. A. C. Gaspari has published a work which has met with considerable applause in Germany, and is an unquestionable proof of the author's indefatigable diligence in acquiring information. It is entitled "Universal Annals of Geography and Statistics for the Year 1800."—At Berlin M. A. G. Meissner has published the second volume of the "Life of Julius Cæsar;" and at Leipzig, professor C. Theoph. Kuimæl a tribute of respect to the memory of a late learned Biblical scholar and critic, entitled "Narratio de Joanne Frederico Fischero, ad Virum magnificum et summe-rev. Franc. Volkmarum Reinhardum, Theol. D. &c."—At the place last mentioned has appeared the fourth volume of an entertaining collection of historical and biographical fragments, entitled, "Memorable Events, Characteristical

characteristical Traits, and Anecdotes, taken from the Lives of celebrated and famous Persons."—At Hamburg, Dr. F. J. L. Meyer has published "Pius VI. and his Pontificate, &c." which is a translation of the French work of which we gave an account among the notices of our domestic and naturalised productions in our last year's Register, enlarged with annotations, corrections, and anecdotes, which add greatly to its value.—The "Brief History of General Mack, from his Departure from Vienna to Naples, towards the End of September 1798, till his fortunate Escape from his Captivity in France," published at Nuremberg, was most probably written by the pen, or under the inspection, of the valorous hero whose exploits and fortunes it records.—At Mentz, M. L. Von Baczko has published two volumes of an instructive and entertaining "Journey through a Part of Prussia."—At Leipzig have appeared the third and fourth volumes of Karamsin's "Letters of a Russian Traveller, translated from the Russian into German by G. Richter."—At the same place, that translator has published an original work, entitled, "Moscow, an Historical Sketch;" which the local knowledge acquired by him during a long residence in that city has enabled him to render both instructive and amusing.—At Gotha, M. Lenz has published two volumes of interesting and entertaining "Remarks during Travels in Denmark, Sweden, and France."—At Tübingen, M. P. A. Nemnich has published "an account of a Journey from Hamburg through England, in 1799," from which the greater part of English readers, as well as foreigners, might receive much information and amusement.—At Göt-

tingen, M. B. A. Euphrasun has published "a Voyage to the Swedish Island of St. Bartholomew, and the Islands of St. Eustatius and St. Christopher, containing a Description of the Customs and Manner of Living peculiar to the Inhabitants, as well as of the Situation and natural Produce of those Islands." And at Leipzig, M. Schröter has published a volume of "Travels by Sea and Land, to the East Indies and Egypt, in the Years 1795—1799."

The remaining articles which we have to announce in German Literature belong to the head of Critical, Classical, and Miscellaneous Productions.—At Halle, the following work has been published: "Æschyli Tragœdiæ Septem. Deno recensuit C. G. Schutz. Vol. I. Prometheus vincit. Septem adversus Thebas. Persæ. Supplices." In this work we are presented with a careful revision of the Greek text, after the best MSS and editions had been consulted; and a selection made of the emendations suggested by other critics, as well as by the editor's own learning and judgment. Besides the editions published by Porson and Wakefield, he also made use of the Codex Gudianus, and of the observations written by Ezekiel Spanheim, on the margin of a copy of Stanley's Æschylus. M. Schutz's Latin Version is said to be both faithful and elegant.—At the same place the same learned critic has published new editions of his "Æschyli Tragœdiæ quæ supersunt, ac deperditarum Fragmenta, &c." vol. I. and of his "In Æschyli Trag. quæ supersunt ac deperd. Frag. Commentarius," vol. I. which originally appeared in the year 1782.—At Leipzig has appeared "Euripidis Hecuba, Græcè. Godofr. Herrmanni

Herrmanni in eam, et in Porsoni et Wakefieldii Notas Observationes.”—At the same place has been published a continuation of a valuable work, of which the first part was sent into the world so long ago as the year 1778. It is entitled “Herodoti Historiarum Libri IX. Editionem Friderici Volfgangi Reizii Morte interruptam continuavit Godofr. Hen. Schäfer.”—The same editor has also published, at the same place, another edition of that father of Grecian history, under the title “Herodoti Lib. IX. ex optimis Exemplaribus emendavit et Notas Criticas adjecit G. H. Schäfer.”—At the same place, professor Eichstädt has begun the publication of another Greek historian, which his well-known erudition and accuracy cannot fail of rendering a very acceptable present to the learned world. It is “Diodorus Siculus, ex Recensione P. Wesselingii edidit H. C. A. Eichstädt, &c.” vol. I.—At Halle, a small edition of the works of Lucian has been published, entitled “Luciani Samosatensis Opera omnia, maximè ex Fide Codicum Parisiensium recensita, edidit Dr. Fr. Schmieder.”—At Leipzig, a judicious and useful work has been published, consisting of selections from Greek historians, geographers, poets, &c. mutually illustrative of each other. It is entitled “Ἑλληνικά, seu, Antiquissimæ Græcorum Historiæ Res insigniores usque ad primam Olympiadem, cum Geographicis Descriptionibus, ex Scriptoribus Græcis collegit, digessit M. Carl. Godofr. Siebelis.” It is to be followed by a collection of notes and critical observations. At the same place professor M. F. Jacobs has published the third and fourth volumes of his “Animadversiones in Epigrammata Anthologiæ Græcæ, secun-

dum Ordinem Analectorum Brunckii.”—At the same place professor Heyne has published a third edition of his “Pub. Virgilii Mar. Opera, &c.” in which he has availed himself of the labours of other authors who have written on the poems of Virgil since the appearance of his second edition, and of the criticisms which have been made on his work, to render it still more perfect.—At the same place professor Herrmann has published one of the plays of Plautus, illustrated on the principles of his Analytical Explication of the Metres of the Greek and Roman Poets. It is entitled “Plauti Trinummus, recensuit et præfatus est Godofr. Herrmann.”—At Wirttemberg, professor A. A. Kol has published “M. Tullii Ciceronis Opera Philosophica; Vol. I. Tusculanarum Disp. Lib. Quinque. Ad opt. Ed. recudi cur. et selectam Lectionis Varietatem adj.” in which the corrections of Wolff have been scrupulously followed.—At Leipzig, M. F. E. Rukopf has published “Senecæ Philos. Opera omnia quæ supersunt, recog. et illust. &c.” vol. II. — At Lubec, a useful work for schools has been published, entitled “C. Sallustii Crispi Bellum Catilinarium, ad Exemplar S. V. Telleri edidit, Notisque maximam Partem suis illustravit, M. Hen. Kunhardt, Gymn. Lub. Subr. &c.”—At Leipzig, part of a new edition of Quintilian’s Treatise on Oratory has been published, which, from the specimen already given, promises to be a most complete and truly valuable work. It is entitled, “M. Fabii Quintiliani de Inst. Or. Lib. XII. ad Codicum veterum Fidem recensuit, et Annotatione explanavit, Geo Ludovicus Spalding, A. M. Gymn. Berolino-Coloniensis Prof. Vol. I. continens

continens Libr. I.—III.”——At Halle, M. J. J. Harmsen has published “The Satires of Horace, translated into German Verse, with Annotations;” of which it is no small recommendation, that, in the judgment of the celebrated Wieland, the elegant diction, humour, and ease, which are its characteristics, rendered it well worthy of publication.—At Leipzig, M. J. F. Habersfeldt has published the third volume of “Lectures on the Classical Poets of the Romans, containing Lectures on the second Book of the Satires, and the first Book of the Epistles of Horace.” This work was begun some years ago by the reverend and learned M. Nitsch; and since his death has been continued by the present author, whose indefatigable diligence, profound erudition, and refined judgment, peculiarly qualified him for such a task.—At Breslau, M. M. D. G. J. Hübler has published “a Vindication of the Study of the Ancient Classics, in respect to the Influence which it has in promoting the Improvement of the Mind, &c.” in which the author’s ingenuity, classical knowledge, and just taste, appear to eminent advantage. It contains some interesting parallels of the effects of ancient and modern literature.—At Leipzig, M. J. G. Meissel has published “a Guide to the History of Literature,” in two volumes. This work contains a vast fund of information, which throws considerable light on the gradual progress of learning, from the earliest times to the present day. It marks the state of literature in all its branches; gives the name and characters of the writers who excelled in each; and points out the best editions of their works, and the moderns who have commented on them, or vindicated

their particular doctrines. To students, and to the learned world in general, it will prove highly acceptable.—At Magdeburg, M. C. A. Böttinger has published a third part of his first volume of “Grecian Paintings on Vases, with Archaeological and Artistical Illustrations of the Original Prints,” the nature and value of which we explained in our Register for the year 1797.—At Wien, M. F. Dombay, imperial interpreter of the Oriental languages, has published an Arabic Grammar, adapted to the dialect of the inhabitants of the north-western coasts of Africa, where his long residence in the quality of interpreter peculiarly qualified him for engaging in such a work. It is entitled “Grammatica Linguae Mauro-Arabicae, juxta Vernaculi Idiomatis Usum. Accessit Vocabularium Latino-Mauro-Arabicum, &c.”—At Leipzig has appeared “a New Pocket Dictionary of the English and German Languages, in Two Parts: 1st, English and German: 2d, German and English: composed chiefly after the Dictionaries of Adelung, Johnson, and others: in which the Parts of Speech, and the Genders of the German Nouns, are properly distinguished; each Word accented according to its just and proper Pronunciation, &c. &c.” This work is recommended in the German journals, as what will be found highly useful to the learners of the German language in this country. To the articles above enumerated might be added a number of essays on education, miscellaneous essays, poems, plays, novels, &c. which form too long a catalogue to be inserted in our pages.

With respect to the literary productions of Switzerland and Italy, there are but very few articles of which

which we have been able to obtain the least information. In the former country, a translation has appeared of "Amusements drawn from Natural History, after the German of M. Williem of Augsburg, Vol. I. of the Class of Insects," published at Basle, which is represented to be an excellent elementary introduction to the science of entomology, and illustrated with plates admirably coloured.—At the same place four numbers have been published of "a Statistical View of the States of Germany, with regard to their Extent, Population, Products, Manufactures, and Finances, by M. Höck," which is spoken of in very favourable terms, and must prove peculiarly interesting at a time when such changes are taking place in the constitution of that vast incongruous body.—At Winterthur, a work has been published, entitled "Morning Hours in Paris," which abounds in striking and entertaining remarks on the manners and character of the modern race of Parisians.—At Zurich, M. Ziegler has published a work entitled "Henry IV. King of Navarre and France—a Biography relative to the Events of our Times," in two volumes; which is represented to contain a judicious selection of every thing instructive and entertaining in the best accounts of the æra to which it refers, with apposite reflexions, conveyed in an animated style, and great correctness of diction.—In Italy, an anonymous author has published at Florence, "a Collection of various Experiments on Combustible Matter," which will be found of use in the philosophical world.—At Venice, another anonymous author has published "the Transactions of the Cisalpine Republic, with explanatory Notes,"

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an historical work, that is marked too strongly by a spirit of party politics to be entitled to the praise of candour and impartiality.—At Parma have appeared "Annales Hebræo-Typographici ab An. MDI. ad MDXL. digestit, Notisque Historicis criticis instruxit, Joh. Bernhardus de Roffi;" which is a continuation of the author's former splendid work, announced in our Register for the year 1796.—At Bassano, the abbate Louis Langi has published "the History of Painting in Italy," in three volumes. This is a work which the industrious researches, learning, and taste of the author, one of the most distinguished literati in Italy, have contributed to render highly instructive and interesting, and well adapted to facilitate the progress of the study of the art of painting, both to students and amateurs.—At Florence, M. Giovanni Baptista Baldelli has published a treatise entitled "Of Petrarch, and his Works, in Four Books," which is represented to be the most authentic and complete biography of that celebrated poet that has yet appeared. In the introduction will be found a judicious and interesting account of the state of literature in his æra, which is followed and illustrated with a view of the political situation of Italy at that time.

Among the literary productions of France for the year 1800, we find a work entitled "The Prophe-tical Meaning of the Exurgat Deus, or the Sixty-seventh Psalm in the Vulgate; presenting the History of the Church of Jesus Christ, with a general Idea of the Hieroglyphics in the Hebrew Letters, the Hebrew Text, the Septuagint, &c. by M. l'Abbé Caperan." This work is not destitute of learning or ingenuity; but both are employed in an

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attempt

attempt to give a sense to the psalm which appears to us in the highest degree forced and unnatural, and to find out hieroglyphical meanings in the Hebrew language, as fanciful as any that have been discovered by the disciples of the English Hutchinsonian school. According to this author, the sixty-seventh psalm was designed to pre-figure the flourishing state of the church of Rome under the reign of Constantine; the three persons in the Trinity are marked out by three letters in the name of Jehovah; and the two natures of Jesus Christ by the repetition of one letter in it!—The treatise entitled “What we have been, What we are, and What we shall be, by Peter Fournié,” is equally mystical and incomprehensible to our capacity with any of the choicest productions of Jacob Behmen or baron Swedenborg. The author was initiated in his system by one Don Martinetz de Pasquallys, who renewed his instructions to his pupil two years after his death; since which Peter Fournié’s knowledge of it has been completed through the medium of innumerable visions from heaven.—M. Necker’s “System of Religious Morality,” in three volumes, is a new edition of a work which has already been naturalised in this country, revised and corrected, and particularly addressed to the attention of the French nation.—The “Dictionary of Atheists, Ancient and Modern, by Sylvain Maréchal,” as far as it contains any thing in the form of argument, for the support of the author’s favourite opinions, is a production of too contemptible a cast to merit a serious refutation. It has been attacked with much pleasantry and effect, in a treatise entitled “The First Meeting of the Commission nominated for the Erasure of Atheists;” in

which ridicule has been well employed, in exposing the ignorance of the author, and his insidiousness in inscribing on the list of atheists many respectable characters, among whom may be found some of the greatest ornaments and firmest advocates of revelation, and others who were beyond all doubt sincere believers in the leading principles of natural religion.—“Philosophism Unmasked, and Philosophy Arranged,” is the title of a pamphlet of the celebrated Kant, translated from the German, by D. Lecretan, professor of philosophy at the academy of Lausanne. It is divided into two parts, one containing aphorisms relative to the false, and the other aphorisms relative to the true, philosophy; together with advice concerning the errors to be avoided, and the road to be followed in the pursuit of truth. It is offered by the translator to his countrymen, in order to assist them in fixing a just value on the writings, the motives, and the discoveries of the new German school.—“Moral Maxims,” is the title of a good collection of useful aphorisms, from a variety of writers, in different languages, judiciously chosen and well expressed.—The “Truth of Truths, by D***,” is a valuable little treatise, in which just sentiments are enforced, peculiarly seasonable in the present state of things in France. It is divided into two parts; the first entitled ‘philosophically divine,’ and treating of the existence of the world, of God, and of the necessity of public worship; the second entitled ‘philosophically moral,’ and treating of man as united in society, of the propriety of laws, of the coercive power, anarchy, &c.—We have also seen announced, under the head of morals and metaphysics, a treatise “Of the Spirit of Things, or

or a Philosophical Survey of the Nature of Things, and the Object of their Existence, &c. by an unknown Philosopher," in two volumes; a treatise "Of Error and Truth," by the same author; "On Man—in a Chapter detached from a Work on the Various Modes of Social Organization;" "Of Signs and the Art of Thinking, considered in their Mutual Relations, &c. by J. M. Degerando," in four volumes, &c. &c.—"The Real French Constitution, deduced from the fundamental Principles which have governed France from the Reign of Charlemagne, until 1789, &c." in two volumes, is intended to convince the French nation of the superior advantages which their ancient monarchical form of government possessed over any of the constitutions that have been adopted since its overthrow, and to persuade them again to re-establish it. We imagine, however, that the well-meaning, but not very enlightened author, will not make many converts among his countrymen.—The "Historical and Political Description of the Dissolution and Re-establishment of the English Monarchy, containing the Period between the Years 1625 and 1702, by the Citizen J. Chas," is employed in an attempt to show the similarity between the revolutions of England and of France, and the just expectations that may be entertained of an equal share of liberty and happiness to the French republic, with that which the English nation has enjoyed since their memorable expulsion of the tyrannic James, and the introduction of a new dynasty.—From the "Idea of existing Abuses in respect to Criminal Proceedings, and of the Means of Remedying them, by G***, Substitute to the Commissary of the Government of

the Criminal Tribunal of the Seine," it appears that the institution of juries has not yet been properly organised in France, but that many regulations are still wanting to secure to the people all the advantages of that palladium of every truly free country.—The "General Collection of Laws relating to the Marine and the Colonies, from the Month of May 1789, to the End of 1799, by M. Lebeau," in nine volumes, is entitled to praise for the excellence of its arrangement, and the utility of the chronological and alphabetical tables which accompany each volume.—"On Maritime Commerce, its Influence on the Opulence and Power of States, demonstrated from the History of Ancient and Modern Nations, &c. by Francis Audouin," in two volumes, is the title of a work to which little of the matter which it contains truly corresponds. It principally consists of violent declamations against this country, most abundantly interspersed with French gasconade, gross falsehoods, and malignant calumnies; and is intended to show how the trident of the seas may be wrested from the hands of Great Britain, and placed in those of France.—The "Account of the Commerce of Greece, from the Year 1787, to the Year 1797, by Francis Beaujour, Ex-Consul in Greece," in two volumes, is rendered interesting, not only by what peculiarly belongs to the subject mentioned in the title, but by the numerous particulars which the author has inserted in it respecting the geography of that famous country, its natural productions, and the manners, industry, and arts, of the inhabitants.—We add the titles of the following works: "Reflexions on Benevolent Establishments, containing the Means of rendering

the Administration and Distribution of Public Charities more perfect, by M. Gerard de Meley;" "An Attempt to ameliorate the Agriculture, the Arts, and the Commerce of France, by J. Bose, Member of the Tribunate;" "A few Remarks relative to the National Manufacture of the Gobelins, by C. Guillaumot, Architect and Director of the Manufactory;" "The Calendar of Gardening, consisting of Extracts from the best Writers on this Subject, both Ancient and Modern, by J. F. Bastien," in two volumes; and "A Memoir on the Culture of Flax for France, for the Marine and the Arts, by Rougier Labergerie."

Among the literary productions of France belonging to the head of Mathematics and Philosophy, is a very profound and elaborate "Treatise on the Differential Calculus, and on the Integral Calculus, by S. F. la Croix," in two volumes. This work was undertaken by the author, in order to supply the want of a complete treatise on fluxions, which should not only fix on a sure foundation the principles of the science, but comprehend the improvements made in it, that are dispersed through the works of Euler, D'Alembert, the Benouillis, Monge, and other eminent mathematical writers, and the transactions of the academies of Italy, Paris, Berlin, and Petersburg. According to the testimony of La Place and Legendre, it is distinguished by choice of methods, purity, and strictness of demonstration, and the extensive application of its precepts. But it is less adapted to the use of learners, than to that of proficients in the analytic art, to whom it offers a number of theorems and problems relative to the most difficult parts of the science, which will afford

ample scope for the exercise of their abilities.—The "Memoirs on the Powers of Numbers and their Roots, proving that there are no imaginary Quantities, by M. Develey," ingeniously support the hypothesis for which the author contends, with a view of simplifying the science of calculation. With respect to the true results to which the calculation of imaginary quantities will lead, he maintains that they are obtained either by comparisons of errors, or a comparison of equations equally false, of which he affords some striking examples. And he adds, that, if imaginary quantities have no existence, they cannot be employed as logarithms to any numbers, nor have their own logarithms.—To mathematicians and astronomers of every country the following article will prove highly acceptable, on account of the well-earned celebrity of the authors, and its relation to a grand work, the completion of which will prove of the greatest importance to the interests of science. It is entitled "Analytic Methods for determining an Arc of the Meridian, by J. B. J. de Lambre, Member of the National Institute, &c. preceded by a Memoir on the same Subject, by A. M. Legendre." M. Legendre's memoir is purely geometrical, and designed to explain the manner of calculating triangles, which make the terrestrial part of the operation; the most advantageous methods of calculating the arc of the meridian; the method of comparing the terrestrial arcs with the celestial which they subtend; and the deducing from thence the quadrant of the terrestrial meridian, supposing the earth elliptical. M. de Lambre's memoir describes all the methods made use of by him, whether by observation or calculation, and explains them with a clearness

ness which will be highly satisfactory to geometers who are employed on questions relative to the measurement of the earth.—The “*Connoissance de Temps, for the Year XI. (1803), &c.*” besides the usual ephemeris, catalogues of stars, (among which is one of 1500 new stars by Michael Le Français Lalande,) and other valuable communications by different members of the Board of Longitude, presents us with a chart of the eclipse of the 17th of August, 1803, for all the countries of the earth.—The “*Elements of practical Perspective, for the Use of Artists, followed by Reflexions and Advice to a Scholar on Painting, &c.* by P. H. Valenciennes, Painter to the Philotechnic Society, with 36 Plates,” form a work which, though not strictly scientific, will be found of considerable use both to professional students and amateurs, from the clearness with which the author, a painter of eminence, explains the most important subjects relative to the practical part of his art. And his observations will be found valuable in correcting the errors of the geometer, when his science is rigorously applied to perspective.—Of the “*Chemical Annals, or a Collection of Memoirs concerning Chemistry, &c.*” the publication still proceeds with unabated spirit. During the present year the 107th volume, or number, has made its appearance.—The “*Essay on the Means of perfecting the Chemical Arts in France, by M. Chaptal, Member of the National Institute, &c.*” belongs rather to the head of political œconomy than of philosophy, and suggests much judicious and valuable advice relative to the establishment of schools for instruction in the different arts; the methods proper to be adopted for rendering manufactures cheaper; and

the choice of suitable situations for different manufactures.—The “*Treatise on the Periodical Renovations of the Terrestrial Continents, by L. Bertrand, Professor in the Academy of Geneva,*” is built upon the store of facts contained in M. Suassure’s Travels through the Alps, and is intended to support the hypothesis of that author that the whole of our continents had been formed under the sea, had been arranged by its action, and were left dry by a precipitate retreat of its waters. In order to account for such a precipitate retreat, our author supposes that, by the near approach of a comet to the earth’s orbit, such an attraction was exerted by the former over the latter, as to cause an entire change in the centre of terrestrial gravity; the consequence of which would be the immersion of the old, and the emergence of new continents. The facts and reasonings which he brings forward in support of his opinion are proposed with modesty, and the author’s explanations of various phænomena are more plausible and satisfactory, upon the whole, than what will be found in most of our modern geological systems.—We can only find room for the titles of the following: “*Experiments on Galvanism in general, and particularly on the Imitation of the Muscular Fibres, discovered by Frederic Alexander Humboldt, translated from the German, with Additions, by J. F. N. Jadelot, M. D.*”; “*Natural Principles, or general and particular Ideas of the Immensity of the Extent of the Heavenly Bodies, of the Principles of Motion, &c.* by M. C. F. Lejoyand,” in five volumes; “*Miscellaneous Treatises on Arts and Sciences, by J. B. Jamelin*”; “*Selection of Amusements, Physical and Mathematical, designed to exercise agreeably the*

Minds of Youth, by M. L. Despiou, formerly Professor of Mathematics and Physics," in two volumes; "Comparisons of the new Weights and Measures with the old Weights and Measures, by which the Relations between them are easily known;" "An Essay on the Organization of Artillery, by General Lescapelle;" "Zoögraphy of different Countries, both of the old and new World, by L. F. Jauffret;" "The Natural History of the Salamanders of France, &c. by P. A. Latreille;" "A complete and elementary Treatise on Ornithology, or the Natural History of Birds, by P. M. Daudin," vols. I. and II.; "The Natural History of the Rose, in which its different Species, Culture, Virtues, and Properties, are described, &c. by C. Guillemeau, Junr.;" "A Journey to the Empire of Flora, or Elements of Vegetable Natural History, a Work in which is inserted the Analysis of the Lectures of the learned Author of the Flora Atlantica, by L. M. P. T." in two volumes; "A Table of the Vegetable Kingdom, according to Jussieu's Method, by E. P. Ventenat, of the National Institute, &c." in 4 volumes; "Mathematical Ideas of Chemistry and Medicine, or a Theory of Heat, &c. by A. Mangin, M. D. of Jura;" "Lessons on Comparative Anatomy, by G. Cuvier, Member of the National Institute, &c. collected and published with the Consent and Assistance of the Author, by C. Dumesnil, Chief Assistant in the Anatomical Laboratory of the Medical School at Paris," in two volumes; "A complete Treatise of Anatomy, &c. by A. Boyer, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery at Paris," in three volumes; "A Treatise on Fever and Inflammations, by Joseph Quarin, Physician to the Emperor Joseph II. translated from

the Latin, by E. B. Emonnott, M. D. with Notes by the Translator," in two volumes; "Inquiries into the Influence of the Air on the Appearance, Character, and Treatment of Diseases, by A. Bouffey;" "A Treatise on the Venereal Disease, by Andrew Vacca Berlinghieri, Professor of Anatomy at Pisa, published by P. P. Alyon, Member of the Medical Society;" "On the Plague, or memorable Epochs of that Scourge, and the Means of Prevention, by J. P. Papon," in two volumes; "A Treatise on the Gout and Cretinism, preceded by a Treatise on the Influence of a Humid Atmosphere on the Human Understanding, by E. Foderè;" and "On the Influence of the Passions of the Mind in Diseases of the Body, and the Means of correcting their bad Effects, by C. J. Tissot, Physician, Superior Officer of Health to the French Armies."

The next articles which call for our notice among the literary productions of France belong to the head of History, Biography, Antiquities, and Travels. In this number are "Critical Observations on Volney's Lessons on History, by J. C. Jondot." These observations contain some just reflexions on the moral and political uses of history, and able strictures on the rules which Volney prescribed for the exercise of caution in reading it: and they are accompanied with notes, which are frequently interesting and instructive.—"The History of the principal Events of the Reign of Frederic William II. King of Prussia, with a Political Picture of Europe from the Year 1786 to 1796, containing a Sketch of the Revolutions of Brabant, Holland, Poland, and France, by L. P. Segur, the Elder," in three volumes, is a work of considerable merit and importance,

portance, written by an author who, from the situations which he filled of ambassador at different courts, had an opportunity of acquiring information which could not be procured through the ordinary channels of intelligence. In the introduction he presents us with a sketch of the history of Prussia and Brandenburg, and of the reign and character of Frederic the Great. The body of his work, besides an account of the personal conduct, character, and internal government of Frederic William II. relates likewise all the principal foreign events of the epoch which he has undertaken to describe, and to which there is a reference in the title. And it must be acknowledged to abound in various interesting information, accompanied with sagacious and valuable reflexions and remarks, and written with a considerable degree of candour and impartiality. To each volume is added a collection of illustrative state papers and documents. We shall probably have an opportunity of paying a farther attention to this work in our next volume, as we understand that it is about to appear in an English dress.—Of General Dumas's "Abstract of Military Events," the tenth number has been published, which, as well as the preceding, will be found of considerable use to future historians in giving an accurate relation of the extraordinary campaigns of the present war.—So, likewise, will the "Journal of the Siege and Blockade of Genoa, with a Glance at the Situation of the Army of Italy from the Time General Massena assumed the Command of the aforesaid Blockade, by a General-Officer of the Army."—From the next article which we have to announce, information may be collected that

serves to throw light on several of the political measures which have accompanied the French revolution, and to develop the true character of the unfortunate Louis XVI. and of the different members of the Orléans branch of the Bourbon family. It is entitled "The Correspondence of Louis-Philippe Joseph D'Orléans with Louis XVI. the Queen, Montmorin, Liancourt, Biron, La Fayette, &c. with Details respecting his Exile to Villers-Cotterets, &c. written by himself; followed by Letters to his Wife, his Children, and those of Madame de Genlis; to which is added, an Extract from the Journal of the eldest Son of D'Orléans, daily kept by himself."—The "Accounts and Extracts from the MSS. of the National and other Libraries, published by the National Institute, being a Continuation of the Accounts and Extracts read to the Committee of the former Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres," vol. V. present us with a variety of papers in classical and literary antiquities, which are interesting to curiosity, and tend to illustrate the state of learning and science, and the manners and customs of France in past ages.—The "Description of the Customs, Civil and Military, of the Ancients, designed, engraved, and arranged, by N. A. Willimin," is the title of an elegant work, publishing in numbers, of which seven have already made their appearance. Each number consists of six beautiful folio plates, accompanied with a sheet of explanation. The last number represents the heads of Grecian women, adorned with bandeaus, diadems, veils, &c. together with their jewels, and various dresses.—The "Biographical and general Dictionary of the most celebrated Characters, at the Close of the Eighteenth

Eighteenth Century, and particularly of those who have figured in the French Revolution, compiled by a Society of Men of Letters," in three volumes, is not confined to a detail of the principal circumstances in the lives of Frenchmen, but comprehends also those of foreigners. It is drawn up with ability and spirit, and is well calculated to excite 'both interest and curiosity.' The editors also pride themselves on the virtue of impartiality. But they have shown that they are grossly deficient in that quality, ignorant, and even malignant, when describing the characters of some of our countrymen.—The "Historical Account of the Life and Writings of J. E. Montucla, by A. L. Leblond," is a short, but well written life of a celebrated mathematician, whose important services in the cause of science were noticed in the foreign department of our last year's Register.—From the pen of A. Rouffelin, who formerly was the biographer of general Hoche, we are presented with "an Historical Account of Marbot, General of Division, who died at Genoa in the Spring of 1800;" from which it appears, that he was highly estimable, not only for his military talents, but for the excellence of his private character, and the humanity of his disposition.—We have also seen announced "an Eulogy on Washington, by J. F. Dubrocea;" and "Memoirs of Maria Frances Dumefnil, in Answer to the Memoirs of Hypopolita Clairon; to which are added, a letter by the celebrated Le Kain, and many curious anecdotes concerning the French theatre."—In the following work little will be found in the narrative that is novel, or very interesting to those English readers who are conversant in the Voyages of Cook, Portlock, Dixon,

and Vancouver. But the natural history, and the dissertations added by the editor, which compose more than two-thirds of the whole work, may afford entertainment to scientific readers, and furnish navigators and geographers with useful hints. It is entitled "a Voyage round the World, during the Years 1790, 1791, and 1792, by Stephen Marchand; preceded by an Historical Introduction. Subjoined, are Researches on the Austral Lands of Drake; and a Critical Examination of the Voyage of Roggeween. With Maps and Prints. By C. P. Claret Fleurieu, of the National Institute, &c." in 5 volumes octavo, and one in quarto, containing the maps. Marchand's voyage was the second circumnavigation of the globe performed by the French; and the first commercial adventure, undertaken by that nation, to the western coast of North America.—Much curious and interesting information, respecting the present state of Greece, and the Grecian Islands, the remains of ancient art, and the customs and manners of the inhabitants, may be obtained from the following work: "Travels of Dimeo and Nicolo Stephanopoli in Greece, during the Years 1797 and 1798, in consequence of two Missions; one by Order of the French Government, and the other by that of the General in Chief Bonaparte; drawn up from their Materials by a Professor of the Prytaneum. With Plates of Drawings, Plans, and Views taken on the Spot," in two volumes.—By men of science in particular, and indeed by readers in general, much valuable information, as well as entertainment, will also be found in the following production of an author well known in the annals of literature: a "Voyage to the Propontis and the Euxine, with a general Chart

Chart of both those Seas; a Topographical Description of their Coasts; an Account of the Manners, Customs, and Commerce of their Inhabitants; a particular Map of the Plain of Brussa, in Bithynia, that of the Thracian Bosphorus, and that of Constantinople; and a Description of the ancient Monuments and modern Edifices of that Capital; by J. B. Le Chevalier, &c." in two volumes.—To the above articles we have to add Nos. VII—XIV. of the splendid "Picturesque Tour through Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia, &c.;" "A Journal of a Frenchman to the Salt Mines of Bavaria and Saltzburg, by M. Barbé Marbois;" "A Description of Great Britain and Ireland, and the English Possessions in the four Quarters of the World," in four volumes; A "Picturesque Journey to Switzerland and Italy, by M. Cambry, Prefect of the Department of the Oise, &c." in two volumes; "A Journey to Switzerland and Italy, in Company with the Army of the Reserve, by V. D. M. Author of the English Cosmopolite, attached to the General Staff of the said Army;" "A Picturesque and Œconomical Journey over the Jura, by J. M. Lequinio," in two volumes; "The Inquisitive and Sentimental Traveller, by M. L. Damin;" "The Journey of a German to Paris, and his Return through Switzerland;" "A Description of Rome, Philosophical Observations on the present State of that Metropolis, the Character and Manner of its Inhabitants, &c. by M. Olivier Pole, translated from the Italian;" "Travels of Twenty-four Hours, by A. H. Keratry;" and "Another Picture of Paris, by Henzion."

The last articles which call for our notice among the productions of the French press are such as belong to the department of Classical,

Critical, or Miscellaneous Literature.

—At Strasburg, whither the publication of the excellent editions of the classics which formerly appeared at Deux Ponts has been transferred, and still continued, under the care of M. Euler, the following work has been published, after a considerable delay, the causes of which are explained in the preface. "Aristotelis Opera omnia Græce: ad optimorum Exemplarium Fidem recensuit, et novam Versionem Latinam adjecit J. Th. Buhle," vol. V. It contains the Rhetoric and the Poetics of Aristotle, with the Latin version in the margin. —"The Idyllia of Theocritus translated into French, with Remarks by J. L. Geoffroy, formerly Professor of Eloquence in the College of Mazarin," we have seen announced, but not with any commendations of the manner in which the author has attempted to transfuse the simple strains of the Sicilian muse into his native language, or with any favourable account of his critical talents or knowledge in his preliminary observations, and a history which he has added to them of rural poetry. —"The Eclogues of Virgil, translated into French Verse, with the Latin Text, accompanied with Translations of many Pieces of Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion, and the Episode of Nisus and Euryalus, by P. F. Tiffot, senior," is a work which is more commended for fidelity to the sense of the originals, than for the spirit and poetic taste which it displays. The notes with which it is accompanied, however, are represented to reflect credit on the author's learning and discrimination. —"The Georgics of Virgil, translated into French Verse by M. de Lille, to which is subjoined the Latin Text, with Notes, and various Readings," is a performance of a very superior cast, and worthy of the poetic fame of

of which the author has been long possessed. It combines fidelity to the original with spirit, elegance, and an harmonious flow of numbers, in which the author has very happily imitated the manner of the Mantuan bard. And it represents some of the most beautiful, and some of the most energetic passages in the *Georgics*, with a success which we believe, to be unrivaled in any former translation. In his preliminary discourse, and in his notes, M. de Lille's learning and judgement are advantageously displayed, and the latter abound not only with instruction but entertainment.—The treatise entitled “On Literature, considered in its Relation to Social Institutions, by Madame de Stael Holstein,” in two volumes, is the production of the daughter of the celebrated M. Necker. Its object is, to analyse the moral and political causes which affect the spirit of literature; to point out the gradual development of the human faculties; the slow but continued progress of the human mind in philosophy, and its rapid but uninterrupted success in the arts; and to inquire into the influence which the revolution has already had on the literature of France, with the probable effects that may result from it, if ever order and liberty, morality and republican independence, should be united and established. In discussing these topics, she displays a respectable share of literature and ingenuity; but not unmixed with a confidence in her own talents, which frequently carries her beyond the sphere of her knowledge and judgement, and an affectation of that refinement in sentiment which is so conspicuous in the popular productions of the German philosophical school.—We can only add the titles of the following, “The Works never before published of

Madame de Roland, containing her Philosophical and Literary Essays, written previous to her Marriage, her Correspondence, and her Travels, &c. the whole preceded by a preliminary Discourse, &c. by L. A. Champagneux;” “New Dialogues of the Dead, between the most famous Actors in the French Revolution, and various celebrated Men, ancient and modern, by F. Pages;” “New French Synonymes, by the Abbé Roubaud, a new Edition, drawn up in Alphabetical Order, and carefully corrected and augmented,” in four volumes; “A Course of Encyclopedic Studies, drawn up on a new Plan; containing, 1, the History of the Origin and Progress of the Sciences, Belles Lettres, Fine Arts, and those called Mechanical; 2, the Analysis of their Principles; 3, a detailed Account of the above Objects, according to the best Authors, and the most recent Authorities; by F. Pages,” in six volumes; “An Encyclopedia for youth of both Sexes, or a new Abridgement of the Elements of the Sciences and the Arts, extracted from the best Authors, by Madame H. T.” in two volumes; “Orthographical Vocabulary, according to the Order of the Sounds; or, a Methodical Description of all the Sounds appertaining to the French Language, by C. F. J. Fontaine;” “A new System of Reading, applicable to all Languages, by J. B. Maudru, Professor in the Normal School of the Department of the Seine;” “A new portable Bibliographical Dictionary, or an Essay on universal Bibliography, containing an Indication of the best Works of all Kinds that have appeared in France, &c. by N. L. M. Dessessarts;” “Bievriana, or the Play on Words of M. de Bievre, a new Edition, corrected and augmented;” “Idyllia, and a Rural Poem of Gesner;

ner; with an Interlineary Translation by M. Boulard," in 2 volumes; and "The Helvetians, a Poem, in Eight Cantos, with Historical Notes, by C. F. P. Maffon." To which might be added a long list of Miscellaneous Essays, School Books, Poems, Plays, and Novels.

With respect to the productions in Spanish Literature, our limits oblige us to content ourselves with barely inserting the Titles of some of the most important in the lists which have reached this Country. These are, "Benedicti Moxo, de vetustissimis Philosophis, ab Atheismi Crimine vindicandis, Commentarius, ad cl. Vir. Antonium Tavira Salmaticensis Ecc. Illust. Episcopum;" "The solitary Sage, or the Knowledge of the adorable and sublime Attributes of the Deity," in two volumes; "Compendium of the sacred History of the Old Testament, divided into four Books;" "The Theory of pleasing Sentiments, the whole System of Humanity, wherein is founded the whole Rationale of the Beautiful and Pleasing in Nature and Art, the Rules that Nature follows in imparting virtuous Enjoyment are explained, and the Principles of natural Religion and moral Philosophy are established;" "A Discourse on the Way in which the Passions are exhibited, and in which they are unfolded in the Human Breast, by Dr. D. Joseph Gonzales Varela;" "Discourses of D. Jos. Aug. Ibanes de la Rentiera; on Patriotism, on Juvenile Studies, Forms of Government, and Municipal Establishments;" "The Elements of pure and mixed Mathematics, arranged with Simplicity and Clearness, for the more ready Attainment of such useful Sciences, by Dr. Ignacio Ro-

maza;" "An Elementary Memoir on the new Weights and Decimal Measures, founded in Nature, by D. C. Giscar, Captain in the Royal Navy;" "Chemical Discourses in the Form of Dialogues;" "Lectures on Sculpture, being an Historical, Theoretical, and Practical Synopsis, of the best Instructions for Youth destined for the fine Arts of Sculpture, Painting, and Architecture, and also for the Improvement of the Taste and Judgement of Connoisseurs and Friends of Drawing;" The fourth and fifth Volumes of Cavanilles's accurate and splendid "Description of Plants collected in the Neighbourhood of Madrid," and different parts of Spain, containing a history of 240 new species, many of which belong to genera not before known; "Systema Botanicum Linnæano-Anomalisticum, sive de Anomaliis Plantarum quæ in Systemate Linnæano observantur, Auctore Vincentio Alphonso Lorente;" "Elementary Course of Botany, arranged by order of the King, for exhibiting the Royal Botanical Garden of Madrid, by Dr. D. Casimiro Gomez de Ortega, head Professor, &c." in two volumes; "Experiments on Vaccine Inoculation, or an easy and secure Means of Preservation from the Small-pox, from the French of Dr. Colon, by Dr. Francisco de Piguillen;" "Elementary Dictionary of Pharmacy, or, the Application of the Principles of modern Chemistry to the Practice of Physic, by Dr. D. Manuel Hernandez de Gregorio;" "Historical Dictionary of the most celebrated Professors of the fine Arts in Spain, by D. Juan Augustin Cean Bermudez, and published by the Royal Academy of St. Fernando," vol. VI.; "Life and Voyages of Captain James Cook, from the
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the English of Andrew Kippis, F. R. S. and S. S. A. by D. Cefario de Nava Palatio," in two volumes; "Scheme of Spanish Antiquities, under Two general Articles, in Eighty Sections, by D. Louis de Zuniga;" "The Critical History of Spain, by D. Juan Francisco de Marsden, Abbot," vol. XIX.; "A

Collection of Historical and Critical Letters, by D. Joseph Villa Roya;" and "A Discourse on the Revolutions of Literature among the principal Nations of Europe:" to which might be added numerous articles, under the heads of Tactics, Poetry, Novels, and Miscellaneous Literature.

THE END.

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